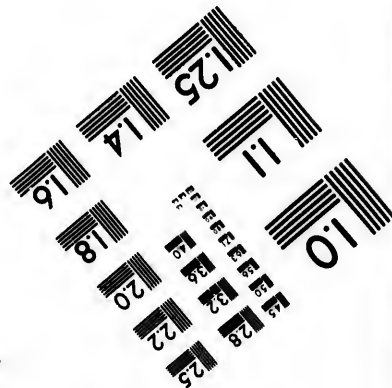
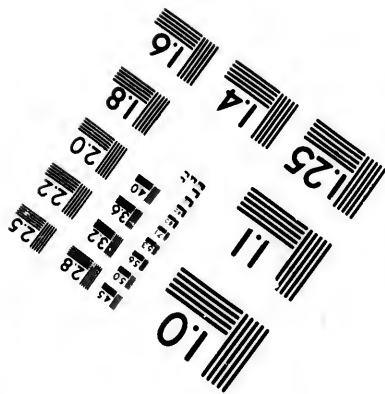
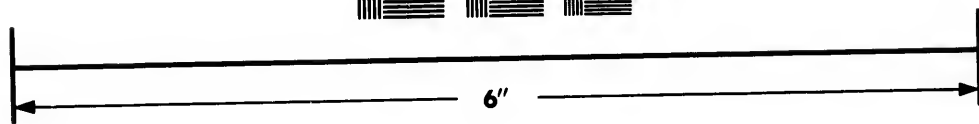
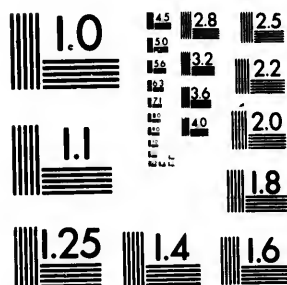


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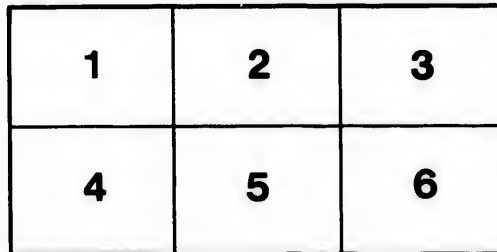
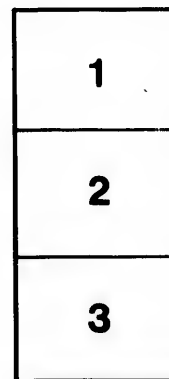
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HISTORY
OF THE
EMIGRANT BOERS
IN SOUTH AFRICA

OR

THE WANDERINGS AND WARS OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS
FROM THEIR LEAVING THE CAPE COLONY TO THE
ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THEIR INDEPEND-
ENCE BY GREAT BRITAIN.

BY

GEORGE M'CALL THEAL,

OF THE CAPE COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE; MEMBER OF THE MAATSCHAPPEL DER NEDER-
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POUR L'HISTOIRE DES EGLISES WALLONNES.

AUTHOR OF "A COMPENDIUM OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY,"
"KAFFIR FOLK LORE," &c., &c.

With Three Maps.

SECOND



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PREFACE.

THE emigration of the Boers from the Cape Colony and the establishment of the two Republics in the interior of South Africa have never before this been recorded in detail. The most complete account, indeed, previously given, is that in my "Compendium of South African History and Geography" (454 demy octavo pages), the third edition of which was published at the Lovedale Missionary Institution in 1877. For that work I received my information partly from bluebooks and earlier authors, and partly from narratives which I obtained from a great many individuals, European and native, who had been actors in the events described. I happened to be in possession of unusual facilities for collecting oral information, and I availed myself of them. Mr. John Noble's account in his admirable work entitled "South Africa, Past and Present: a Short History of the European Settlements at the Cape" (345 crown octavo pages), published in London in 1877, is,

with respect to several occurrences, more complete than my own here referred to. A great many other writers have devoted a few pages to the subject, but none have entered deeply into any portion of it except the occurrences in Natal.

After a long residence on the Cape Frontier in a position which brought me into constant contact with the different races, on the outbreak of the Kaffir War towards the close of 1877, I was requested by the Government to undertake a diplomatic task requiring special knowledge of native character. Having succeeded in performing the duties entrusted to me, when the war was over I asked for and obtained the charge of the Colonial Archives preserved in Cape Town. During the period from March 1879 to January 1881 I prepared a volume of Abstracts of Early Cape Records, which was published by the Government, and I collected a quantity of material for a History of the Foundation of the Cape Colony. Transferred again to the Native Department, I returned to the frontier and acted as magistrate of Tamacha until the close of the Basuto war, when I obtained leave of absence for six months and proceeded to the Hague to complete by research in the Archives of the Netherlands the information required for my early Cape History. That

volume was published in Cape Town in 1882, under the title of "Chronicles of Cape Commanders: an Abstract of Original Manuscripts in the Archives of the Cape Colony, dating from 1651 to 1691, compared with Printed Accounts of the Settlement by various Visitors during that time."

A few months earlier a volume containing a selection from a number of Kaffir Folklore Stories and Proverbs, collected by me while residing on the frontier from 1861 to 1877, was published in London.

Upon my return from Europe the Cape Government instructed me to collect, arrange, and publish all the authentic records that could throw light upon the history of the Basuto tribe. While engaged in this work, which occupied my time until March 1884, a very large amount of correspondence relating to the Emigrant Farmers passed through my hands. I found that the most important of these documents, those which were of the greatest historical value, had never appeared in bluebooks. In these papers the motives of the various actors could be clearly traced. After reading, comparing, and digesting them, the only labour in writing the history of the emigration was that of guiding the pen.

Of books upon South Africa I have a fair collection.

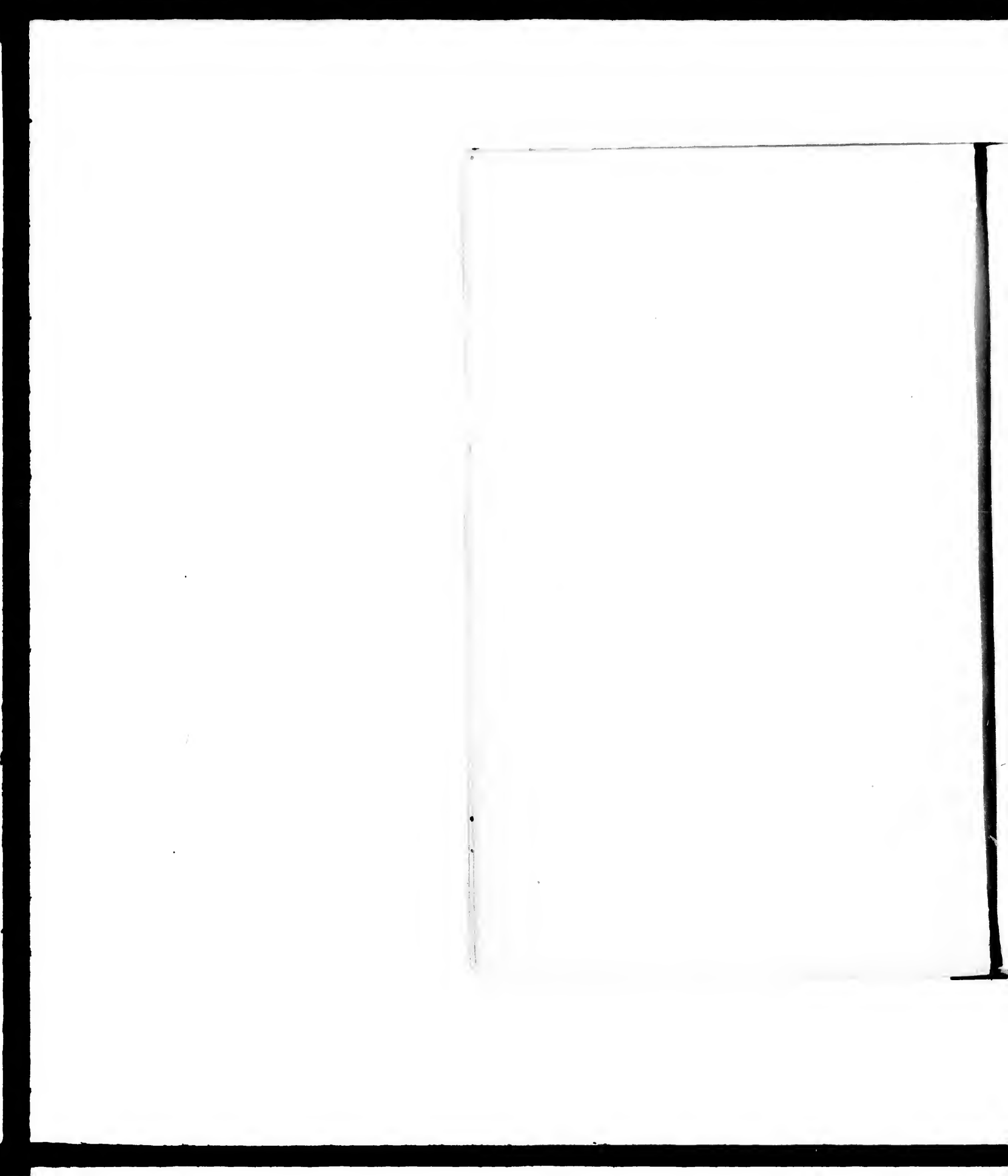
After obtaining all those in ordinary circulation, excluding only such as are devoted to theological controversy, poetry, fiction, and special sciences, I made lists of rare works from the catalogues of great libraries in England and Holland, and succeeded gradually in procuring many of them. To C. A. Fairbridge, Esq., of Cape Town, whose collection is unrivalled, I am indebted for the use of those which are not on my own shelves.

But something more than bare knowledge is needed in writing history. Determination to be strictly impartial, freedom from prejudices which might involuntarily affect that determination, are equally requisite. I believe that I possess these qualifications, at any rate I have done my utmost to work in that direction. I have no interests to serve with any particular party, and I am on equally friendly terms with all. Though a resident in South Africa for more than a quarter of a century, I am by birth a Canadian, the descendant of a family that sided with the king at the time of the American Revolution and afterwards removed from New York to New Brunswick with the other Loyalists. The early years of my life after boyhood were spent in the United States and in Sierra Leone. Thus no ties of blood, no prejudices acquired in youth, stand as barriers

to my forming an impartial judgment of events that transpired in South Africa a generation ago. In the most important matters in dispute between the Emigrant and the Missionary parties, when the evidence is not overwhelming on one side or the other, I have given the leading points of the case for both, and left the reader to judge for himself.

Regarding the acts of various missionaries, there is certainly a difference in the tone of this volume and of my "Compendium of South African History," written sixteen years ago. I had not then read the mass of missionary correspondence in the colonial records nor the comments upon their complaints and the refutations of many of their statements made by officers of the Colonial Government. But no one will find a word in this volume condemnatory of mission work properly so called, for no one can be more favourably disposed towards it than I am.

Having thus stated what the material at my disposal has consisted of, and that circumstances have placed me in a position to write without bias, I must leave to others the decision as to the manner in which I have carried out the work.



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GLOSSARY

OF

COLONIAL WORDS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

ASSAGAI, a javelin or light spear. The word comes to us from the Portuguese.

BERG, a mountain. Plural bergen. This is a pure Dutch word.

BOER, a Dutch word signifying a tiller of the ground. In South Africa the word is now used as a proper name to denote any one of European descent who uses ordinarily the broken Dutch language of the country.

BURG, a village. It is the same word as the English *borough*, and originally meant a stronghold, but it is now used in South Africa in a less restricted sense.

COMMANDO, a military force, either composed exclusively of burghers, or of burghers and soldiers united.

DRIFT, a ford of a river.

KAROSS, a garment used by natives, made of skins sewn together in the form of a square. A corruption of a Hottentot word.

KRAAL, a group of native huts. The word comes to us from the Portuguese.

LAGER, a fortification usually made by drawing waggons in a circle, but sometimes constructed of stone walls or earthen banks. It is an old Dutch word corresponding to the English *leaguer*.

POORT, a short passage between two hills or mountains. A corruption of the French word *porte*.

- RAAD**, a Council. This is a pure Dutch word. **HEEMRAAD**, the council that administers justice with the landdrost or magistrate (plural heemraden). **KRIJGSRAAD**, a council of military officers. **VOLKSRAAD**, the elective council representing the people.
- RIEM**, a thong of raw hide usually seven or eight feet in length, made supple by rubbing it with grease. Diminutive **RIEMPJE**, a little thong.
- SPOOR**, the marks left by cattle in travelling, whether hoofprints, turned pebbles, bent grass, or anything else that can be detected by the keen eye of a trained native.
- SPRUIT**, a tributary stream.
- STAD**, a town.
- TSETSE**, a kind of fly found in certain localities in the interior, whose sting is poisonous to horses and horned cattle.
- VLEI**, a patch of swampy ground or a shallow lakelet.

EMRAAD, the
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HISTORY OF THE EMIGRANT BOERS.

CHAPTER I.

Comparison of Bantu Tribes.

THE whole of Central and South-Eastern Africa is occupied by a section of the human race which European writers now usually term the Bantu. This word in the dialects spoken along the coasts of the Cape Colony and Natal simply means people.¹ In the division of mankind thus named are included all those Africans who use a language which is inflected principally by means of prefixes, and which in the construction of sentences follows certain rules depending upon harmony in sound. The Bantu family is divided into numerous tribes politically independent of each other. Each tribe is composed of a number of clans, which generally have traditions of a common origin at no very remote date; in some instances, however, the tribes consist of clans pressed together by accident or war, and whose relationship is too remote to be traced by themselves.

The individuals who make up the Bantu group vary in colour from light bronze to deep black. Some have features of the lowest negro type: thick projecting lips, broad flat

¹In the language of the Xosa, Tembu, Pondo, Zulu, and other coast tribes: UMNTU a person, plural ABANTU people; diminutive UMNTWANA a child, i.e., a little person, plural ABANTWANA children, abstract derivative UBUNTU the qualities of human beings, diminutive UBUNTWANA the qualities of children. In the language of the Basuto MOTHO a person plural BATHO persons. The pronunciation, however, is nearly the same, the h in batho being sounded only as an aspirate and the o as oo, baat-hoo.

noses, and narrow receding foreheads; while others are almost Asiatic in appearance, with prominent and in rare instances even aquiline noses, broad upright foreheads, and lips but little thicker than those of Europeans. Among the southern tribes these extremes may sometimes be noticed in the same village, but the great majority of the people are of a type higher than a mean between the two.

Ordinarily they present the appearance of a peaceable, good-natured, indolent people; but they are subject to outbursts of great excitement, when the most savage passions have free play. The man who spends the greater part of his time in gossiping in idleness, preferring a condition of semi-starvation to toiling for bread, is hardly recognizable when, plumed and adorned with military trappings, he has worked himself into frenzy with the war dance. The period of excitement is, however, short. In the same way their outbursts of grief are very violent, but are soon succeeded by cheerfulness.

They are subject to few diseases, and are capable of undergoing without harm privations and sufferings which the hardest Europeans would sink under. Occasionally there are seasons of famine caused by successive droughts, when whole tribes are reduced to eat wild roots, bulbs, mimosa gum, and whatever else unaided nature provides. At such times they become emaciated, but as long as they can procure even the most wretched food they do not actually die, as white people would under similar circumstances. Nor does pestilence follow want of sustenance to the same extent that it would with us.

It is probable that no people in the world have less of what Europeans would term the necessities of life than the Balala or Betshuana¹ slaves. They are tribes broken in war, who have lost everything but life. They can cultivate no grain, for their home is the desert, and every ear grown at a watering-

¹ This word is spelt in many different ways, according to the fancy of the writer. The language of the coast natives contains three clicks, which are usually represented by the superfluous letters *o*, *q*, and *x*. There are no clicks in the dialects of the interior, and persons acquainted only with them often use these letters to represent the same sounds that they do in the English words. To avoid confusion, I have followed for all the dialects the rules of spelling adopted by the translators of the Kaffir Bible.

place would be taken by their masters. The choicest portions of all the wild animals they kill and all the peltries are appropriated by their lords. Garbage, such as the poorest European would turn from with loathing would be to them a luxury. Yet they thrive and multiply, and, when a favourable opportunity occurs, can emerge from this condition, make gardens, breed cattle, and inflict upon other tribes the evils they have themselves undergone.

At the beginning of the present century the great range of mountains which forms the eastern rim of the central basin of South Africa was a dividing line between two sections of Bantu that have many characteristics in common, but between whom there are some remarkable differences. The section on the outer side of the rim, and occupying the lower terraces¹ between it and the sea, comprised the following tribes:—

1. The Amaxosa, bordering on the Cape Colony, and inhabiting the district between the Great Fish and Bashee rivers. This tribe was the advance guard of the Bantu race, and was in contact on the south and west with Europeans and Hottentots.
2. The Abatembu, occupying the district between the Bashee and Umtata rivers.
3. The Amampondomisi.
4. The Amampondo.
5. The Amaxesibe.
6. A number of tribes—the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Amahlubi, the Abasekunene, and many others of less importance—occupying the territory that is now the Colony of Natal. The Amamfengu or Fingos of the present day are descendants of these people.
7. The Amabaca, who also occupied at that time a portion of Natal, and whose descendants are now to be found in Griqualand East.

¹ Until this century was well advanced the greater part of the highest terrace, or that adjoining the Drakensberg, was almost uninhabited except by Bushmen. The coast tribes fancied that it was too cold for them in the winter months; and the mountain tribes, who were accustomed to a much severer climate, had never been so pressed for space on the inner side as to necessitate a surplus population crossing the barrier.

8. The Amangwane.

9. The various tribes that were welded together by Tshaka and have since formed the Amazulu or Zulus. With these must be included the Matabele, who under Umsilikazi migrated into the interior, and are now to be found near the Zambezi.

10. The Amaswazi.

Beyond these, or from Delagoa Bay northwards, the coast region was thickly populated, but the tribes there were too remote to need mention in connection with the subject of these chapters.

This group, from the Amaxosa to the Amaswazi, may conveniently be called the Coast Tribes of Southern Africa. Most of them derive their titles from the name of their first great chief or founder, thus the Amaxosa are they of Xosa, the Abatembu they of Tembu, the Amaswazi they of Swazi. A few are called after some peculiarity of the people; but in such cases the titles appear to have been originally nicknames given by strangers, and afterwards adopted by the members of the tribe. The Amamfengu (the Wanderers) of our own times present an instance of this manner of acquiring a title.

On the other side of the great mountain range which, at a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles, runs nearly parallel with the margin of the Indian Ocean, the most advanced tribe on the south was the Baphuti, whose origin will presently be told. They were thinly scattered over the district stretching southward from Thaba Bosigo to the Orange River.

Next came a group of five tribes terming themselves the Mayiane, the Makhoakhoa, the Bamonageng, the Batlakoana and the Baramokhele. They spoke the same dialect, and claimed a descent from common ancestors, which, however, they could not trace: but politically each was independent of the others, except when accident or the abilities of some chief gave supremacy for a time to a particular ruler among them. They occupied the valley of the Caledon from about the parallel of Thaba Bosigo northwards. It will be well to regard them with particular attention, for their descendants form the nucleus of the present Basuto tribe.

Adjoining them to the north, and occupying the country along the banks of the Sand River, was a tribe named the Bataung, the members of which could not be distinguished by any custom or peculiarity of dialect from the five tribes, but which had never yet in its traditional history been politically connected with them.

Along the southern bank of the Vaal, between the district occupied by the Bataung and the Drakensberg, were various clans of kindred blood, the remnants of which are now to be found intermingled with the Basuto. It is unnecessary to give their titles, as their individuality has been completely lost, and none of them have ever taken an important part in events since Europeans became acquainted with the country.

To the north-east at no great distance was a tribe known as the Batlokua, celebrated among their neighbours as skilful workers in iron and traders in implements made of that metal. They occupied the country along the slopes of the Kathlamba, about the sources of the Wilge and Mill rivers, in the present district of Harrismith. Closely allied with the Batlokua and mixed up with them by intermarriages were the Basia, whose villages were built along the Elands River. Mokotsho, chief of the Batlokua, about the beginning of the century took as his great wife Monyalwe, daughter of Mothage, chief of the Basia. Their eldest child was a daughter, Ntatisi, after whose birth Monyalwe, according to custom, was called Ma Ntatisi, a name which subsequently acquired great notoriety. Their second child was a son, Sikonyela, who will frequently be met with in these pages.

There is no necessity to enumerate the tribes that then occupied the inland mountain slopes further to the northward, for they will not appear in the course of this history.

The group here mentioned, consisting of the Baphuti, the Mayiane, the Makhoakhoa, the Bamonageng, the Batlakoana, the Baramokhele, the Bataung, the Basia, and the Batlokua, may for convenience sake be termed the Basuto or the Mountain Tribes of Southern Africa.

The country which they inhabited is to South Africa what Switzerland is to Europe. It lies along the inner slope of the

highest portion of the Drakensberg, and the lowest point of it is more than five thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is almost destitute of trees, but is covered with good pasturage, and its valleys, especially those drained by the streamlets that feed the Caledon, contain excellent soil for agriculture. During the winter months, or from May to August, the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow, and in summer violent thunder storms pass over the country and cause it to produce food in abundance for man and beast. The land along the head waters of the numerous streams that flow into the Vaal is thus capable of supporting a very dense population, as is also the narrow belt between the Caledon and the Maluti range, but eastward of that chain the surface is so rugged that it is considered to be uninhabitable. In summer, however, it is used as grazing ground for horned cattle, which are then driven up from the villages in great herds.

Parts of this territory have been made by nature almost impregnable. Isolated mountains abound, some of them with their sides of naked rock so nearly perpendicular that the summits are only accessible by two or three narrow paths between overhanging cliffs, where half a dozen resolute men can keep an army at bay. The tops of such mountains are table lands well watered and affording good pasturage, so that they can be held for an indefinite time.

The western limits of the Mountain Tribes were not defined in any other way than that the people, being agriculturists, spread themselves out no further than they could make gardens, which they could not do on the great plains of the present Orange Free State. Over those plains roamed Bushmen preying upon the countless antelopes, and Koranas with their herds of horned cattle and flocks of sheep.

Some ninety or a hundred miles north-west of the last kraals of the Mountain Tribes, the outlying villages of a third section of the Bantu race were to be found. The most southerly tribe in this direction was the Batlapin, who were, however, not pure Bantu, for in their veins was a mixture of Korana blood. Next to the northward were the Barolong, a tribe that will frequently appear in these pages. Beyond the

Barolong were the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketsi, the Bakwena, and many others whose titles need not be mentioned. This group may be termed the Betshuana or the Central Tribes of Southern Africa, as the territory which they occupied is about midway between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. West of them lay the great Kalahari Desert. Between them and the Mountain Tribes was an arid plain, not so formidable a barrier, however, as that separating the Mountain Tribes from those of the Coast.

There is less difference between the last two groups here described than between the first two, though the customs of the Mountain Tribes are, in many respects, like their geographical position, intermediate between the others. They speak three dialects of a common language, but while a Mosuto,¹ for instance, and a Morolong understand each other without difficulty, a Mosuto and a Zulu cannot converse together.

The Basuto and Betshuana have several methods of distinguishing the different tribes from each other. One is by a title derived from their founder, by giving his name a plural form, as Barolong from Morolong, Baramokhele from the father of Mokhele. Another is derived from the name of the place where the tribe originally lived. A third is from some peculiarity of the people. A fourth is by giving a plural form to the name of the animal which the tribe holds in fear or reverence. Thus the Bakwena are they of the crocodile, the Bataung they of the lion, the Baphuti they of the little blue antelope. Each original tribe had its own *siboko*, or object of veneration, which it "danced to," but did not actually worship. The members of the tribe would on no account harm the animal thus venerated, and took great trouble to avoid even

¹ Explanation of terms:—

MOSUTO, a single individual of the tribe.

BASUTO, two or more individuals or the tribe collectively.

SESUTO, the language of the Basuto. The Basuto use the word also to denote characteristic customs.

LESUTO, the country belonging to the tribe.

BASUTO, used by Europeans, also as an adjective signifying pertaining to the people so called. A Mosuto would use the expression "of the Basuto."

So with MOROLONG, BAROLONG, SEROLONG, MOTLOKUA, BATLOKUA: &c., &c., &c.

coming in contact with it; though they had no respect for the animals held in regard by others. This method of distinguishing the tribes was the simplest and best at the beginning of the century, but owing to the extent to which they have since been broken up and reformed, it cannot now be exclusively followed.

The religion of the Bantu, which all of these tribes not only profess, but really regulate their conduct by, is based on the belief that the spirits of their ancestors interfere in their affairs. Some of them have a very dim conception of the existence of a supreme all-powerful being, but they offer no sacrifices to him, nor do they speculate upon his attributes or regard him as interesting himself in their troubles or their joys. Every man worships the spirits of his own ancestors, and offers sacrifices to avert their wrath when he deems that they are angry with him. The clan worships in the same way the spirits of the ancestors of its chief. Where all the clans which compose a tribe are under chiefs descended from a common ancestor, the bond of religion tends to keep them together. There is an individual recognised by them all as the tribal priest, who offers sacrifices on important occasions to the spirits of their dead chiefs, and who exercises enormous influence over every member of the tribe.

But this powerful element of union is wanting when a tribe is composed of clans of different origin, unless time and favourable circumstances have welded them together. The religion of the people is of the same nature, but the object of propitiation is different. The influence of the individual who offers the sacrifices does not extend beyond the clans whose chiefs are descendants of one family. There are in fact as many such individuals as there are ruling families whose relationship cannot be traced. The alien clan consults only temporal interests, and is not prevented by religious scruples from rebelling against its paramount chief. A tribe so constituted may be kept together by the nominal head preserving a balance of power among the sections, but it has little military strength.

The Bantu have no definite idea of the mode of existence of their deities, but the southern tribes suppose them to inhabit

dim underground caverns. They regard the unseen world in which they believe with unmingled dread, and drive reflection concerning it from their thoughts whenever it is possible to do so. Before their intercourse with white men it had never struck them that the acts of this life could have any effect upon the spirit after death. They are in no sense an imaginative or speculative people, but direct their entire attention to such material objects as immediately affect their welfare.

In such a condition, progress towards a higher kind of life, unless directed by some external agency, is nearly impossible. In other words, self-development must be a very slow process, if it can be accomplished at all. For, first, their greatest dread is that of offending the spirits of their ancestors, and they hold that any departure from established customs will assuredly do this, and therefore bring evil upon them. Next, their belief in witchcraft is opposed to progress of any kind. For a man who is not a chief, and who differs from his fellows by being mentally in advance of them, inevitably draws suspicion upon himself of being a wizard, and, where there is no foreign controlling power, surely falls a victim to their fury.

The belief in witchcraft is to this day the cause of a terrible amount of suffering among the tribes that are independent. All events that cannot be readily comprehended—sickness in man, murrain in cattle, blight in crops, even casual accidents—are by them attributed to the agency of wizards and witches, and not the slightest compassion is felt for any unfortunate wretch whom the recognised witchfinder of the community points out as guilty. Confiscation of property, torture, death, are the penalties of being charged with this ideal offence. It is believed that one man can bewitch another by means of any such thing as a few hairs from his head, a clipping of a finger nail, a piece of clothing, or indeed anything whatever that belongs to him, or can be brought into contact with him, or can be concealed in or about his hut. Occasional cases of real poisoning undoubtedly occur, and each such case is additional proof to them that their belief is correct.

They have strong faith in the power of charms to turn aside evils, believe in the efficacy of certain medicines to give them

courage or to make them invulnerable in battle, divine the issue of warlike operations by revolting cruelties practised on animals, have an intense fear of meeting with ghosts, and a firm belief in the existence of malevolent water spirits. All this is common to the different sections of the Bantu in Southern Africa, but in some respects the Mountain Tribes are even more superstitious than those of the coast. The former are actually guided in half their actions by the position in which some bones of the character of dice fall when they are thrown.

Deep in the minds of these people is the germ of a belief in the transmigration of souls. A species of snake is regarded by them with great reverence, because they suppose that the spirits of their ancestors sometimes visit them in that form. A man will leave his hut in possession of such a snake, if it should enter, and every one would shudder at the thought of hurting it. This belief is more highly developed among the Coast Tribes than among those of the Interior, but traces of it are to be found everywhere among the Southern Bantu.

All of these tribes, when first encountered by Europeans, were acquainted with the use of iron, which they smelted for themselves, and of which they made implements of war and husbandry. The occupation of the worker in this metal was hereditary in certain families, and was carried on with a good deal of mystery, the common belief being that it was necessary to employ certain charms unknown to those not initiated. But the arts of the founder and blacksmith had not advanced with them beyond the most elementary stage. They made clumsy hoes for turning up the ground, but instead of an opening for a handle, these were provided with a spike which was driven into a hole burnt through the knob of a heavy piece of wood. The assagai was common to all, and in addition the Mountain Tribes made crescent-shaped battle-axes, which were fastened to handles in the same manner as the hoes. On these implements of war they bestowed all their skill, and really produced articles almost as neatly finished as a European workman could have made them. They worked the metal cold, and were unable to weld two pieces together.

In manufactures of wood they displayed about the same ability. Out of a single block they would carve, with the aid of fire, such an article as a spoon or a heavy knobbed stick, and by dint of time and patience could cut out on it fairly executed images of animals; but the construction of a box, or anything that would require more than one piece of wood, was entirely beyond them.

Of the use of stone for building purposes, the Coast Tribes knew nothing, and the Mountain Tribes very little. None of them had ever dressed a block, but the cattle folds, which, along the coast, where wood was plentiful, were constructed of branches of trees, in the mountains were made of round stones roughly laid together to form a wall. The quern, or handmill for grinding corn, which was in common use, consisted of undressed stones, one flat and the other round or oval.

All had great skill in dressing the skins of animals, of which their scanty clothing was composed. The Interior Tribes excelled in this art, and equalled, if they did not surpass, the neatest European furriers in making robes, which they stitched with sinews by the help of an awl. They manufactured strong earthenware pots, plain rush mats, and serviceable baskets. The Coast Tribes preserved their grain in pits excavated beneath cattle folds, but the Mountain Tribes used for this purpose enormous baskets, which were perfectly watertight, and which could be exposed to the air without damage to their contents.

The people of all the tribes are inheritors of a system of common law admirably adapted to the circumstances in which they live. It has come down to them from a period so remote that its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity. Not only its salient points, but its minutest details, have been transmitted from generation to generation by means of the care taken by certain individuals in every clan to make themselves acquainted with it, the custom of all trials being held in open court, the perfect freedom of speech which every individual enjoys, the habit of always deciding cases according to precedent, and the conservatism of the people, who would not permit a change from the customs of their ancestors.

This common law is adapted to people in a rude state of society. It holds every one accused of crime guilty, unless he can prove himself innocent, it makes the head of a family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the village collectively in the same manner for each resident in it, and the clan for each of its villages. There is no such thing under it as a man professing not to know anything about his neighbour's doings; the law requires him to know all about them, or it makes him suffer for neglecting a duty which it holds he owes to the community. Every individual is not only in theory but in practice a policeman.

In some respects it is cruel. The most serious offence under it is dealing in witchcraft, and it allows the use of torture to force confession from a person charged with the commission of this crime. Its punishments are, in rare cases (treason, acts involving the tribe in war, &c.) death; in ordinary cases (murder, theft, assault, &c.) fines, varying from a single head of cattle to everything a man possesses. Many offences that in a European code would be classed as criminal are by it regarded as civil only, and the comparative magnitude of crimes differs considerably from the standard we have adopted. In the case of chiefs doing wrong, the law is often impotent, for these privileged individuals act as if they are above it, and are sometimes so regarded by the commonalty.

The system of land tenure is a very good one, for it allows individuals to have private rights in as much ground as they can make use of, and leaves all that is not cultivated or built upon in possession of the public. The great chief of each tribe is in theory the owner of the whole of the territory pertaining to his subjects. He holds it for the benefit of the tribe, and draws no revenue whatever from it. He can permit a foreign community to reside upon any unoccupied portion of it, but this permission holds good only for his own life, and his successor may require such a community to leave without any one feeling that he is acting unjustly. The great chief can only alienate ground permanently with the consent of the whole of his councillors and of the leading men.

The sub-chiefs of a tribe or the heads of the different clans

of which it is composed, have no other power over the ground in their respective districts than the right of allotting gardens to such of their people as need them. Each family has its own recognised garden, which it retains without interference as long as the ground is kept in cultivation, but it cannot be sold, nor can it be even lent to another without the consent of the chief of the clan. Footpaths are everywhere free to all. The pasture lands are common property, but certain portions are marked out by the chief for use in winter only, and any one permitting cattle to graze there at other seasons is liable to punishment. In this way pauperism and the acquisition by individuals of unduly large areas of land are alike prevented.

It is no uncommon occurrence for small and weak tribes, or fragments of tribes, to seek protection from some powerful ruler, and to have a tract of country assigned to their use within his domains. They give in such cases a few head of cattle as a mark of recognition of their subjection and of his sovereignty. Such clans are viewed as vassals, their chiefs possessing indeed full power of government of their own adherents, but bound to acknowledge the head of the tribe from whom they hold their land as their superior in all matters affecting the combined communities.

In comparing the Central and the Mountain with the Coast tribes when Europeans first came in contact with them, the former are found to have attained a somewhat higher degree of perfection in such handicrafts as were practised by them all. Their government was less despotic, for matters of public importance were commonly submitted to the decision of a general assembly of the leading men. The males were found aiding the females in agriculture, though the hardest and most constant labour was by them also left to the women. Their habitations were vastly superior. The house of a Motshuana had perpendicular walls, and consisted of a central circular room, with three or four apartments outside, each being a segment of a circle. It was surrounded with an enclosed courtyard, and was, with the exception of being destitute of chimney or window, as capacious and comfortable as the

cottage of an ordinary European peasant. The hut of a native of the coast region was a single circular room, covered by a low dome of thatched wickerwork, and no effort was made to secure the slightest privacy. Midway in convenience between these was the hut of a resident in the mountain land.

But with these exceptions, all comparisons between the tribes must be favourable to those of the coast. The Bantu of the interior are smaller in stature and much less handsome in appearance than the splendidly formed men who live on the terraces between the Drakensberg and the sea. In all that is comprised in the word manliness they are vastly inferior.

Truth is not a virtue that one who knows what savage life is would expect to find in any Bantu tribe. The late Mr. J. C. Warner, in his day one of the ablest officials in the Native Department of the Cape Government, a man who had been for years a mission teacher, and who was selected for an important office solely on account of his devotion to the work of improving the Tembus among whom he was living, in a report to the Colonial Secretary dated 13th November, 1867, tersely summed up the views of veracity entertained by the Coast Tribes. He wrote: "Falsehood is not even considered a disgrace. In fact, 'if a man could extricate himself from difficulties, escape punishment, or gain some other advantage by lying, and did not do so, he would be thought a fool.'" Instances, however, have not been rare of Zulu and Xosa chiefs making promises and adhering faithfully to them, but the word of the very best of the interior chiefs has always been found to be worth absolutely nothing.

The deceptive power of all these people is something wonderful to Europeans. But there is one member which the coast native cannot control, and while with a countenance otherwise devoid of expression he relates the grossest falsehood or the most tragic event, his lively eye betrays the passions he is feeling. When falsehood is brought home to him unanswerably, he casts his glances to the ground or around him, but does not meet the eye of the man he has been attempting to deceive. The native of the mountains and of the interior, on the contrary, seems to have no conception whatever of shame

attached to falsehood, and his comparatively listless eye is seldom allowed to betray him.

In 1868, when the country of the Basuto under Moshesh was annexed to the British Empire, Governor Sir Philip Wodehouse requested several highly competent officers to draw up papers for his use upon the customs of the people. The best of these papers is from the pen of the late Mr. John Austen, who was afterwards magistrate of the southern district of Basutoland. Mr. Austen had little education from books, but he was shrewd and observant, and had long experience to guide him. In his younger days he had been for ten years connected with mission work. Then as Superintendent he had kept order for fifteen years among the mixed clans in the Wittebergen Reserve (now the District of Herschel), where he had administered a rude but effective kind of justice. His knowledge of native customs, habits, thought, and motives of action, was very extensive indeed, as is shown by his reports, which almost invariably correctly forecast events. He drew his information from native sources, and thoroughly understood how to sift native evidence. In the Reserve he had been a trader as well as Superintendent, and though that employment was not justifiable so far as his magisterial duties were concerned, it gave him an additional standpoint for observation. With all this he had a good deal of kindly feeling and sympathy for the people among whom the greater portion of his life had been spent. Here is his description of the mountain chiefs in a paper carefully compiled for the information and guidance of the Government :—

“ The Basuto chiefs differ from the frontier Kaffir chiefs only in deceit and plausibility. There is not that manliness of character so often met with amongst Kaffir chiefs. They are either most arrogant or abject, and have very little sense of honour, which virtue you will find to some extent among Kaffir chiefs. They are subject to the most degraded forms of superstition and (belief in) witchcraft, which applies to the tribe generally. I am not speaking of those under the influence of the missionaries, who are looked upon by the chiefs and their heathen followers as having lost caste and as

enemies of their tribe and the customs of their forefathers. The Basuto chiefs as a whole are much more morally degraded than the chiefs of any other tribes."

The above graphic paragraph is quoted because of the authority of the writer, and because it contains in a few words the substance of a large amount of trustworthy evidence that has not yet been published, all tending to show that in falsehood and plausibility the coast tribes are surpassed by those of the interior.

The native of the coast is brave in the field, as our forces have over and over again experienced: his inland kinsman is in general an arrant coward. The one is modest when speaking of his own exploits, the other is an intolerable boaster. The difference between them in this respect is very great, and is exemplified in many ways, but a single illustration will give an idea of it. Faku, son of Gungushe, chief of the Pondos, by no means the best specimen of a coast native, once wished to show his regard for Mr. Henry Fynn, who was then residing with him in the character of diplomatic agent of the Colonial Government. He brought him a hundred head of cattle and presented them with this expression, "You have no food to eat, and we desire to show you our wishes towards you, take this basket of corn from the children of Gungushe." An inland chief presents a half-starved old goat to his guest with the expression, "Behold an ox!"

There is a very important difference in their marriage customs. A native of the coast region will not marry a girl whose relationship by blood to himself can be traced, no matter how distantly connected they may be. So scrupulous is he in this respect that he will not marry even a girl who belongs to another tribe, if she has the same family name as himself, though the relationship cannot be traced. He regards himself as the protector of those females whom we would term his cousins and second cousins, but for whom he has only the same name as for the daughters of his own parents, the endearing name of sister. In his opinion union with one of them would be incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. The native of the mountains almost as a rule

marries the daughter of his father's brother. The sons of Moshesh, the present chiefs of Basutoland, are nearly all married to their own full cousins. It keeps wealth and power in the family, they say. There is nothing else in their customs, not even the fearful depravity which is yet to be mentioned, that creates such disgust as this intermarriage does in the minds of the coast natives. They attribute to it the insanity and idiocy which are prevalent in the mountains, and they say the Basuto deserve to have idiots for children, as their marriages are like the marriages of dogs.

The circumcision rites of the tribes are also different. On the coast there is nothing secret about the ceremony. The youths of a clan wait until a son of the chief is sixteen or seventeen years of age, when all are circumcised at the same time. The retainers are held to be bound by the very strongest ties to the young chief who is their associate on this occasion, and as a rule they are found through life always ready to do or to suffer anything and everything for him. This ceremony gives them the privileges of men. At its close they are lectured and instructed in their duties by their elders, their friends make them presents to start them in life, and as soon as convenient after it they conclude the marriages which their fathers or guardians have arranged.

With the mountain tribes, there are ceremonies by which the youths are formed into guilds or lodges with passwords. The members of these lodges are bound never to give evidence against one another. The rites of initiation are kept profoundly secret, but certain horrible customs performed on some of these occasions have become known. One of these customs is that of infusing courage, intelligence, and other qualities. Whenever an enemy who has acted bravely is killed, his liver, which is considered the seat of valour, his ears, which are considered the seat of intelligence, the skin of his forehead, which is considered the seat of perseverance, and other members, each of which is supposed to be the seat of some desirable quality, are cut from his body and baked to cinders. The ashes are carefully preserved in the horn of a bull, and during the circumcision ceremonies are mixed with other ingredients into a

kind of paste and administered by the tribal priest to the youths, the idea being that the virtues which they represent are communicated to those who swallow them. This practice, together with that of using other parts of the remains of their enemies for bewitching purposes, accounts for the mutilation of the bodies of those who fall into their hands in war, a practice which has more than once infuriated white men whose friends have been thus treated, and caused them to commit deeds from which they would otherwise have shrunk.

The corresponding ceremony through which young females pass, as practised by the coast tribes, might be deemed the most degrading rite that human beings have ever been subject to, if it were not known that among the mountain tribes it is even more vile. All that the most depraved imagination can devise to rouse the lowest passions of the young females is here practised. A description is impossible.

Chastity in married life can hardly be said to exist among the coast tribes. By custom every wife of a polygamist has a lover, and no woman sinks in the esteem of her companions on this becoming publicly known. The law allows the husband a fine from the male offender and permits him to chastise the woman, provided he does not maim her, but in the opinion of the females the offence is venial and is not attended with disgrace. Favoured guests have female companions, who are, however, generally widows, allotted to them. Still chastity has a value in the estimation of the men as is proved by the care with which the harems of a few of the most powerful chiefs are guarded. It might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral than this, but in point of fact a Zulu or Xosa village is a scene of purity when compared with the kraal of a mountain chief. Here is a description taken from a paper drawn up by the Rev. E. S. Rolland in 1868 for the information and use of Sir Philip Wodehouse. Mr. Rolland was born and brought up in Basutoland, was strongly attached to the Basuto Tribe, and there was no man living more competent to describe the manners of the people. He wrote:

"The possession of a large number of women is a great

source of wealth and influence to a Basuto chief. Each wife or concubine has her own hut and establishment, and enriches her husband by the produce of her gardens and labour, and by her children, the boys being servants and cattle herds, and the girls being available for sale. A polygamist is thus able, from the abundance of food which he possesses, to exercise hospitality to a great extent, without any expense; and as a visitor or faithful retainer is entertained not merely with food and lodging, but also by the loan of a wife during his stay, he is induced to come often and to remain long, all the while tendering his services in return for the benefits he enjoys, and which are of a nature to be highly appreciated by a sensual and barbarous people. The chief also secures the services and adherence of many young men who are too poor to purchase wives, by bestowing one of his own concubines upon them either temporarily or permanently. In either case the children belong to the chief, who is considered as the nominal father and owner. On account of the number of wives and the abundance of food at the kraal of a wealthy chief, he cannot fail to assemble around him a number of retainers. The feasts and dances which are constantly going on furnish an ever-recurring opportunity for sensual indulgence."

Another revolting custom of the mountain tribes is that of polyandrous marriages. A man who has not the requisite number of cattle to procure a wife, and whose father is too poor to help him, goes to a wealthy chief and obtains assistance from him on condition of having joint marital rights.

By all the tribes polygamy is practised. Marriage is an arrangement, without any religious ceremony, by which in return for a girl, cattle are transferred to her relatives by the husband or his friends. It does not make of a woman a slave who can be sold from hand to hand, nor does it give her husband power to maim her. In its best aspect this method of marriage is a protection to a woman against ill usage. If her husband maims her, or treats her with undue severity, she can return to her father or guardian, who is allowed in such cases to retain both the woman and the cattle. In its worst aspect it permits a father or guardian to give a girl in

marriage to the man who offers most for her, without the slightest reference to her inclinations, and with a certainty that she is being consigned to what elsewhere would be termed a life of infamy.

To this day the position of more than nine-tenths of the females of the southern Bantu Tribes is such as is here described, but it is not so easy now as it was sixty or seventy years ago for a stranger to become acquainted with the worst features of the system under which they live. Through contact with Europeans they have come to know that we look with loathing upon many of their habits; and in the desire to stand well with strangers, which even the lowest share, they are careful to conceal all that is most offensive in our eyes. The teaching of missionaries has elevated a small section of the people very greatly above the general mass, though the morals of the majority of the converts may still seem low when compared with a European standard. It is this section that strangers are most likely to come into contact with and form their impressions from, and by their departure from the rules which the missionaries have established is studiously concealed.

The most prominent virtue of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa is devotion to their chiefs. Unquestionably, this devotion retards their civilisation, unquestionably also it has caused enormous loss of blood and money to Europeans in this country, nevertheless it is a virtue in them. It is the bond that holds society together. Its strength consists in its being of a religious as well as a political nature. To offend the spirits of the dead chiefs by rebellion against their representative is something that a tribesman will hardly dare to do, so that a chief who has no rivals in his own family will be obeyed implicitly. Among the coast tribes this feeling of devotion to the chief is perhaps not stronger than it is in the mountains, though, owing to their more manly character, it is usually more prominently exhibited.

Another noticeable feature is their hospitality to equals and superiors. To so great an extent is this carried that it may almost be said that food is common property. They have two

meals in the day, the principal one being at sunset. Anyone passing by at that time, friend or stranger, provided only that he is not inferior in rank, sits down without invitation or ceremony and shares in the meal. In most villages there is a hut set apart specially for the accommodation of strangers, though it is usually in a dilapidated state, owing to its being the business of the community and not of any particular person to keep it in repair.

Whether these people as a whole are capable of rising to as high a stage of civilisation as Europeans have attained is as yet doubtful. In the mission schools children of early age are found equal in power of intellect to those of European parentage. In many respects, indeed, they are the higher of the two. Deprived of all extraneous aid, a Bantu child is unquestionably able to devise means for supporting life at a much earlier age than a European child. But while the European youth is still developing his powers, the Bantu youth is in most instances found unable to make further progress. His intellect has become sluggish, and he exhibits a decided repugnance, if not an incapacity, to learn anything more. The growth of his mind, which at first promised so much, has ceased just at that stage when the mind of the European begins to display the greatest vigour.

For nearly three-fourths of a century the agents of numerous missionary societies have been labouring zealously among them, and large sums of money have been expended in efforts to educate them, but the great mass of the population at the present day exhibits very few signs of mental improvement. Ploughs, axes, woollen blankets, and several other articles of European manufacture have come into general use, and there has been a ready adoption of European weapons of war, but as far back as can be traced, no individual among the Bantu of South Africa has invented or improved a useful implement. The desire of at least nine-tenths of them is to live as their remote ancestors lived, and if it were possible to accomplish this, they would cheerfully renounce the use of all the products of European skill.

But while the great body of the southern Bantu remains

mentally unimproved, numerous individuals have emerged from the mass, and have shown abilities of no mean order. A score of preachers might be named equal to the average European in the kind of intellect required in their calling. Masters of primary schools, clerks, and interpreters, many of whom are as well qualified for their duties as the white men who usually fill such situations, are to be met by hundreds. As agents in courts of law, many of them would undoubtedly equal Europeans; but, practically, this sphere of occupation has not hitherto been open to them, and their best friends do not desire that it should be. One individual of this race has translated Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" into the dialect of the Xosa tribe, and the translation is as faithful as any that have been made in the languages of Continental Europe. Another has composed plaintive music, such as the converts at the mission stations love to sing, for a considerable number of hymns and songs in the same dialect. As mechanics they do not succeed so well. A few among the many who are trained in the different industrial institutions continue for some years to labour as blacksmiths, carpenters, typesetters, &c.; but they are, almost without exception, very far inferior to European workmen, and generally abandon such occupations after a short trial. It is evident that it will need a training of more than one or two generations before they acquire habits of settled industry. They take little or no pride in doing what falls to them in a proper manner, and are therefore unable to compete with white men.

The Bantu of South Africa are probably the most prolific people on the face of the earth. Their actual rate of increase cannot be given, because no census has yet been taken, except in small localities; but it is certain that they have more than trebled in number within the last half century. All the females are married at an early age, very few women are childless, and in most of the tribes provision is even made by custom for widows to add to the families of their deceased husbands.¹

¹ For such statistics as are available, and the substance of the replies of magistrates, missionaries, and others throughout South Africa, to a circular on this question from the Native Affairs Department, see the paper on the increase of the native population in the Cape Colonial Bluebook on Native Affairs for 1886.

The foregoing brief description of these people is necessary to give the reader sufficient knowledge of their characteristics to understand the following chapters. A full account of their government, language, religion, traditions, manners, customs, and laws, would fill several volumes. The most complete information concerning them is to be found in still unpublished manuscripts in the different Government offices in Cape Town, but printed works upon the subject are plentiful and obtainable without difficulty. For the guidance of those who may desire to consult such works, a list is here given:—

"De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika, Natuur-en Geschiedkundig beschreven." Door Lodewyk Alberti, voormaals Landdrost van het Distrikt Uitenhage. One volume octavo, Amsterdam, 1810.

"Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa." By William J. Burchell. Two volumes quarto, London, 1822 and 1824. This admirable and trustworthy work is profusely illustrated with coloured plates and woodcuts equal in accuracy to photographs.

"Travels and Researches in Caffraria: describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the Tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa; with Historical and Topographical Remarks illustrative of the state and prospects of the British Settlement on its Borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilization." By the Rev. Stephen Kay. One volume crown octavo, London, 1833.

"Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa." By Andrew Steedman. Two volumes octavo, London, 1835.

"The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country." By the Rev. Joseph Shooter, formerly of Albert, Natal. One volume octavo, London, 1857.

"Caffres and Caffre Missions: with Preliminary Chapters on the Cape Colony as a Field for Emigration and Basis of Missionary Operation." By the Rev. H. Calderwood. One volume crown octavo, London, 1858.

"The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa: comprising some Account of the European Colonists with Notices of the Kaffir and other Native Tribes." By the Rev. William Shaw. One volume crown octavo, London, 1860.

"The Basutos: or Twenty-Three Years in South Africa." By the Rev. E. Casalis. One volume crown octavo, London, 1861.

"A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa." By the Rev. Dr. Livingstone. One volume crown octavo, London, 1861.

"A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs." Compiled by

direction of Colonel Maclean, Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria. An octavo volume of 164 pages, Cape Town, 1866.

"The Past and Future of the Kafir Races." By the Rev. William C. Holden. One volume octavo, London, 1866.

"Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus, in their own words, with a Translation into English, and Notes." By the Rev. Canon Callaway, M.D. One volume octavo, Springvale, Natal, 1868.

"Kafir Folklore, or a Selection from the Traditional Tales current among the People living on the Eastern Border of the Cape Colony." By George McCall Theal. One volume octavo, London, 1882 *Second Edition*, 1885.

"Proceedings of, and Evidence taken by, the Commission on Native Affairs." A Government Bluebook printed at Graham's Town in 1865.

"Report and Evidence of Commission on Native Laws and Customs of the Basutos." A Bluebook printed at Cape Town in 1873 by order of the House of Assembly.

"Report and Proceedings, with Appendices, of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs." A Bluebook printed at Cape Town in 1883.

"Annual Bluebooks on Native Affairs since 1874," being reports of officers of the Cape Government throughout the native territories.

Numerous Grammars and Dictionaries in the different dialects, the work of missionaries of various denominations and nationalities.

And a large number of books, the titles of which will be given in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Tshaka—Dingiswayo—Tshaka's Military Organization and Rule—Gubela—Bungane—Ravages of the Batlokua and Makololo—Devastation of the Mountain Tribes—Moshesh—Umsilikazi—The Matabele—The Missionaries and their Operations—Establishment of the French Mission in the Lesuto—Bothulic—The Barolong Tribe—Tao—Foundation of the London Society's Station of Kuruman—The Bangwaketsi—Ravages of Moselokatse—The Barolong and the Wesleyan Missionaries—Other Natives—Wesleyan Missionary Settlements—Increase in the Population of the Lesuto—Beersheba—Additional Works of Reference.

ABOUT the year 1783, or perhaps a little later, one of the inferior wives of Senzangakona, chief of a tribe living on the banks of the river Umvolosi, gave birth to a son who was destined to tower high in fame above all his contemporaries. The boy who had come into the world was Tshaka, the terrible Zulu conqueror of later years. At the time of his birth the Zulu tribe was small and without influence. It was not even independent, as it was tributary to the Abatetwa. The only reputation the Zulus had then acquired was that of being keen traffickers, expert pedlars of such wares as constituted the basis of commerce in South-Eastern Africa.

Tshaka grew up to be in person one of the handsomest of the splendidly formed men that composed his tribe. In all the feats of agility in which the youths of his people take so much delight he was unequalled, if native traditions are to be believed. At that time white men had no intercourse with any of the Coast Tribes beyond the Amaxosa, and our knowledge of Tshaka's early life is therefore drawn entirely from native sources. But from 1824 to the date of his death he was frequently visited by Europeans. Among these, Messrs. F. G. Farewell, J. S. King, H. F. Fynn, and Nathaniel Isaacs have given accounts of him, and they all describe him in similar terms. In 1825 Mr. King wrote of him as "upwards of six feet in height and well proportioned, the best pedestrian in the country, and exhibiting in his exercises the most astonishing activity." He appeared then to be about thirty-six years of age, but he must have been several years older.

While Tshaka was still quite a youth he excited the jealousy of his father, and was compelled to flee for his life. He took refuge with Dingiswayo, chief of the Abatetwa, his father's feudal lord. This Dingiswayo was a man who had gone through some curious adventures, and had seen some strange vicissitudes of fortune. In his younger days he had been suspected of treasonable designs against his father Jobe, and only escaped death by the devotion of one of his sisters. With her aid he managed to get away from the executioners who were sent to kill him, and then for many years he was lost sight of by his people. They believed him to be dead, instead of which he was wandering from tribe to tribe until at length he reached the border of the Cape Colony. While he was there a military expedition was sent to the frontier, either the small one sent by Lord Macartney to the village of Graaff-Reinet in 1797, or the much larger one sent by General Dundas in 1799. If it was the latter, the chief topic of conversation among the Amaxosa would certainly be the engagement between General Vandeleur's forces and Cungwa's clan, in which a few trained soldiers drove back a large body of natives and inflicted upon them tremendous loss. At any rate Dingiswayo came to hear something about the European military system, and he reflected a good deal upon what he heard.

Prior to this date the method of conducting war by all the South African tribes was very simple but not very effective. The chiefs led their followers and were obeyed by them, but the army was really an undisciplined mob. It was divided into two bands, the veterans who wore plumes, and the young men whose heads were bare. Each warrior was trained from early youth to the use of his weapons, but was never drilled to act in concert with his fellows or to perform the simplest military evolution. A campaign was a sudden swoop upon the enemy, and seldom lasted longer than a few days.

While Dingiswayo was gathering information his father Jobe died, and the Abatetwa, believing that the rightful heir had perished, raised the next in succession to be their chief. But by some means the wanderer came to hear of his father's death, and sent word to the tribe that he intended to return. The

message was followed by news of his approach, and it was announced that he was mounted on an animal of wonderful strength, beauty, and speed. The Abatetwa had not yet seen a horse, so that the eclat of their lost chief's return was considerably heightened by his making his appearance on the strange animal. There was no doubt as to his identity, and he was received with rapture by the majority of his late father's subjects. His brother made a feeble resistance, but was easily overcome and put to death.

Dingiswayo now set about turning the information he had gained to some account. He formed his men into regiments, and appointed officers of various grades to command them. When this was accomplished he made war upon his neighbours, but was satisfied with conquest, for though ambitious he was not particularly cruel.

Such was the chief under whose protection Tshaka placed himself. The Zulu refugee became a soldier in one of Dingiswayo's regiments, from which position he raised himself by courage and ability to a situation of command.

When Senzangakona died the Zulus feared to acknowledge his legitimate heir as his successor, as by doing so they might displease their paramount lord. They therefore applied to Dingiswayo, who, trusting to the fidelity of Tshaka, nominated him to the vacant chieftainship. As long as Dingiswayo lived, Tshaka and he worked harmoniously together. But at length, in a skirmish with a tribe which he had made war upon, the chief of the Abatetwa was made prisoner, and was put to death by his captor.

The army then did what armies in such circumstances are prone to do: it raised its favourite general to supreme power. Tshaka now conceived schemes of conquest on a vast scale, and devised a much more perfect system of organization and discipline than had before existed. The males of the united tribes with their vassals that acknowledged his sway were divided into regiments, each of which had its own kraal or portion of a kraal when several were stationed together. The soldiers were not permitted to marry without the consent of the chief, and this was only given to a regiment after long and meri-

torious services. The regiments were distinguished from each other by the pattern and colour of their shields, and a spirit of emulation between them was encouraged and kept up by various devices.

As soon as a youth was fit to bear a shield he was required to join the army, and thereafter he had no companions but soldiers until the chief's permission to marry was obtained by his regiment. The practice of circumcision was abolished, as being useless now that another mark of manhood had taken its place. The army was provided with food mainly from the herds captured in war, and the female portion of the community furnished what grain was needed. Constant drilling, reviews, and mock fights occupied the time of the soldiers when they were not engaged in actual war.

The weapon previously in use was the assagai, or light javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance. Tshaka substituted for it a heavy short-handled spear. The warrior who returned from battle without his weapon forfeited his life. To protect his person, he carried an enormous shield of stout ox-hide, upon which he received the assagais hurled against him.

The world has probably never seen men trained to more perfect obedience. The army became a vast machine, entirely under command of its head. There was no questioning, no delay, when an order was issued, for to presume upon either was to court instant death. Most extraordinary tasks were sometimes required of a regiment to prove its efficiency in this respect. At a review an order would sometimes be given which meant death to hundreds, and the jealousy between the regiments was so great that if one hesitated for a moment the others were ready to cut it down.

When attacking an enemy, the army was drawn up in two divisions. The division in advance was in the form of a crescent, the ends of which were termed the horns, the centre being known as the breast. The rear division was the reserve. Its formation was that of a square or parallelogram, and its place was behind the breast, as the best position from which to strengthen any weak point.

With an army of forty or fifty thousand men thus highly disciplined, Tshaka commenced a series of wars which did not terminate until between Delagoa Bay and the Umzimvubu River there was no tribe left to withstand him. He was not satisfied with mere conquest, in his opinion an enemy was not subdued unless it was exterminated. His soldiers were ordered utterly to destroy the people they marched against, to kill all the old and all the children of both sexes, to reserve none but a few lads to be their carriers and the comeliest girls who were to be brought to him. These orders were literally carried out. The tribes passed out of sight, and the country beyond the Zulu military kraals became a desert. A few only of the neighbouring clans saved themselves by begging to be incorporated with the Zulu power, and conforming in all respects to the Zulu system.

Tshaka governed his people with such cruelty as is hardly comprehensible by Europeans. Every one who displeased him in any way was put to death. All who approached him did so unarmed and in a crouching posture. He never admitted any woman to the rank of wife, though at his various places of residence over twelve hundred females were maintained. His custom was to distribute to his favourite officers such of these women as he no longer cared for, when their places were supplied by captives. To prevent rivalry by members of his own family, he suffered no son of his to live. And yet his people were devoted to him, so proud were they of the military fame which his genius had enabled them to acquire.

When Tshaka commenced his career, the lower terraces of the territory, that is now the Colony of Natal, were the most densely peopled districts of South Africa. The soil was rich, the water plentiful, the climate such as the coast natives love. If the tribes there had united for defence, they might have succeeded in holding their own, but combination in time of danger, apparently so natural, appears seldom to be resorted to by barbarians. Frequently, on account of some petty jealousy, they rejoice at the downfall of neighbours, and lack the foresight to see that their own turn will come next. It was so with the tribes of what is now Natal. One after

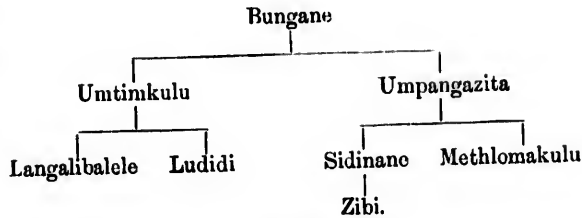
another they were attacked, and though several of them fought desperately, all were overpowered and ruined. Some instances of obstinate defence by isolated parties are still preserved in the memory of the aged, of which the following may serve as a specimen :

Umjoli, chief of the Abasekunene, had taken to wife a woman named Gubela, of the Amabele tribe. She was a person of most courageous disposition, and as her husband's character was just the reverse, she placed herself at the head of his warriors, and resolved to die rather than flee. For a long time she succeeded in defending herself and the portion of the tribe that adhered to her, for after her first achievements, she separated from her craven husband, and the people were divided between them. Her name soon grew so famous that a song was composed in her honour, two lines of which read as follows :—

At Gubela's they don't use bars to kraals,
But for gates make heaps of heads of men.

Valour, however, did not prevail, and in the end Gubela's people shared the fate of all the rest. Remnants of the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Abasekunene, the Amahlubi, and a few others of less note managed to escape by fleeing southward and taking refuge with the tribes on the border of the Cape Colony. Their descendants are the Fingos of the present day. The Amabaca, now living in Griqualand East, are descendants of the remains of another fugitive tribe. The only people left in the greater part of the present Colony of Natal were the remnants of a few clans who had adopted cannibalism as a means of existence.

One section of the Amahlubi demands particular notice. The original home of this tribe was the district between the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, where they were living in the year 1820. Their great chief at that time was named Bungane, and as from him some men have descended who have played an important part in South African history, a genealogical table of the family is here given.



The Amahlubi were not attacked directly by Tshaka's armies, but by Matiwane, chief of the Amangwane, who was himself endeavouring to escape from the Zulu spear. The Amahlubi were driven from their homes with dreadful slaughter, in which their great chief Bungane and his principal son Umtinkulu both perished. Some clans of the defeated tribe, as has been already stated, fled southward. One division, under Umpangazita, the second son of Bungane in rank, endeavoured to escape by crossing the mountains to the westward. An incident strikingly illustrative of savage life caused them to set their faces in this direction. Some fifteen or eighteen months previously a quarrel had taken place between Umpangazita and his brother-in-law Motsholi, who thereupon left the Hlubi country with two or three thousand followers, and took refuge with the Batlokua. The chief Mokotsho was then dead, and his widow, Ma Ntatisi, was acting as regent during the minority of her son Sikonyela.

Ma Ntatisi received Motsholi with hospitality, and for about a twelvemonth the intercourse between the Batlokua and the strangers was of a friendly nature. But Motsholi, when visiting Ma Ntatisi, would never partake of food presented to him, and was always accompanied by some of his own followers carrying provisions for his use. He assigned as a reason that what was offered to him was the food of the deceased Mokotsho, as if he would say that he suspected Ma Ntatisi of having caused Mokotsho's death by poison, and feared to eat what she prepared lest he might share the same fate. This came at length to be considered a gross insult by the regent and her people.

In the winter of 1821 Sikonyela, then about 16 or 17 years of age, was circumcised, when he determined to notify his entrance into the state of manhood by a deed becoming a warrior. With a band of youthful adherents he fell by stealth upon Motsholi, killed him and about twenty of his people, and drove off the cattle. The murdered chief wore a necklace without a fastening, and to obtain this Sikonyela cut off his head.

Some of the adherents of Motsholi fled to Umpangazita, and informed him of what had taken place. It was just then that the Amahlubi were compelled to leave their own country. Umpangazita thereupon resolved with *assagai* in hand to demand the restoration of the well-known necklace from the treacherous Batlokua, and to avenge the death of his brother-in-law while escaping from his own antagonist. It is owing to this circumstance that the natives accuse the Batlokua of being the cause of the wars of extermination west of the Drakensberg.

The Amahlubi were closely followed by the Amangwane, and so hot was the pursuit that the aged and feeble with thousands of helpless children were of necessity abandoned on the way, that the more vigorous might escape.¹ They crossed the Drakensberg and fell upon the Batlokua, who were dispersed and compelled to abandon all their possessions to their conquerors. The whole of the tribes living along the streams which flow into the Upper Vaal, were then driven from their homes. In one great horde they fled northward, and, crossing the Vaal, fell upon the inhabitants of the southern portion of the present South African Republic. Their principal leader was named Tshuane, but the one whose fame has been most widely spread was Ma Ntatisi, the chieftainess of the Batlokua. From her the whole horde, though composed of the remnants of numerous tribes, has ever since been known to European and native alike as the Mantati destroyers.

After crossing the river, the Mantatis turned to the northwest, and created awful havoc with every tribe in their line of

¹ I have collected a number of narratives of this event from individuals who took part in it. The clearest and best of these statements I published in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* for April 1877, under the title of *A Story of Native Wars, by an Aged Fingo*.

march. As each was overcome, its cattle and grain were devoured, and then the murderous host passed on to the next. Their strength was partly kept up by incorporating captives in the usual manner, but vast numbers of the invaders, especially of women and children, left their bones mingled with those of the people they destroyed. Twenty-eight distinct tribes are believed to have disappeared, leaving not so much as a trace of their former existence, before the Mantatis received a check. Then Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketsi, taking advantage of an opportunity when they were encamped in two divisions at a distance from each other, fell upon them unawares, defeated them, and compelled them to turn to the south.

In this direction, the Barolong lay in their route. These they dispersed and drove into the desert, and then they fell upon the Batlapin. They took possession of Lithako, the second Batlapin kraal in importance, and were about to march to Kuruman, when they were attacked by a body of Griquas under Andries Waterboer, Adam Kok, and Barend Barends 26th of June 1823. Being mounted and provided with firearms the Griquas easily secured a victory, without loss to themselves.¹ After this second defeat, the Mantati horde broke up into several sections.

One of these went northward, destroying the tribes in its course, and years afterwards was found by Dr. Livingstone on a branch of the Zambezi. It was then known as the Makololo, and its chief was the celebrated Sebetoane.

Another section returned to the Caledon, and under Ma Ntatisi and her son Sikonyela took an active part in the devastation of the country along that river. This branch of the Mantati horde will frequently be before us in these pages. The people composing it were of various clans, but henceforth they were all called Batlokua, as their chief was originally the head of the tribe of that name.

Some smaller bands wandered about destroying until they were themselves destroyed.

One band, a section of the Bataung, under the chief Molitsane,

¹ For full particulars of the engagement see Thompson's "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa," and Moffat's "Missionary Labours and Scenes."

moved up and down the wasted country for years. It will often appear again in these pages.

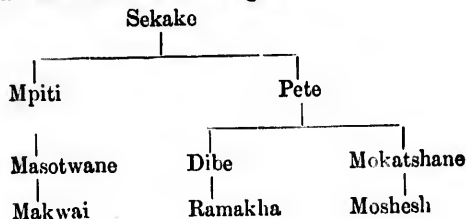
Excepting these and a clan of the Bataung under a chief named Makwana who managed to hide away for a time, the whole of the original Bantu inhabitants of the northern half of the present Free State passed out of existence.

After this, the Amahlubi and the Amangwane, still fighting with each other, fell upon the country occupied by the five tribes of the Mayiane, Makhoakhoa, Bamonageng, Batlakoana, and Baramokhela. At that moment, just when these tribes most needed an able head, there was not a single man of note among them. Motlomi, chief of the Bamonageng, whose name is still held in great veneration by the Basuto, had exercised paramount power over them all during his lifetime, but he had died in 1814 or 1815, and there was no one of sufficient ability to take his place. It was therefore not as one strong determined people that the five tribes met the torrent of invasion, but as little bands, each trying to hold its own, without a common plan of action.

Vast numbers of people of all ages died by the club and assagai. In a short time the cattle were eaten up, and as the gardens ceased to be cultivated, a terrible famine arose. Thousands, tens of thousands, of people perished of starvation, other thousands fled from the wasted land, and many of those who remained behind became cannibals. It is impossible to form an estimate of the number of individuals belonging to the Mountain Tribes who perished at this time. The only tribe whose losses can be even approximately computed is that of the Batlokua. They were reduced from about one hundred and thirty thousand to fourteen or fifteen thousand in number, only a small proportion of the loss being from dispersion. If the destruction of human beings in what is now the Lesuto, and in the north-east of the present Free State, be estimated at three hundred thousand, that number must be greatly under the mark. And on the other side of the mountains at least half a million had perished. Compared with this, the total loss of human life, occasioned by all the wars in South Africa in which Europeans have engaged since first they set foot in the country, sinks into insignificance.

While these devastations were taking place, a young man, son of a petty chief of the Baramokhele, began to attract attention. His name was Moshesh. His family was one of so little note that in a country where the genealogies of men of rank have been carefully handed down for twelve or fifteen generations, antiquarians cannot trace his lineage with absolute certainty beyond his great grandfather. Some of them, indeed, since Moshesh's rise, pretend to give the names of several of his more remote ancestors, but these names are disputed by others, and all that is generally agreed to is that the family was in some way related by marriage to the ruling house of the Bamonageng. Certainty begins with Sekake, a petty chief who died about the middle of last century, leaving a son named Mpiti.

If the custom of his people had been followed, after Sekake's death his brothers should have taken his widows; but either by accident or design his great wife fell to one of his friends who was a stranger, being a native of the coast region. By this man the woman had a son, who was named Pete. According to European ideas, Pete would certainly have no claim to represent Sekake, but his mother having been Sekake's wife, by Bantu custom he was considered Sekake's son. His elder brother Mpiti was, however, held to be the heir. Pete lived until the year 1823, when he was killed and eaten by cannibals. He left two sons, Dibe the elder, and Mokatsane the younger. About the year 1793 Mokatsane's wife gave birth to a son, who, on attaining manhood, took the name of Moshesh, and subsequently became the most prominent individual in the mountain land. Moshesh was thus by birth only the heir of a younger son of a younger son "by cattle" of a petty chief, a position of very little note indeed. The following genealogical table will show his descent at a glance:—



Many years later, the official praisers, a class of men who attend upon every native chief, related that Motlomi, the last paramount ruler of the five tribes, had named Moshesh as his successor, and had predicted his future greatness; but their statement rested upon flattery alone. Motlomi was dead long before Moshesh had an opportunity of emerging from obscurity.

The family of Mokatsane was a large one. Among his sons who were born after Moshesh were Makhabane (father of Lesawana, or Ramanela, as now called), Poshuli, Mohali, Moperi, and Lelosa (or Job), all of whom will appear in these pages.

Moshesh first saw the light at Lintshuaneng, on the Tlotsi, where his father's clan was living. He grew up to be a man of commanding appearance, attractive in features, and well formed in body. In his youth he was an ardent hunter of the elands and other large animals that were then to be found at no great distance from his home, and this exercise developed his strength and activity.

Upon the invasion of his country, Moshesh, then a vigorous young man of eight or nine and twenty years, collected a party of warriors, chiefly his former companions in the chase, and made a stand at the strong position of Bntabute. There he held his own for a considerable time, but in the winter of 1824 he was attacked by Ma Ntatisi, and was driven away, when his followers were brought to great distress. He then removed some distance to the south-west and took possession of Thaba Bosigo, a mountain so formed by nature as to be a fortress of great strength, and which has never yet been taken by a foe. None, a Baphuti chief, had a village at the foot of the hill, but he was plundered of his provisions by Moshesh's chief warrior, Makoniane, and was then driven away by the newcomers.

Moshesh now conducted various expeditions against the Batlokua and the Amahluhi, and owing to the adroitness with which his plans were formed, he was invariably successful. His fame as a military strategist rapidly spread, and from all parts of the mountain land men came to Thaba Bosigo to join

him. With an impregnable stronghold in his possession, in which the families and effects of his retainers were secure, it was easy for the rising chief to make sudden forays, and fall upon his enemies at unguarded points. Each successful expedition brought new adherents, until the Basuto of Moshesh became a strong party, devoted to their leader. For two or three years the Amangwane were the most powerful people in the country, and during this time Moshesh paid court to their chief, professing to be his vassal, and paying him tribute from the spoil taken in his excursions.

After a time, the most formidable of the invaders perished or left the ravished country. A great battle was fought on the banks of the Caledon between Umpangazita, or Pakalita as he was called by the Basuto, and Matiwane, in which the Amahlubi were defeated with great slaughter. The chief and those who escaped fled to a mountain, but were followed by the enemy, and driven from the stronghold. In the last stand that they made, near Lishuane, Umpangazita was killed. Most of the young men were then taken to be carriers for the Amangwane, and such as remained placed themselves under the protection of Moshesh, and with his consent settled in the district of Mekuatleng. These people and their descendants, together with some fragments of the Amangwane and other tribes subsequently broken, are the Fingos of recent Basuto history.

After the destruction of the Amahlubi, an army which was sent by Tshaka fell upon Matiwane, who was defeated and compelled to retire from Basutoland. Crossing the Orange River and the Kathlamba Mountains in a southerly direction, he then attacked the Abatembu. This tribe applied to the Colonial Government for assistance, and to save the natives on the frontier from annihilation or dispersion, a combined military and burgher force was sent against the Amangwane. The Galekas also joined the Tembus against them. In August 1828 Matiwane's power was completely broken. He, with a few of his adherents, fled northwards to Dingan, Tshaka's successor, by whose orders they were all put to death. Those of his people that were left in Kaffirland then lost their distinguishing

name, and were absorbed in other tribes, some of them even becoming mixed with the Fingos of the frontier.

The Batlokua, reduced to one eighth or one tenth of their original number, now settled along the Upper Caledon, and began to resume the occupations of an agricultural and pastoral people. Sikonyela, son of Ma Ntatisi, was their recognised chief, but his mother, who was considered a person of ability, still exercised supreme control over the tribe.

The government of Moshesh was mild, and he had sufficient wisdom and prudence to spare and protect all who submitted to him, whether they had been previously friendly or hostile. Even parties of cannibals left their caves, placed themselves under him, and began again to cultivate the ground. By a couple of successful forays upon some Tembu clans below the mountains, he acquired considerable wealth in cattle. Most of the adult individuals of high rank among the mountain tribes had perished, so there was no obstacle to the people adopting as their head the young chief, whose abilities as a ruler as well as a military leader were soon widely recognised. Moshesh thus became the central figure round whom the scattered and impoverished Basuto rallied, with a view of recovering and retaining the territory that had been occupied by their fathers, or, more correctly, a portion of that territory, together with the district between it and the Orange River, which had been previously inhabited partly by the Baphuti, but chiefly by Bushmen. He had already become by conquest the paramount chief of the Baphuti, a tribe of mixed blood, an account of whose origin will show how easily in times of peace bordering people become blended together.

About the beginning of last century a band of refugees calling themselves Bamaru, or people of the clouds, migrated from Zululand to the country south of Thaba Bosigo. These people adopted Basuto customs and intermarried with the Bamonageng, by whom they were termed Mapethla, or the pioneers.

After the establishment of the Bamaru, some Bahalanga, or people of the sun, crossed the mountains from the district which is now Natal, bringing hoes and red ochre to exchange for peltries. These Bahalanga were of the Amazizi tribe. They

took back such a favourable account of the country that a party of their friends resolved to migrate to it, and accordingly left their ancestral home on the head waters of the Tugela and established themselves in the neighbourhood of the present Morija. These immigrants were under the leadership of a chief from whom the late Morosi traced his descent. They also, like the Mapethla, mixed freely with the tribes to the northward, intermarried with them, and adopted their customs. In course of time the descendants of these immigrants spread over the district between Thaba Bosigo and the Orange River, remaining, however, politically independent of their neighbours. By these they were termed Baphuti.

At the time of the great invasion, the Bamaru dispersed in the Cape Colony, but the chief Mokuane and his son Morosi went no further than the present district of Quthing, on the left bank of the Orange River, where they established themselves.

Early in 1825 a band of Basuto under command of Mohali, a brother of Moshesh, fell upon the Baphuti and plundered them of nearly everything they possessed, carrying off even their women and children. Some of these were subsequently redeemed with beads, but others were taken as captives to Thaba Bosigo. A few months later Mokuane made submission to Moshesh, and was received by that rising chief as a vassal. In the tribute which on this occasion he paid was a famous yellow ox of immense size, with horns artificially trained to meet over its nose, the transfer of which was regarded by the contracting parties in the same light as civilized nations would look upon the affixing of seals to a formal treaty. When this was accomplished, the prisoners were restored to their relatives.

From that time Moshesh was regarded as the supreme chief of the Baphuti, and consequently the territorial lord of the land on which they lived. Somewhat later the scattered members of the Bamaru returned from the different parts of the Colony where they had taken refuge, placed themselves under Mokuane, and became incorporated with his people. Thenceforth they also took the name of Baphuti.

The first wave of invasion that rolled over the mountain

land had now spent itself, and where numerous tribes living in plenty had once been, there were only left a few wretched Bataung under Makwana between the Vet and Sand Rivers, the Batlokua under Sikonyela on the upper Caledon, and the remnants of all the rest gathered together under Moshesh, whose seat of government was the stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. The Batlokua and Bataung had as much right as the others to be termed Basuto, but to avoid confusion that title is now usually applied exclusively to the last named division. To prevent the chief of the Zulus sending an army into the country, Moshesh professed to be his most obedient vassal, and appeased him by sending frequent subsidies of plumes and peltries.

The wave of war that followed spent its chief fury upon the tribes inhabiting the territory now comprised in the South African Republic, but it did not altogether spare the mountain people. We are now to make the acquaintance of the terrible Umsilikazi, whose fame as an exterminator of men ranks second only to that of Tshaka.

His father, Matshobane by name, had been in his early years an independent chief, but to save himself and his people from annihilation he had voluntarily sought admission into the Zulu tribe. After his death his son became a favourite with Tshaka, and was raised in time to the command of a large and important division of the Zulu army. In person he was tall and well-formed, with searching eyes and agreeable features. The traveller Harris described him in 1836 as being then about forty years of age, though, as he was totally beardless, it was difficult to form a correct estimate. His head was closely shorn, except where the elliptical ring, the distinguishing mark of the Zulu tribe, was left. His dress consisted merely of a girdle or cord round the waist, from which hung suspended a number of leopards' tails; and as ornaments he wore a single string of small blue beads round his neck and three green feathers from the tail of a paroquet upon his head. Such in appearance was Umsilikazi, or Moselekatse as he was called by the Betschuana.

He had acquired the devoted attachment of that portion of

the Zulu army under his command, when about the year 1817 a circumstance occurred which left him no choice but flight. After a successful onslaught upon a tribe which he was sent to exterminate, he neglected to forward the whole of the booty to his master, and Tshaka, enraged at the disrespect thus shown by his former favourite, despatched a great army with orders to put him and all his adherents to death. These, receiving intimation of their danger in time, immediately crossed the mountains and began to lay waste the centre of the country that is now the South African Republic.

The numerous tribes whose remnants form the Bapedi of our times looked with dismay upon the athletic forms of the Matabele, as they termed the invaders. They had never before seen discipline so perfect as that of these naked braves, or weapon so deadly as the Zulu stabbing spear. All who could not make their escape were exterminated, except the comeliest girls and some of the young men who were kept to carry burdens. These last were led to hope that by faithful service they might attain the position of soldiers, and from them Moselekatse filled up the gaps that occurred from time to time in his ranks. The country over which he marched was covered with skeletons, and literally no human beings were left in it, for his object was to place a great desert between Tshaka and himself. When he considered himself at a safe distance from his old home he halted, erected military kraals after the Zulu pattern, and from them as a centre commenced to send his regiments out north, south, and west to gather spoil.

It is impossible to give the number of Moselekatse's warriors but it was probably not greater than ten thousand.¹ Fifty of them were a match for more than five hundred Betschuana. They pursued these wretched creatures even when there was no plunder to be had, and slew many thousands in mere wantonness, in exactly the same spirit and with as little compunction as a sportsman shoots snipe.

¹ The highest estimate of the number of the Matabele is that given by Messrs. Socon and Luokie, two traders who visited Moselekatse in 1829. They computed the tribe at eighty thousand souls. The substance of a diary kept by them was published by Mr. John Centlivres Chase, in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July—September, 1830.

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It was many years later when the Matabele bands first found their way to the Lesuto. After a few visits in search of plunder, in 1831 an army sent by Moselekatse besieged Thaba Bosigo, but could not capture the stronghold. When the besiegers were reduced by want of food to retreat, and were in great distress, Moshesh sent them a supply of provisions, with a message that he desired to live in peace with all men. They went away singing his praises, and never appeared in the Lesuto again, though they kept its people in a state of constant fear.

At this time, the country along the Orange was infested by Griqua and Korana marauders. These vagabonds would have been altogether despicable if they had not been mounted on horses and armed with guns, animals and weapons not as yet possessed by the followers of Moshesh. They belonged to the Hottentot race, a people physically inferior to the Basuto, and below them in civilization. Bands of Griquas and Koranas were in the habit of swooping down upon parts of the Lesuto where they were least expected, and carrying off whatever they took a fancy to. The assagai and battle axe afforded no protection to the victims of these raids against the firearms of the plunderers. Men and women were shot down without pity, often through a mere passion for cruelty, and children were carried off to serve their captors as slaves. To ravages of this nature the Basuto were subject for some years, until the Griqua robber bands were exterminated or dispersed among communities living further to the westward, and the Koranas suffered reverses which taught them to respect their neighbours.

About the time of the last Matabele inroad, wonderful accounts were beginning to be told in the Lesuto of the great power of certain people called missionaries. Ten years earlier, or about the close of 1821, Moshesh had first seen white men, a party of colonial hunters, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester, having penetrated to the banks of the Caledon and met him there. These hunters had been eye-witnesses of the terrible sufferings of the Basuto at that time, they had even seen instances of cannibalism, and they had been so affected that they distributed whatever food they

could spare, and shot all the game they could reach for the starving people. Conduct like this, so different from the actions of men of his own colour, had created a favourable opinion regarding Europeans in the mind of Moshesh. From this date onward, white men occasionally visited the country along the Caledon for hunting purposes, and their intercourse with the Basuto was of such a nature as to confirm the first impressions of the chief.

The accounts of the missionaries which reached the Lesuto about 1831 were to the effect that they were not only benevolent, courageous, and provided with terribly destructive weapons like other white men, but that they possessed magical powers. In short, they were believed to be the medicine-men of the Europeans. When an individual among the Southern Bantu wishes to gain the favour of a chief, he fumigates himself with the smoke of a certain root before making his appearance, in the belief that it will cause the heart of the chief to open to him. The stories told of the Rev. Mr. Moffat, missionary among the Batlapin at Kuruman, led to the belief that he possessed a knowledge of some exceedingly powerful medicine of this kind. About the close of 1829 he had visited Moselekatse, who was then living some hundred miles east of Mosega, and had acquired such influence over that dreaded conqueror that when during the following two years the Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, Barolong, and other Betshuana tribes were nearly exterminated by the Matabele, the Batlapin were spared. The Basuto concluded that Mr. Moffat could only obtain such influence by means of magic, and they became most anxious to obtain a missionary who would impart such valuable knowledge to them. They were told, also, of the astonishing effects produced by missionaries at Griquatown and Philippolis. The wild, savage Griquas, most of them wanderers who knew nothing of agriculture, people who were without property or law, had been collected together at these places, and had become comparatively wealthy communities, formidable by reason of their possession of horses and guns.

Moshesh acted in this matter exactly as a native chief to-day would act if he desired to obtain the services of a reputed

44 *Establishment of French Mission in the Lesuto.*

powerful rainmaker, resident in the territory of another chief. He sent two hundred head of cattle to Adam Kok, the captain of Philippolis, with a request that he might be supplied with a missionary in return. On the way the cattle were seized by a band of Korana marauders, but the circumstance came to the ears of the Rev. Dr. Philip, Superintendent of the London Society's missions in South Africa, who was then on a tour of inspection, and it led to one of the most important events in the history of Moshesh's tribe, the establishment of missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society in the Lesuto.

The first missionaries of this Society arrived in South Africa in 1829. They were three in number. One of them, the Rev. Mr. Bisseux, took up his residence at Wellington, in the Cape Colony; and the other two, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Rolland and Prosper Lemue, proceeded to the Betshuana country, and endeavoured to found a station at Mosega, which was then occupied by the Bahurutsi tribe under the chief Mokatla. On their way they were joined by the Rev. Jean Pierre Pellissier, who had followed them from France. Their stay at Mosega was brief. The advance of Moselekatse and the destruction of the Betshuana compelled them to abandon that part of the country, and they then founded a station at Motito, not far from Kuruman, where they collected together a number of fugitives from the north.

Meantime, two clergymen, Messrs. Eugene Casalis and Thomas Arbousset, and a missionary artisan, Mr. Gossellin, were on their way out to reinforce the station at Mosega among the Bahurutsi. On their arrival at Cape Town, they learned what had transpired in the interior, and on Dr. Philip's recommendation they turned their attention to Moshesh's people. In June 1833 these missionaries reached Thaba Bosigo, and were warmly welcomed by Moshesh, who gave them permission to settle wherever they chose in his country. They selected a fertile and well watered valley about twenty-five miles from Thaba Bosigo, and there established a station which they named Morija. The valley when they first visited it was uninhabited, but Moshesh sent some members of his own family, among whom were his sons Letsie and Molapo,

with a large party of people, to take up their residence close to the white men, and be instructed by them.

The subjects of Moshesh were very willing to learn from strangers the arts which made the white men so rich and so powerful. Their views, of course, were at first limited to potent charms and medicines, as the principal means of advancement; but they showed that they were not deficient in brain power, so that the missionaries had good hope of being able to raise them speedily in the scale of civilization.

Messrs. Arbousset, Casalis, and Gosselin found the strip of country about thirty or forty miles in width along the north-western side of the Caledon, from about latitude 29° to $29^{\circ} 30'$ thinly inhabited by Basuto. On the opposite or south-eastern side of the river, a similar belt, extending to the Maluti or Peaked Mountains, was much more thickly peopled, though its inhabitants were few compared with the number reached at a later date. Game of many kinds was abundant, which of itself was proof of a sparse and poorly armed population. Along the head waters of the Caledon the Batlokua were living, between whom and the Basuto of Moshesh there was a bitter feeling of enmity.

At nearly the same time the Rev. Mr. Pellissier, finding that the services of three missionaries were not needed at Motito, was looking for a suitable site further southward for another station. Mr. Clark, one of the London Society's teachers, had been for some time engaged in a fruitless effort to instruct some Bushmen and to induce them to settle permanently at a place just below the confluence of the Caledon and the Orange. Dr. Philip handed the so-called Bushman School over to Mr. Pellissier, who named the place Bethulie, and induced a fugitive Batlapin clan from the neighbourhood of Kuruman, under the chief Lepui, to settle there. These were afterwards joined by some refugee Barolong. Bethulie was not peopled by Basuto, nor was a claim to its ground ever made by Moshesh, but from this date there was a close connection between it and the stations of the same Society in the Lesuto.

A few months later the population of the country along the western bank of the Caledon opposite Thaba Bosigo was

largely increased by the arrival of several bands of refugees under the leadership of some Wesleyan missionaries. The settlement of these people makes it necessary to give an account of the Barolong tribe.

According to the traditions of the Barolong, their ancestors nineteen generations ago migrated from a country in the far north. They were then under a chief named Morolong, from whom the tribe has its name. The country which they left was a mountainous and well watered land, where the sun at one season of the year was seen on their right when they looked towards the east. This description corresponds fairly well with the region of the great lakes, and if a quarter of a century be allowed as the average length of a chief's rule, the Barolong left it about the year 1400 of our reckoning.

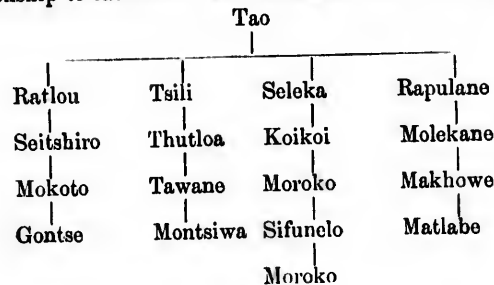
Exactly as in the case of the Kaffirs on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, it is not the first chief of the tribe, but one of his immediate descendants, who is the great hero of their legends. What Tshawe is to the Amaxosa, Noto, the son of Morolong, is to the Barolong. It was he who taught his people the use of iron for weapons of war and the chase, who gave them the hoe as an implement of agriculture, and who adorned their persons with metal trinkets. These legends prove that the traditions of the tribes are not chronologically accurate, for it is certain that the use of iron was known to the ancestors of the Amaxosa, Barolong, Basuto, &c., before their separation.

During four generations the tribe was migrating southward, but then it reached the river Molopo, and fixed its permanent residence in the region which is half encircled by that stream. At this time the Bahurutsi separated from the main branch, and became independent. And now during the government of many successive chiefs, all of whose names have been preserved, the tribe enjoyed peace and became constantly stronger and wealthier. Occasionally a swarm would migrate eastward or north-westward, but this loss was more than made good by accessions of destitute alien clans.

In the time of Tao (the lion), fourteenth in descent from Morolong, the tribe reached the zenith of its greatness. Its outposts extended from the Molopo southward to the junction

of the Hart and Vaal rivers, and from the desert eastward to Schoon Spruit. This extensive region was not occupied solely by the Barolong and their dependents. There were in it Betshuana clans who did not acknowledge their supremacy, independent hordes of Koranas with whom the Barolong were frequently at war, and numerous Bushmen, the real aborigines. It is frequently the case that Bantu tribes, though quite independent of each other, live with their clans intermingled. Their government in such instances is more tribal than territorial. It is only when the white man comes to interfere with them that they desire to have boundary lines laid down. Then, naturally, each independent chief claims the whole region in which his adherents are living, and immediately contentions arise. In this way the Barolong of the present day maintain that "the country of Tao" was that bounded by his most distant outposts, which when reduced to geographical terms means the Molopo on the north, the Vaal on the south, Schoon Spruit on the east, and the Kalahari Desert on the west.

Tao died at Taung, on the Hart River, about the year 1760, and with him the power of the Barolong ended. Feebleness of character in his descendants of the great line, untimely deaths, and personal feuds combined to break up the tribe. Civil war followed, and the next generation witnessed a number of clans, each really independent of the rest, though all admitted a supremacy of rank in the house of Ratlou. The line of descent of those chiefs who have since attained celebrity is here given, as without a knowledge of their names and relationship to each other later events cannot be understood.



It was not alone a division of the Barolong proper that followed the death of 'Tao, but the adopted clans took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and made themselves independent. Among these were the Batlapin who occupied the southern part of the country. From this time until 1823 the different divisions of the Barolong were continually moving about from place to place, and it was seldom that all the sections were at peace.¹

In 1817 the London Society founded the mission station of Kuruman with the Batlapin, who were then under the chief Mothibi, and absolutely independent. In 1821 the Rev. Mr. Moffat went to reside at Kuruman, and very shortly made the acquaintance of the Barolong. He was an eye witness of the disastrous events of the next few years, and has given a graphic account of them in his "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa," a volume published in London in 1842.

In 1823 the waves of war which originated in Zululand began to roll over the Barolong country. The Mantati horde, before its defeat by the Griquas at Lithako, destroyed some sections of the tribe. Then its Makololo offshoot attacked the clan of Tawane. Next the Bataung under Molitsane fell upon the wretched people, and plundered them.

One clan, under the chief Sifunelo, had already migrated southward, and early in the year 1823 was fortunate enough, in its wanderings to fall in with two Wesleyan missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, who were seeking a field of labour in Betsuanaland. These gentlemen took up their residence with the clan, which shortly afterwards tried to find a resting place at Makwasi, on the northern bank of the Vaal. On one occasion, during the temporary absence of the missionaries, Makwasi was attacked by Molitsane's Bataung, and a considerable amount of spoil was taken, among which were a few cattle belonging to Mr. Broadbent. Thereupon the

¹ The Rev. John Campbell travelled through the "country of Tao" in 1820, and reached the chief kraal of the Bahurutsi, then some distance north of the Molopo. The general condition of the people at that time may be ascertained by referring to his work entitled "Travels in South Africa undertaken at the request of the London Missionary Society, being a Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of that Country." Two vols. 8vo., London, 1822.

Griqua chief Andries Waterboer, constituting himself protector of the missionaries, proceeded with an armed party to Makwasi, pretended to hold an investigation, found Sifunelo guilty of seizing the cattle, and fined him six hundred oxen. The fine was paid, as the Griqua band was armed with muskets and was too strong to be resisted. It was subsequently ascertained that Sifunelo was entirely guiltless, and through the influence of the missionaries the Colonial Government brought such pressure to bear upon Waterboer that he restored the six hundred oxen. This was the first occasion on which our Government had any dealings with the Barolong.

In 1826 Sifunelo's clan left Makwasi, and, moving about a hundred and twenty miles to the south-west, halted at Platberg, on the southern bank of the Vaal. There they remained until the close of the year 1833, when the Rev. Messrs. James Archbell, John Edwards, and Thomas Jenkins, Wesleyan missionaries who succeeded Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson led them to Thaba Ntshu, a mountain west of the Caledon and distant from Thaba Bosigo about fifty or sixty miles.¹

The pressure of circumstances brought the remaining Barolong clans together, and in 1824 Mr. Moffat found the chiefs Gontse, Tawane, and Intshi, residing together in one large town, which contained some twenty thousand inhabitants, including clans of the Bahurutsi and Bangwaketsi. Each chief governed his own section of the town. Gontse had the largest following, though Tawane was considered the strongest of them.

The great tribe of the Bangwaketsi under the chief Makaba was not yet broken. Mr. Moffat went to visit Makaba, and found him living north of the Molopo. The missionary estimated the number of the Bangwaketsi at seventy thousand at the lowest computation.

In 1826 Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain visited the country. He found Tawane with his clan living in a miserable condition by a filthy pool in the bed of the Molopo. The water of the pool

¹ See "A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong tribe of Bechuanas," by the Rev. Samuel Broadbent. A small 12mo volume, London, 1865.

was so foul that Mr. Bain's dogs would scarcely lap it. Tawane had been driven by his enemies from his former residence two days' journey further up the Molopo, but he intended to return immediately. The traveller described the chief as a "sedate-faced old fellow wrapped up in a dirty buck-skin kaross, with a very flat nose and a remarkably projecting under lip.

From Tawane's wretched kraal Mr. Bain went on to the Bangwaketsi country. The principal kraal of this tribe was in a valley called Silokwalali, which the traveller found "literally strewn with human skulls." A short time previously Makaba had fallen in a great battle with one of the marauding hordes, and his brother Sobeka was then acting as chief of the remnant of the tribe, Gasitsiwe, the rightful heir, being a minor.¹

The condition of the whole country north of the Orange and west of the Drakensberg at this time was such that the Griqua and Korana marauders, who have already been described as devastating the Lesuto, had the Bantu population entirely at their mercy. Little bands of these ruffians, mounted on horses and carrying firearms, rode at will from the Caledon to the Molopo, plundering wherever there was anything worth seizure and shooting all who offended them.

After all these came Moselekatse at the head of the terrible Matabele. In 1830-31 he fell upon the Bangwaketsi and nearly exterminated them. Next followed the destruction of the Bahurutsi and Bakwena. After this the Matabele chief fixed his head-quarters on the banks of the Marikwa, and sent his warriors against the Barolong.

Some of these then fled to the desert, where they became Balala, poor wandering wretches, with no cattle or gardens, but living like Bushmen on game and wild plants. Part of one clan, with Matlabe its young chief, was incorporated with the Matabele. Gontse and Tawane with a few followers fled southward. Just at that time the Wesleyan missionaries were preparing to conduct the clan under Moroko, Sifunelo's son, from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba Ntshu. Gontse and

¹ Extracts from Mr. Bain's journal were published by Mr. J. C. Chase in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July-September 1830.

Tawane joined Moroko, and moved onward with him. In the country of the Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, and Barolong, to use the expressive words of one of the chiefs when giving evidence many years later at Bloemhof, there was now no other master than Moselekatse and the lions.¹

¹ The utter desolation of the territory between Moselekatse's outposts and the neighbourhood of the Caledon is known to us not only from native accounts, but from the published works of a number of English travellers who visited it during the next few years. The extracts which follow will indicate where more complete information is to be obtained:—

In 1835 an exploring expedition under direction of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Andrew Smith left the Cape Colony and penetrated the interior as far as the Limpopo. The expedition went up and returned through the "country of Tao." In his published Report (1836) Dr. Smith states that between Kuruman and the Kalahari Desert, that is in the territory respected by Moselekatse on account of Mr. Moffat, he found "some large kraals of Batlapin, Barolong, and Batlaro." On the border of the desert he found "a small community of Barolong trusting entirely for support to the spontaneous productions of nature." These and the following are the only references to the Barolong which he makes: "After leaving the neighbourhood of Latakoo we met with few inhabitants till we reached the country of the Matabele, distant about two hundred miles in a north-east direction. In former days this intervening district was inhabited by Batlapin and Barolong, but at present it is only the resort of the poor of those tribes and of the Bahurutsi."

Captain (afterwards General) William Cornwallis Harris travelled and hunted in this territory in the year 1836, when he visited Moselekatse. His account of the country and the people is one of the most valuable works on that part of South Africa ever published. It is entitled "The Wild Sports of Southern Africa, being the Narrative of a Hunting Expedition through the Territories of the Chief Moselekatse to the Tropic of Capricorn." The fifth edition was published in London in 1852. Captain Harris says: "We continued to advance to the northward by marches of ten and fifteen miles each day, over extensive rugged tracts strewed with numerous stone walls, once thronged by thousands, but now presenting no vestige of inhabitants. Wherever we turned the hand of the destroyer was apparent. 'The locusts' wasting swarm which mightiest nations dread' is not more destructive to vegetation than he (Moselekatse) has been to the population of this section of Southern Africa. We frequently travelled for days without meeting a solitary human being, occasionally only falling in with the small and starving remnants of some pastoral tribe of Bechuana that had been plundered by Moselekatse's warriors. These famished wretches hovered around us, disputing with vultures and hyenas the carcasses we left, which they devoured with such brutish avidity as scarcely to leave a bone to attest the slaughter."

In 1844 Mr. Henry M. Methuen travelled through the "country of Tao," and hunted in it. In his "Life in the Wilderness or Wanderings in South Africa (1846)," though he gives much information concerning other tribes, he never mentions the Barolong, thus showing by negative evidence how few of them were left in the land of their fathers.

The Rev. J. J. Freeman passed through the "country of Tao" in 1849. At Setlagole he found a Barolong kraal of considerable size, the first he saw after passing the French mission station of Motito. Of the country between Setlagole and the Molope, he says in his "Tour in South Africa (1851)": "We found all this immense

It was in December 1833 that Gontse, Tawane, and Moroko, the heads of three of the divisions of the Barolong, being the descendants and representatives of three of the sons of 'Tao, with their respective clans were led by the Wesleyan missionaries to Thaba Ntshu. They were accompanied also by small parties of Koranas, Griquas, and half breeds, who had no settled home, and for whom the missionaries were desirous of obtaining ground in some place where they could attempt to civilize them. At Thaba Ntshu the strangers found a petty chief named Moseme governing a few small villages, but he informed them that he was subordinate to Moshesh and had no power to give them permission to settle.

The Basuto, so long accustomed to regard all strangers as enemies, were somewhat alarmed when tidings were carried through the country that a body of unknown people, among whom were Koranas, had appeared at Thaba Ntshu. Two of the French clergymen immediately proceeded to ascertain particulars, and having learnt the object of the strangers, communicated it to Moshesh. The fact that Europeans were the leaders of the immigrants sufficed to dispel the fears of the Basuto, and Moshesh, glad to get friendly settlers on his border and hoping they would become incorporated with his own people, cordially consented to their location on the vacant land west of the Caledon. A document purporting to be an absolute sale to the Wesleyan Missionary Society of a tract of ground about Thaba Ntshu, several hundred square miles in extent, was drawn up on the 7th of December 1833, and signed by Moshesh and Moseme on the one part, and Messrs. Archbell, Edwards, and Jenkins, on the other. The price paid is said therein to have been seven young oxen, one heifer, two sheep,

tract of country, this seemingly interminable plain, absolutely and literally unoccupied."

Mr. Roualeyn Gordon Cumming made five hunting expeditions into the interior, as far as the Bamangwato mountains, between 1843 and 1849. He passed through the "country of 'Tao" several times and hunted in it, but one searches in vain for any mention of the Barolong in his "Five Years' Adventures in the far Interior of South Africa, with Notices of the Native Tribes and Savage Animals (1850)."

The same may be said of Mr. James Chapman, who was frequently in the country after 1849, and yet makes no mention of the Barolong in his "Travels in the Interior of South Africa." (Two large volumes, 1868.)

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The Barolong and the Wesleyan Missionaries. 53

and one goat. But there was no competent interpreter present when the arrangement was made, and it is very evident that Moshesh did not regard the transaction in the light of a sale, as he must at that time have been entirely unacquainted with any other system of disposing of land than that practised by tribes of his own race. He could not have comprehended the nature of the document, and in after years he constantly maintained that he had never intended to alienate the ground. On the other hand the Wesleyan missionaries have always held that the ground was not his at the time to alienate, that it was really open for any one to settle upon, and that the deed of sale was only drawn up to prevent any claim to it thereafter being made by the Basuto.

With the same object in view, on the 17th of July 1834 they purchased from Moshesh and Sikonyela jointly an extensive tract of land round Platberg and bordering on the Caledon. In the deed of sale, which is signed by both the chiefs, it is stated that eight head of horned cattle, thirty-four sheep, and five goats were given in payment, but the view of the missionaries some years later, when Moshesh claimed to be their feudal lord, was that the purchase had been concluded as a friendly arrangement to prevent either the Basuto or the Batlokua from interfering with them or making pretensions to the ownership of the land.

The whole of the Barolong were located by the Wesleyan missionaries at Thaba Ntshu, where a town was built and a mission station established. Matlabe was still a subject of Moselekatse, but shortly after this, hearing that his kinsmen had found a place of comparative safety, he made his escape and joined them. Of the four Barolong chiefs then at Thaba Ntshu, Gontse was the highest in rank; but so thoroughly impoverished was he, and so completely had his followers been dispersed or destroyed, that his name hardly ever appears in the numerous documents written at that period by European residents at the station. Being without talents of any kind, he was of no note whatever. Tawane, the next in rank, has left more traces of his residence at Thaba Ntshu, because he had sufficient energy to turn his followers into a band of

robbers, and was one of the wasps that Moshesh afterwards charged with having dared to sting him.¹ Matlabe was entirely sunk in obscurity. Moroko alone, owing partly to his clan having fled before the great disasters and partly to the guidance of the missionaries, was a man of power and influence.

The other natives who were brought by the Wesleyan missionaries at this time to the western bank of the Caledon were :

1. A clan of Koranas under a leader named Jan Hanto, who died shortly after this and was succeeded by Gert Taaibosch. These were Hottentots, with habits ill-fitted for a settled life, as they were still a purely pastoral people. In disposition, language, and customs, as well as in colour, they differed greatly from all the members of the Bantu family. The least stable in character of any people on earth, without attachment to locality of birth or residence, so impatient of restraint that their chiefs possessed little or no power, indolent to the last degree, careless about the future so long as immediate wants were supplied, regardless of the rights of others, callous to the sufferings of human beings or dumb animals, these Koranas yet surpassed the Bantu in power of imagination and in speculations upon the workings of nature. The clan under Jan Hanto migrated from beyond the Vaal River, the grazing grounds on which they had previously tended their herds being far away to the north-west. They were now located at Merumetsu.

2. A small party of half breeds, of mixed European and Hottentot blood, under a captain named Carolus Baatje. These people, who were located at Platberg, came from the northern districts of the Cape Colony.

3. A small party of Griquas under a captain named Peter Davids. This was the remnant of a comparatively large body of Hottentots and people of mixed European, Hottentot, Bushman,

¹ James Backhouse, a missionary of the Society of Friends, who visited Thaba Ntshu in 1839, in his "Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa," gives a brief notice of Tawane. In the Rev. Mr. Broadbent's book already referred to, his name is mentioned three or four times. Traces of his residence at Thaba Ntshu are also to be found in the *Journal* of the French Missionary Society, and in the three volumes of "Basutoland Records" published in 1883. In no instance is much information given concerning him, but he is represented as a petty chief with less power and influence than Moroko.

and negro blood, who had lived for many years by hunting and by plundering defenceless tribes, but who had recently met with fearful punishment. In 1831 Barend Barends, who was then their head, sent nearly the whole of his best fighting men on a plundering expedition. The band left Boetsap (in the present Colonial Division of Barkly West), and by making a long detour to the eastward fell unexpectedly upon the principal Matabele cattle posts and swept off nearly the whole of Moselekatse's herds. The Matabele warriors were at the time engaged in a distant expedition. Only some old men and boys could be got together to follow the Griquas, who were retreating with their booty in such fancied security that they did not even post sentinels at night. Just before dawn one morning they were surprised by the Matabele, when only two Griquas escaped to return to Boetsap and tell the tale of their exploit and the fate of their companions. Those who had remained at home then placed themselves under the guidance of the Wesleyan missionaries, and accompanied them to the Caledon. They were located at Lishuane.

At all the settlements mentioned above, and also at Imparani among the Batlokua, Wesleyan missionaries were henceforth stationed.

Immigrants of still another race were now making their appearance. As early as 1819 small parties of European hunters began to penetrate the country between Cornet Spruit and the Caledon, and a few years later they occasionally went as far north as Thaba Bosigo. In their wanderings they encountered no other inhabitants than a few savage Bushmen, and they therefore regarded the country as open to occupation. About the same time some nomadic Boers from the district of Colesberg were tempted to make a temporary residence in the district between the Orange and Modder rivers, on ascertaining that grass was to be found there during seasons of drought in the colony. They did not, however, remain long, nor did they come within several days' journey of the Basuto outposts. But from this period they continued to cross the river whenever pasturage failed in the south, and gradually they made their way eastward.

At length a party of fourteen or fifteen families settled at a place which they named Zevenfontein, on the western bank of the Caledon, with the intention of remaining there permanently. They found no people in that neighbourhood but Bushmen, and no one objected to their occupation of the land. With this exception, hardly any of the Boers who moved into the district along the Caledon at this early date contemplated settlement. They merely sought pasturage for a few months, or they visited it in hunting expeditions, in either case coming and going as suited their convenience.

About this time the Basuto who had fled from their country heard in the distant districts in which they had taken refuge that a chief of their own race was building up a nation, and that his government afforded protection without being tyrannical. They began therefore to return to the land of their fathers, and every year now saw a great increase in the population. These refugees brought more than mere numerical strength. Many of them came from the Cape Colony, where they had been in service, and these took back with them as the most valued of all possessions the weapons of the white man, weapons which they believed would protect them against suffering again such awful calamities as those they had formerly gone through. Other native refugees were also swelling the population of the Lesuto. Fragments of different broken Betschuana clans, hearing of the wisdom and generosity and valour of Moshesh, came and asked to be taken under his protection.

And so the power of Moshesh was growing rapidly. The Boers when they returned to the banks of the Caledon, after an absence of only a few months, often found a Basuto village where they had grazed their herds on their previous visit, and questions began to be asked as to who had the best right to the ground. At first, however, this was a question of little importance, for there was still so much vacant land that by one or the other moving a little further, room could be found for all.

In 1835 the residents at Zevenfontein were called away to assist in the protection of the border of the colony against the

Kaffirs, and when the war was over and some of them returned, they found that the ground they had occupied had in the interval become a Mission Station. The Rev. Mr. Rolland, of the French Missionary Society, had left Motito to the sole care of Mr. Lemue, and had moved to Zevenfontein with a horde of refugees, composed partly of Bahurutsi who had once lived at Mosega and partly of the remnant of a Barolong clan under a petty chief named Moi. For agricultural purposes Zevenfontein was vastly superior to any locality that could be selected in the Betschuana country, it was close to the other stations of the French Society, and it was a long way from Moselekatse. For these reasons it had been selected by Mr. Rolland. It was not at that time within Moshesh's jurisdiction, but Mr. Rolland considered it convenient to acknowledge his authority as paramount, and the station became a kind of semi-independent fief of the Basuto chief. Subsequently also several little clans of Basuto origin settled there. Mr. Rolland changed the name of Zevenfontein to that of Beersheba.

Though portions of the territory formerly occupied by the Mountain Tribes were in this manner again becoming peopled, the inhabitants, descendants of the former owners and new settlers alike, were kept in constant alarm. If there had been a disposition to forget that a growth of prosperity would certainly induce a fresh invasion either of the Zulus or the Matabele, an occasional raid by the last named served as a reminder of the dangerous situation in which they were living.

In 1834 a band of Matabele, while scouring the country along the Vaal to prevent its occupation, came upon a little party of Griquas who had imprudently ventured on a hunting expedition in that direction. Peter Davids, the captain of Lishuane, was with the party, and with the thoughtlessness characteristic of his race, he had taken his family with him. The consequence was that one of his daughters and a nephew were made prisoners, though the others, having horses, managed to escape. The lives of the captives were spared. Captain Harris in 1836 saw the girl in Moselekatse's harem at Mosega, and ascertained that the boy was still alive.

In 1835, during the war between the Colony and the

Amaxosa, Moshesh at the head of seven or eight hundred men made a raid across the Drakensberg, ravaged six or eight Kaffir villages, and seized three or four thousand head of cattle. He was then attacked by a superior force, and lost most of his plunder. In this expedition his brother Makhabane, the father of Lesawana, was killed.

In addition to the books mentioned in the body of this chapter, the following works may be consulted by those desiring further information upon the Zulu and Matabele conquests:—

"Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa comprising a View of the Present State of the Cape Colony." By George Thompson. Two volumes octavo, London, 1827. Also in one volume quarto, with maps and plates. A most trustworthy and valuable work.

"Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H. M. Ships Leven and Barracouta, under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N." Two volumes octavo, London, 1833. This work contains with other information Mr. Farewell's account of Tshaka.

"Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa." By Andrew Steedman. Two volumes octavo, London, 1835 (Appendix).

"Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, descriptive of the Zoolus, their manners, customs, etc., with a sketch of Natal." By Nathaniel Isaacs. Two volumes crown octavo, London, 1836.

"Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Esperance, entrepris dans les mois de Mars, Avril, et Mai, 1836, par MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, Missionnaires de la Societé des Missions Evangéliques de Paris." An octavo volume of 608 pages, with map and plates, published at Paris in 1842. This work contains an account of a journey from Morija to the Vaal River and back by another route, with a description of the country traversed and the various clans encountered. It gives a vivid picture of the desolation and misery caused by the wars in those regions a short time previously. It also contains a large amount of information upon native customs. There is an English translation published at Cape Town in 1846, but it is without the chart or plates. An edition published at London and Aberdeen in 1852 contains the chart.

"Zululand, or Life among the Zulu Kafirs of Natal and Zululand, South Africa." By the Rev. Lewis Grout, for fifteen years a Missionary of the American Board in South Africa. One volume octavo, London, 1862.

"Ten Years North of the Orange River." By the Rev. John Mackenzie. A crown octavo volume of 523 pages, Edinburgh, 1871.

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CHAPTER III.

The Causes of the Great Emigration from the Cape Colony—Fate of the First Party of Emigrants—Purchase by Commandant Potgieter of a Tract of Land from the Bataung Chief Makwana—Massacre of Emigrants by the Matabele—War with Moselekatse—The American Mission to the Matabele—Foundation of the Village of Winburg—Appointment of Pieter Retief to be Commandant General of the Emigrants—Moselekatse driven away to the far North, and his Conquests taken possession of by Commandant Potgieter.

THE emigration from the Cape Colony of many thousands of substantial burghers, with the determination to seek a new home in the wilderness where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable oppression, is an event unique in the history of modern colonization.

No people not of British descent ever presented such favourable material for the formation of a dependency loyal to Britain as did these South African colonists, when forty years before they came by conquest under British rule. They were men of our own race, of that sturdy Nether Teuton stock which peopled England and Scotland as well as the delta of the Rhine. With the main stream of their Batavian blood had indeed mingled many rivulets not of Batavian source, but the stubborn current had flowed on unchanged, absorbing and assimilating them all. First and most important, was a tributary of Huguenot origin. At one time it had made up about a sixth of the whole blood, but before the middle of the eighteenth century it was completely absorbed. Larger in volume, but even more easily assimilated, was a tributary from lands now included in the German Empire. Upon close examination, however, it is seen that nearly the whole of the Germans, so termed, who made their homes in South Africa in the early days of the settlement were from the border land, where the High and Low Teutons

were intermingled, so that much of this blood was probably akin to the Batavian. Denmark, Sweden, even Scotland, supplied rills, but so tiny that they were lost at once. One family, now widely spread, traced its origin to Portugal.

These South Africans spoke a dialect which our great Alfred would have understood without much difficulty, which is nearer to the language of the men who fought under Harold at Senlac than is the English tongue of to-day. Their religion was that of the people of Scotland, of a large proportion of the people of England. That there was nothing of the nature of race antagonism between them and the people of Great Britain is shown by the readiness with which intermarriages have taken place ever since the Colony came under our flag. Even the feeling of dislike which long commercial rivalry engendered between the English and Dutch in Europe was not shared to any appreciable extent by the colonists of South Africa. There is, in truth, hardly any difference in sentiment between these men and a body of Englishmen or Scotchmen of equally limited education that can not be referred to what hereditary instinct would create between a purely agricultural and pastoral people living for nearly two centuries in seclusion from the rest of the world and a people chiefly engaged in manufactures and commerce with the working of modern ideas all around them.

Why, then, did these men abandon their homes, sacrifice whatever property could not be carried away, and flee from English rule as from the most hateful tyranny? The causes are stated in a great mass of correspondence addressed by them to the Colonial Government and now preserved with other colonial records, in declarations published by some of them before leaving, in letters to their relatives and to newspapers, and in hundreds of pages of printed matter prepared by friendly and hostile hands. The declaration of one of the ablest men among them assigns the following as the motives of himself and the party that went with him:—

Graham's Town, 22nd January, 1837.

1. We despair of saving the Colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part: nor do we see any prospect of

peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the Colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of Religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but, whilst we will take care that no one is brought by us into a condition of slavery, we will establish such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we leave this colony with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto had. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. We make known that when we shall have framed a code of laws for our guidance, copies shall be forwarded to this colony for general information; but we take the opportunity of stating that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment, even with death, of all traitors, without exception, who may be found amongst us.

8. We purpose, in the course of our journey and on arrival at the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.

In the name of all who leave this colony with me,

P. RETIEF.

But formal declarations such as the above are not in all instances to be trusted. It is much safer to compare numerous documents written at different times, by different persons, and under different circumstances. For our subject this means of information is as complete as can be desired. The correspondence of the Emigrants with the Cape Government was the work of many individuals and extended over many years. The letters are usually of great length, badly constructed and badly spelt—the productions, in short, of uneducated men; but so uniform is the vein of thought running through them all that there is not the slightest difficulty in condensing them into a dozen pages. When analysed, the statements contained in them are found to consist of two charges, one against the Imperial Government, the other against the agents in South Africa of the London Missionary Society.

The Imperial Government was charged with exposing the white inhabitants of the Colony without protection to robbery and murder by the blacks; with giving credence in every dispute to statements made by interested persons in favour of savages, while refusing to credit the testimony—no matter how reliable—of colonists of European extraction; with liberating the slaves in an unjust manner; and generally with such undue partiality for persons with black skins and savage habits as to make it preferable to seek a new home in the wilderness rather than remain under the English flag.

The missionaries of the London Society were charged with usurping authority that should properly belong to the civil magistrate; with misrepresenting facts; and with advocating schemes directly hostile to the progress of civilization and to the observance of order. And it was asserted that the influence of these missionaries was all powerful at the Colonial Office in London, by which the Colony, without a voice in the management of its affairs, was then ruled absolutely.

In support of the charges against the Imperial Government, the Emigrants dwelt largely upon the devastation of the Eastern Districts by the Kaffir inroad of December 1834, which was certainly unprovoked by the colonists. Yet Lord Glenelg, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies,

justified the Kaffirs, and not only refused to punish them, but actually gave them a large slip of land—including the dense jungles along the Fish River—that had long been part of the Colony, and made no other provision against the recurrence of a destructive invasion than a series of treaties with a number of barbarous chiefs who had no regard for their engagements. This event is the most prominent feature in the correspondence of the emigrants; it is fairly recorded, and the language used is in general much more moderate than that employed by the English frontier colonists when relating the same circumstance.

Next stands the removal of all restraint from the coloured population of the Colony, without the protection to the whites of even a Vagrant Act. Several of the Colonial divisions had been for ten or twelve years overrun by fugitives from the Basuto and Betschuana countries, who had been driven from their own homes by the troubles already recorded. These people were usually termed Mantatees or Makatees from the supposition that they were all subjects of Ma Ntatisi. Towards the Eastern Frontier, Kaffirs, and after the war Fingos, wandered about practically wherever they chose. In the remainder of the Colony, Hottentots, free blacks, and mixed breeds came and went as they pleased. How is it possible, said the farmers, for us to cultivate the ground or breed cattle with all these savages and semi-savages constantly watching for opportunities to plunder us, with no police, and no law under which suspicious characters can be arrested and made to account for their manner of living?

Much is said of the reproofs of Sir Benjamin D'Urban by the Secretary of State, and, after 1838, of the dismissal of that Governor.¹ The emigrants asserted that he was the best Governor the Colony had had since it became subject to England; they dwelt upon his benevolence, his ability, his strict justice, his impartiality to white and black, his efforts to promote civilization; and then they complained, in words more bitter than are to be found when they referred to any

¹ Sir Benjamin D'Urban remained in South Africa after being deprived of office until the reversal of his policy towards the natives was admitted by most people even in England to have been a mistake. He did not leave the Cape until April 1846, just after the commencement of the War of the Axe.

other subject, that the good Governor had been reproved and finally deprived of his office because he had told the plain truth regardless of the London Missionary Society, and had endeavoured to mete out to black criminals the same justice that he would have meted out had they been white. There is now no one in South Africa who does not agree with the Emigrants in this matter. Nearly half a century has passed away since Sir Benjamin D'Urban was forced into retirement by Lord Glenelg, and during that period the principal measures which he proposed have been approved of and adopted, while the successors of those missionaries who were his bitter opponents are at present among the strongest advocates of his system of dealing with the natives.

Concerning the liberation of the slaves, there is less in this correspondence than one might reasonably expect to find. Many scores of pages can be examined without any allusion whatever to it. Nowhere is there a single word to be found in favour of slavery as an institution, the view of the emigrants, with hardly an exception, being fairly represented in the following sentence taken from a letter of the Volksraad at Natal to Sir George Napier:—"A long and sad experience has sufficiently convinced us of the injury, loss, and dearness of slave labour, so that neither slavery nor the slave trade will ever be permitted among us."

It is alleged, however, that the emancipation, as it was carried out, was an act of confiscation. It is stated that most of the slaves were brought to the Colony in English ships and sold by English subjects; that when in 1795 the Colony was invited by English officers of high rank to place itself under the protection of England, one of the inducements held out was security in slave property, at the same time those officers warning the colonists that if France obtained possession she would liberate the slaves as she had done in Martinique, thereby ruining this Colony as she had ruined that island; that the English Government had recently and suddenly changed its policy, and required them to conform to the change with equal alacrity, whereas they were convinced that gradual emancipation, with securities against vagrancy, was the only safe course.

The emancipation had been sudden, and the slaves had been placed upon a perfect political equality with their former proprietors. The missionaries applauded this as a noble and generous act of the Imperial Government, and they were told that by every one in England it was so regarded. But at whose expense was this noble and generous act carried out? Agents of the Imperial Government had appraised the slaves, generally at less than their market value. Two-fifths of this appraisement, being the share apportioned to the Cape out of the twenty million pounds sterling voted by the Imperial Parliament, had then been offered to the proprietors as compensation, if they chose to go to London for it, otherwise they could only dispose of their claims at a heavy discount. Thus in point of fact only about one-third of the appraised amount had been received. To all slaveholders this had meant a great reduction of wealth, while to many of those who were in debt it was equivalent to the utter deprivation of all property.

Their case against the missionaries of the London Society, briefly stated, was this :—

In the month of March 1799, the first agents of this Society, Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp, Mr. J. J. Kicherer, Mr. James Edmonds, and Mr. William Edwards, landed at Cape Town from the *Hillsborough*, a convict ship bound to Botany Bay, in which they had taken passage from England. The Moravian Society was already working in South Africa, but on a small scale, and was then, as it has been ever since, on the most friendly terms with the colonists. The four missionaries of the London Society, who announced that they would speedily be followed by others, were received with enthusiasm. Fifty-seven years earlier the Established Church had driven from the Colony a foreign teacher who had ventured to administer the sacraments to his converts, but now the ministers of that church were among the foremost to welcome the agents of the London Society. Two of these were laymen, and within a few weeks after their arrival they were ordained in the Dutch Reformed Church at Tulbagh. The South African Missionary Society, which is yet in existence, was formed at this time with a view of co-operating in the work of converting the heathen. No-

thing indeed could surpass the kindly welcome which the missionaries received from the Colonists, nor the expectations of cordial assistance which they were induced thereby to entertain.

But in a few years all this was changed, and the agents of the London Society and the Colonists had no other feeling towards each other than that of direct antagonism. Among the missionaries, who in large numbers followed close on the pioneer party, were many men of ability and of undoubted piety, but there were also many so illiterate that they were unable to write their mother tongue correctly, and so bigotted that they denounced as unchristian all views but their own. These affected an air of sanctity and superiority, were continually speaking of their "high and holy calling," and when they met with opposition termed it persecution. They were to Christianity what the Jacobin Club in the early days of the French Revolution was to political liberty.¹ The views and interests of the colonists and of these men were so different that concord was hardly possible. The missionaries desired that the blacks should be collected together in villages; the colonists were unwilling that they should be thus withdrawn from service. Teach them the first step in civilisation, to labour honestly for their maintenance, and add to that oral instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, said the colonists. Why should they be debarred from learning to read and write and as there can only be schools if they are brought together in villages, why should they not be collected together? replied the missionaries.

Then came another and a larger question. By whom should the waste places of the land, the vast areas which were without other occupants than a few roving Bushmen, be peopled? By the white man, said the colonists: it is to the advantage of the world in all time to come that the higher race should expand and be dominant here; it would be treason to humanity to prevent its growth where it can grow without wrong to

¹ The colonists were not alone in making such statements concerning the missionaries. See Lichtenstein's truthful and temperately written work. And ample proof that these charges were not overdrawn may be found in missionary letters preserved in manuscript in the Colonial Records, and in their printed reports and correspondence.

others, or to plant an inferior stock where the superior can take root and flourish. By Africans, said the missionaries: this is African soil, and if mission stations are established on its desolate tracts, people will be drawn to them from the far interior, the community will grow rapidly, those enlightened by Christianity here will desire in their turn to enlighten their friends beyond, and thus the Gospel teaching will spread until all Africa stretches out its hands to God. Coupled with such arguments, which were constantly used by missionaries in the early part of this century, before their enthusiasm was cooled by experience, were calculations that appealed strongly to the commercial instincts of people in England. A dozen colonial farmers required something like a hundred square miles of land for their cattle runs; on this same ground, under missionary supervision, three or four hundred families of blacks could exist; these blacks would shortly need large quantities of manufactured goods; and thus it would be to the interest of trade to encourage them rather than the colonists. Already, said they, after only a few years' training, many blacks can read as well or better than the ordinary colonists, and are exhibiting a decided taste for civilisation.

There was thus a broad line of demarcation between the colonists and such of the missionaries as held these views, and the tendency on each side was to make it still broader. It was deepened into positive antipathy towards those missionaries who, following Dr. Vanderkemp's example, united themselves in marriage with black women, and proclaimed themselves the champions of the black population against the white. Everyone acquainted with South African natives knows how ready they are to please their friends by bringing forward charges against any one whom those friends dislike. Unfortunately the missionaries Vanderkemp and Read were deceived into believing a great number of charges of cruelty made against various colonists, which a little observation would have shown in most instances to be groundless; and thereupon they lodged accusations before the High Court of Justice. In 1811 between seventy and eighty such cases came before the Circuit Court for trial. There was hardly a family on the frontier

of which some relative was not brought as a criminal before the judges to answer to a charge of murder or violent assault. Several months were occupied in the trials, and more than a thousand witnesses were examined, but in every instance the most serious charges were proved to be without foundation. Only a few convictions, and those of no very outrageous crimes, resulted from these prosecutions, which kept the entire colony in a ferment until long after the circuit was closed.

Thus far every one will approve of the sentiments of one party or the other according to his sympathy, but in what follows no unprejudiced person who will take the trouble to study the matter thoroughly can acquit the anti-colonial missionaries of something more faulty than mere error of judgment. For years their writings teemed with charges against the colonists similar to those they had brought before the High Court of Justice. These writings were circulated widely in Europe where the voice of the colonists was never heard, and they created impressions there which no refutation made in South Africa could ever counteract. The acts, the language, even the written petitions of the colonists, were so distorted in accounts sent home that these accounts cannot now be read by those who have made themselves acquainted with the truth without the liveliest feelings of indignation being excited.

The great bulk of what was thus written in prejudice never indeed came to the notice of the colonists, but occasionally a missionary report or letter was translated into Dutch and circulated among them. Dr. Philip's "Researches in South Africa," published in 1828, added greatly to the bitterness already existing. Some extracts from Dr. Vanderkemp's letters, quoted in that work, were specially irritating. In one letter, after grossly misrepresenting certain public events, Dr. Vanderkemp had written that "it was not so easy to eradicate the inveterate prejudices against our work among the heathen out of the stony hearts of more barbarous inhabitants; and it was evident that our relation to English benefactors was only a pretext to give vent to a deeper rooted enmity against God, His Christ, and the extension of His kingdom of love and grace

among the heathen." By the "more barbarous inhabitants" Dr. Vanderkemp meant a body of colonists, and his dreadful accusation against them was made because they held different views concerning the best means of civilizing the Hottentots. In another extract it was seen that Dr. Vanderkemp had proposed to the Government that "no Boer may engage such a member (*i.e.*, one whose name was inscribed on the books of the Bethelsdorp station) in his service, by annual contract, except in presence and with consent of the missionary, and that no fieldcornet have any authority within the institution." The Rev. Mr. Read was found petitioning that the missionaries and residents at mission stations should be exempted from payment of the ordinary taxes. These and many more quotations of a similar tendency were endorsed and eulogized by Dr. Philip.

The colonists learned that in England they were regarded as cruel barbarians because they refused to permit Hottentot herds swarming with vermin to be seated in their front rooms at the time of family prayer. They found themselves pictured as the harshest of taskmasters, as unfeeling violators of native rights. And of late years it had become plain to them that the views of their opponents were being acted upon at the Colonial Office, while their complaints were wholly disregarded.

Although the expression London Missionary Society, without the names of individual missionaries, is frequently found in the correspondence of this period, it was really only a section of its agents that was in collision with the colonists. Instances were not rare of missionaries of this Society commanding the highest esteem and affection of the population of European descent. Among these may be mentioned Mr. Kicherer, who, while continuing the work which he came to this country to perform, ministered as a clergyman of the Established Church to a large European congregation; Mr. Pacalt, the founder of the station close to George, whose earnest devotion to duty, blameless life, and Christian love for white and black alike, caused him to be regarded almost as a saint; and Mr. Brownlee, the founder of the first permanent Kaffir mission; without referring to very many of later date. With the agents of the

other Societies, the Moravian, who were earlier in the field, and the Wesleyan, Scotch, German, and French, who arrived at a later date, the colonists were in general on friendly terras, though they were far from being in accord with all of them on all subjects.

Several causes of dissatisfaction besides those above mentioned contributed to the impulse for emigration, but all in a very slight degree. Judge Cloete, in his "Five Lectures," mentions the severe punishment inflicted upon the frontier insurgents of 1815 as one of them, and there is no doubt that it was so with some families, though no trace of it can be found in the correspondence of the Emigrants. The substitution in 1827 of the English for the Dutch language in the colonial courts of law was certainly generally felt as a grievance. The alteration in 1813 of the system of land tenure, the redemption in 1825 of the paper currency at only thirty-six hundredths of its nominal value, and the abolition in 1827 of the courts of land drost and heemraden unquestionably caused much disaffection, though all of these measures are now admitted by everyone to have been beneficial. The long delay in issuing titles to farms, the cost of which had been paid to Government years before, is mentioned as a grievance in some of the declarations.

Some years later when, owing to the internal weakness of the different Emigrant Governments coupled with security against violence by natives, it became possible for runaway debtors and rogues of different descriptions to live and thrive upon the borders of their settlements, it was frequently asserted by their enemies that the farmers had left the Colony principally to free themselves from the restraints of law. But this charge was as untrue as it was ungenerous. The early Emigrants constantly maintained that they left the Colony to free themselves not of law but of lawlessness. A few men of indifferent character may have gone with the stream, but the boast of the Emigrants as a body was that they left in open day and after their intentions had been publicly announced. That they should be followed by men whose motives were different was quite natural, but they cannot in justice be blamed for it.

On leaving the Colony the Emigrants maintained that they ceased to be British subjects. They asserted that the Cape having become an English possession by conquest and subsequent cession by its former sovereign, they were English subjects while they remained within its bounds, but that no allegiance was due to the King by them when they left it, as they were not His Majesty's subjects by descent. This claim, however, was not admitted by either the Colonial or the Imperial Government, who denied their right to throw off their allegiance in this way.

Most of the Emigrants abandoned the Colony in parties or bands, each party under an elected leader termed a commandant. The first to leave was a little band of forty-nine individuals¹ from the division of Albany, under a leader named Louis Triechard. Triechard was a man of violent temper, and had given vent to his animosity to the Imperial Government in such blustering language that he was regarded by the Colonial authorities as capable even of joining the Kaffirs against the English. At the close of the war of 1834-5, Colonel Smith offered a reward of five hundred head of cattle for his apprehension, which led to his leaving at once.

This party was joined before it crossed the Colonial border by another of equal size under Johannes Rensburg.²

Together they had thirty waggons. Travelling slowly northward, in May 1836 they reached the Zoutpansberg, where they halted for a while. After a short delay, Rensburg's party moved on again, and soon afterwards encountered a tribe of natives, by whom it was believed they were all murdered. Many years later, however, it was ascertained that two of the children had been spared, and had grown up among the savages.

¹Louis Triechard with wife and four children, Carel Triechard with wife and two children, Hendrik Boothe with wife and five children, J. Pretorius with wife and four children, G. Scheepers with wife and nine children, H. Strydom with wife and five children, J. Albrecht with wife and five children, and a young man named Daniel Pfeffer.

²Johannes Rensburg with wife and four children, S. Bronkhorst with wife and six children, G. Bronkhorst the elder with wife and one child, G. Bronkhorst the younger with wife, Jacobus de Wet with wife, F. van Wyk with wife and two children, P. Viljoen with wife and six children, H. Kraunkamp with wife and three children, N. Prins with wife and eight children, and M. Prins.

With a view of ascertaining the distance of Delagoa Bay and the nature of the intervening country, a few months later Trieckhard's party also left the Zoutpansberg, though with an intention of returning and forming a permanent settlement there. Their design was frustrated by fever, which attacked them and carried off several of their number, and the tsetse fly, which destroyed nearly the whole of their cattle. In April 1838, feeble and impoverished they reached the Bay, where they met with unbounded hospitality from the Portuguese authorities. There they remained for more than a year, during which time their number was constantly diminishing by fever. At length their friends, hearing where and in what condition they were, chartered the schooner *Mazeppa* to proceed to Delagoa Bay to their relief, and in July 1839 the remnant of the party, twenty-five in number,¹ were landed in Natal. One young man, a son of Louis Trieckhard, had gone to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the Bay, but in the following year he managed to travel overland to his friends in Natal. Thus of the ninety-eight individuals who formed the first body of Emigrants, all had perished except the twenty-six who reached Natal in a state of destitution and the two still more wretched who were living with the savages.

During the winter of 1836 preparations for emigration were being made all over the Eastern and Midland districts. The Government was perfectly helpless in the matter. The Attorney-General, Mr. A. Oliphant, was consulted by the Governor, and gave his opinion that "it seemed next to an impossibility to prevent persons passing out of the Colony by laws in force or by any which could be framed." On the 19th of August, Sir Benjamin D'Urban wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, that "he could see no means of stopping the emigration except by persuasion and attention to the wants and necessities of the farmers." In that direction the Governor had done all that was in his power, but he could not act in opposition to the instructions of the Secre-

¹ Mrs. H. Botha and five children, Mrs. G. Scheepers and five children, Mrs. J. Pretorius and two children, three young men, and seven orphan children.

tary of State. Sir Andries Stockenstrom himself, in replying to an address from the inhabitants of Uitenhage, stated that "he was not aware of any law which prevented any of His Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive."

Before this time the second party of Emigrants had left. It consisted of farmers from the Tarka, and was under Commandant Andries Hendrik Potgieter, a substantial burgher of kindly disposition and moderate views. Attached to this party, and acknowledging Potgieter as Chief-Commandant, was a body of burghers from the district of Colesberg. The subsequent sufferings of this section of the party and the events which those sufferings gave rise to, entitle it to particular notice. It consisted of Carel Cilliers with his wife and six children, Johannes du Toit with his family, Johannes Botha with his family, three families Kruger, eight families Liebenberg, four families Brookhuizen, four families Brits, and three families Rensburg. These did not all move out in one body, but about half of them joined Potgieter and went on in advance, and the others followed as fast as they could get away.

Commandant Potgieter directed his course northward past Thaba Ntshu until he came to the Vet River. On its banks close to the site of the present village of Winburg, he found a remnant of the Bataung tribe under the chief Makwana. Makwana claimed the whole country between the Vet and Vaal rivers as having been in possession of his tribe before the recent wars, but he was then in an abject condition, poor, powerless, and afraid to do anything that might draw upon him the notice of Moselekatse. Under these circumstances he was very ready to enter into an arrangement with Potgieter, by which he ceded to the Emigrants all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers, except a tract which he reserved for the use of his own people, upon condition of being protected from the Matabele and provided with a small herd of cattle. This arrangement having been concluded, the Emigrants in fancied security scattered themselves over the vacant country, and

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some of them even crossed the Vaal and went down along its northern bank to the junction of the Mooi.

On the 24th of May a party consisting of the Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, his brother Hermanus Potgieter, Messrs. Carel Cilliers, J. G. S. Bronkhorst, R. Jansen, L. van Vuuren, A. Zwanepoel, J. Roberts, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, H. Nicuwenhuizen, and C. Liebenberg, left the Sand River for the purpose of inspecting the country as far as Delagoa Bay. For eighteen days, or until they reached Rhenoster Poort, they met no natives, but from that point they found the country thinly inhabited. Seeking in vain for a passage through the rugged country on the east, they pushed on northward until they reached Louis Tricard's camp at the Zoutpansberg. There they turned back, and on the 2nd September arrived at the spot where they had left the last Emigrant encampment on their outward journey, where they found that a dreadful massacre had just taken place.

The massacre had been committed in the following manner. Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus, a field cornet living on the Kraai River in the present division of Aliwal North, had got up a party to hunt elephants in the interior, and had gone some distance north of the Vaal River for that purpose. The hunting party consisted of Erasmus himself, his three sons, Mr. Pieter Bekker and his son, and Messrs. Johannes Claasen and Carel Kruger. They had with them a number of coloured servants, five waggons, eighty oxen, and about fifty horses. They had not been very successful, and were slowly returning homewards, still hunting by the way. One morning they left the waggons and cattle as usual in charge of the servants, and forming three small parties, rode away in different directions. In the evening Erasmus and one of his sons, who were together during the day, returned to the waggons and found them surrounded by five or six hundred Matabele soldiers, being a band sent out by Moselekatse to scour the country. It was ascertained long afterwards that the other two sons of Erasmus and Carel Kruger, who formed a separate hunting party, had been surprised by the Matabele and murdered. The Bekkers and Claasen were out in another direction, and when the Mata-

bele came upon them they were some distance from each other. The first two escaped, the last was never heard of again.

Erasmus and the son who was with him rode for their lives towards the nearest party of Emigrants, who they knew were not further off than five hours on horseback. They obtained the assistance of eleven men, and were returning to ascertain the fate of the others, when they encountered a division of the Matabele army, and turned back to give notice to those behind. The families furthest in advance had hardly time to draw their waggons in a circle and collect within it, when the Matabele were upon them. From ten in the morning until four in the afternoon the assailants vainly endeavoured to force a way into the laager, and did not relinquish the attempt until fully a third of their number were stretched on the ground. Of thirty-five men within the laager, only one, Adolf Bronkhorst, was killed, but a youth named Christian Harmse and several coloured servants, who were herding cattle and collecting fuel at a distance, were murdered.

Another party of the Matabele had, in the meantime, gone further up the river, and had unexpectedly fallen upon the encampment of the Liebenbergs. They murdered there old Barend Liebenberg the patriarch of the family, his sons Stephanus, Barend, and Hendrik, his son-in-law Johannes du Toit, his daughter, Du Toit's wife, his son Hendrik's wife, a schoolmaster named Macdonald, four children, and twelve coloured servants; and they took away three children to present to their chief. The two divisions of Matabele warriors then united and returned to Mosega for the purpose of procuring reinforcements, taking with them large herds of the Emigrants' cattle.

Six days later, Erasmus, in his anxiety as to the fate of his sons, rode to the spot where his waggons had stood, and found there nothing but the bodies of five of the servants. His waggons were seen at Mosega by Captain Harris a few days later, and the same traveller learnt that two of the captive children, being girls, had been taken to one of Moselekatse's residences further north. He does not seem to have heard of the captive boy. At that time, the Emigrants themselves

were ignorant that the children were still alive, as until Captain Harris's return they believed that all had been murdered.

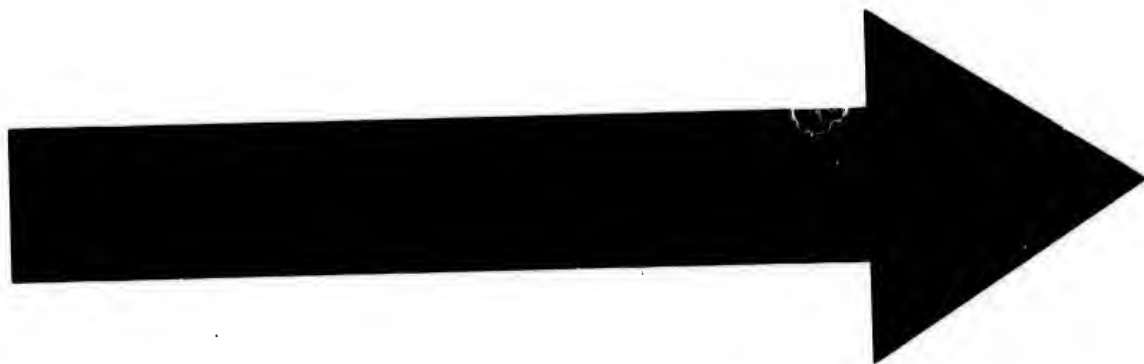
As soon as the Matabele were out of sight, the farmers hastened across the Vaal, and formed a lager at the place since known as Veehtkop, between the Rhenoster and Wilgo rivers. The lager was constructed of fifty waggons drawn up in a circle, firmly lashed together, and every opening closed with thorn trees.

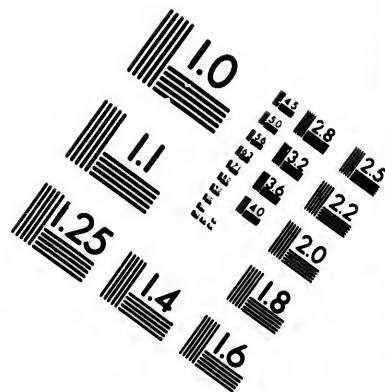
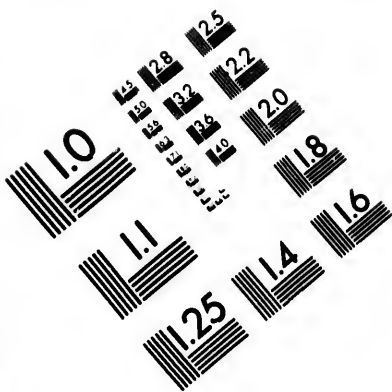
The month of October was well advanced when one morning a few frightened Bataung rushed into the camp and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Immediately the horses were saddled, and after a short religious service conducted by Mr. Carel Cilliers, the farmers rode out with Commandant Potgieter at their head, and encountered a division of Moselekatse's forces, about five thousand strong, under Kalipi, Moselekatse's favourite captain. Riding close up, they poured a volley into the mass of savages, and then retired to reload their clumsy guns. This manœuvre they repeated, constantly falling back, until the lager was reached.

The Matabele now thought they had the farmers in a trap, and encircling the camp, they sat down at some distance from it, and feasted their eyes with a sight of their supposed victims. After a while they suddenly rose, and with a loud hiss, their ordinary signal of destruction, they rushed upon the lager and endeavoured to force an entrance. There were only forty men, all told, inside, but luckily they had spare guns, and the women knew how to load them. The assailants were received with a deadly fire, and they fell back, but only to rush on again. The waggons were lashed together too firmly to be moved, and finding it impossible to get to close quarters, the foremost Matabele soldiers abandoned their usual method of fighting, and hurled their heavy assagais into the lager. One thousand one hundred and thirteen of these weapons were afterwards picked up in the camp. By this means they managed to kill two of the defenders, Nicholas Potgieter and Pieter Botha, and to wound, more or less severely, twelve others. Still the fire kept up by those who remained was so hot that Kalipi judged it expedient to retire, and in less than half an hour

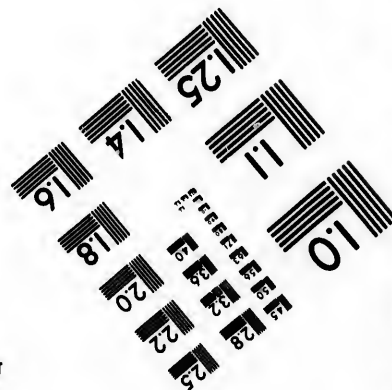
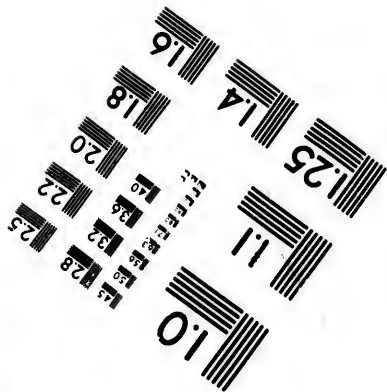
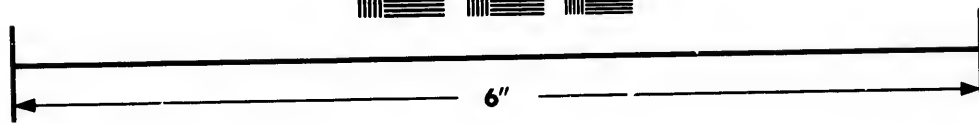
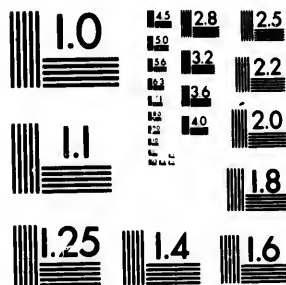
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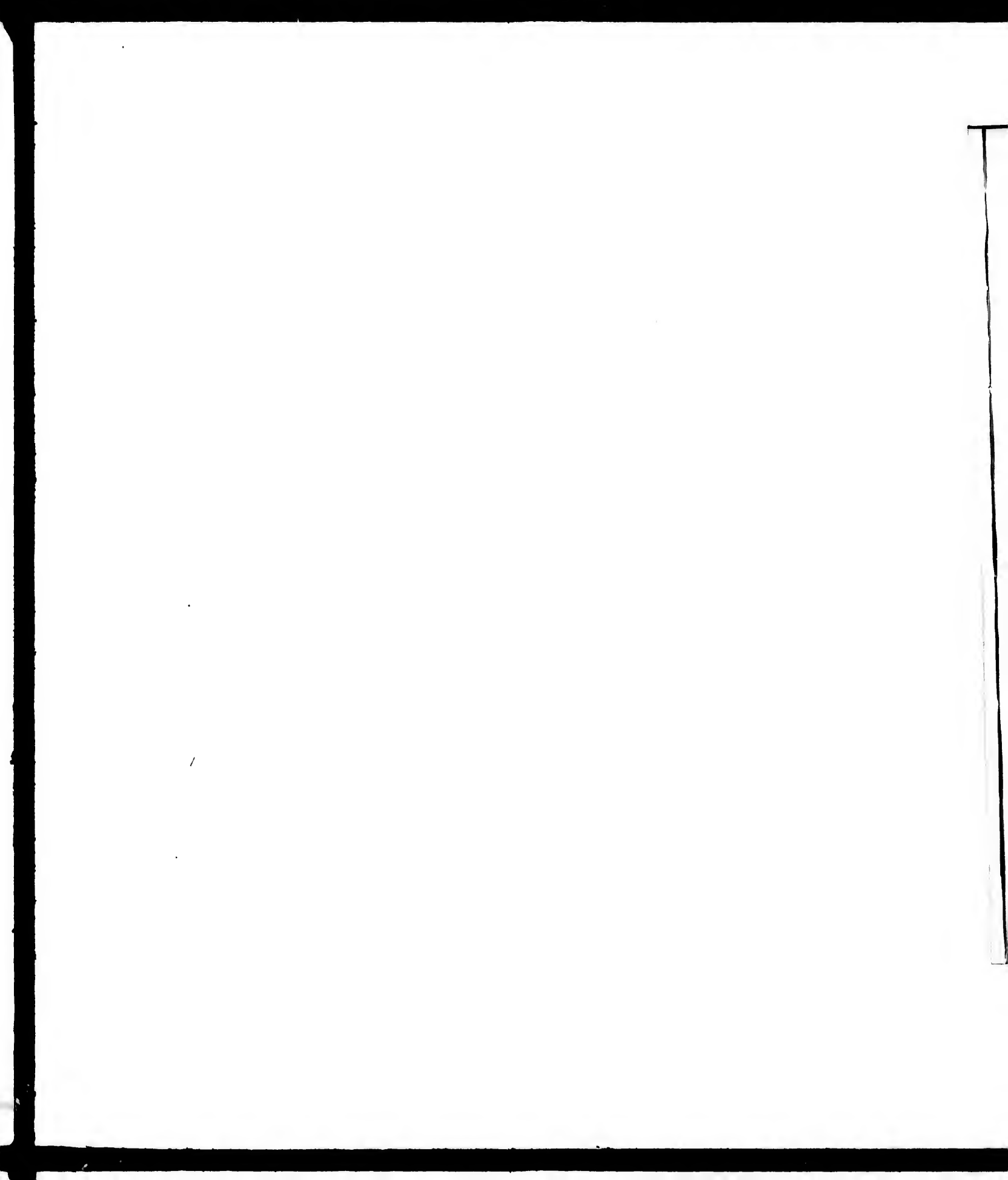
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after the first rush, the Matabele turned to retreat. They, however, collected the whole of the cattle belonging to the Emigrants, and drove them off, leaving not a hoof except the horses which the farmers had been riding, and which were within the camp.

Potgieter with his little band followed them until sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover any cattle. On their return to the camp, they counted a hundred and fifty-five corpses close to the waggons. Altogether, the Matabele had now killed twenty whites and twenty-six persons of colour, and they had swept off a hundred horses, four thousand six hundred head of horned cattle, and more than fifty thousand sheep and goats.

Just at this time the first families of the third party of Emigrants from the Colony arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu. This party came from the division of Graaff-Reinet, and was under the leadership of Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who had previously been the proprietor of a large waggon-making establishment, and was a man of considerable wealth. They had not less than one hundred waggons with them, and as their flocks and herds were very numerous, they were obliged to travel slowly and to spread over a great extent of country. Almost the first information of the earlier Emigrants which came to their ears after they crossed the Orange was brought by Hermanus Potgieter to Thaba Ntshu, to which place he was sent by his brother to seek assistance for the families at Vechtkop, who were left in a helpless condition by the loss of their cattle.

The Rev. Mr. Archbell, Wesleyan missionary at Thaba Ntshu, spared no exertions to procure aid for his suffering fellow Christians. Through his influence, Moroko lent some oxen, the missionary sent his own, the farmers in the neighbourhood went with their teams, and by these combined means the whole of Potgieter's camp was brought back to Thaba Ntshu. Upon the arrival of the distressed people, Moroko treated them with great kindness. He gave them corn, and even lent them cows to supply their children with milk.

On the 2nd of December 1836, a general assembly of the

Emigrants was held for the purpose of deciding upon the form of their future government. They resolved to elect a body of seven members, which should have supreme legislative and judicial power. The choice of the electors fell upon Messrs. Gerrit Marthinus Maritz, Andries Hendrik Potgieter, Jan Gerrit Bronkhorst, Christian Jacobus Liebenberg, Pieter Greyling, Daniel Kruger, and Stephanus Janse van Vuuren, who constituted the first Emigrant Volksraad.

As soon as possible the Commandants Potgieter and Maritz assembled a force for the purpose of punishing Moselekatse. The Griqua captain Peter Davids eagerly tendered the services of his followers, in the hope that the expedition might effect the release of his daughter and his nephew. Matlabe, the petty Barolong chief who had once been a soldier in the Matabele army, volunteered to be the guide. A few Koranas and Barolong engaged their services with a view to sharing the spoil. As ultimately made up, the force consisted of one hundred and seven farmers on horseback, forty of Peter David's Grikwas and five or six Koranas, also on horseback, and sixty natives¹ on

¹ This does not agree with the statements made of late years on behalf of Montsiwa, in which Tawane is represented as having entered into alliance with Potgieter and as having furnished a powerful contingent on the express understanding that he should have the whole "country of Tao" restored to him. (See among numerous other statements to this effect. Par. 38 of Captain Harrell's Memorandum in Imperial Bluebook C-3635 of 1883.) The authority on which I give the total number of Barolong that accompanied the commando is the following:—

In an account of their proceedings drawn up by the leaders of the Emigrants at Sand River on the 3rd of December 1838, and addressed to Sir George Napier, it is stated that "slight assistance" was received from Moroko, Peter Davids, and Sikonyela, but Tawane is not even mentioned.

Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who having quarrelled with Mr. Potgieter took the whole credit of the expedition to himself, in a letter which he wrote to a friend on the 17th of March 1837, and which was immediately published in several of the Colonial newspapers, says, "ik ben uitgetrokken tegen Masselikatse met 107 man Burgers, benevens 40 Bastaards, en 60 man van de Marolesen."

Captain Harris, who had just returned from Moselekatse's country and who was acquainted with all the circumstances, in his account in "The Wild Sports of Southern Africa" states it as "sixty armed savages on foot."

Judge Cloete, in his "Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers," delivered in Natal in 1852 and 1855, and published in Cape Town in 1856, gives the number of the entire commando as two hundred, without saying in what proportions the force was composed.

The Rev. Mr. Grout, in his "Zululand," follows Harris and says "sixty armed savages on foot," and as he like Judge Cloete had the very best means of information

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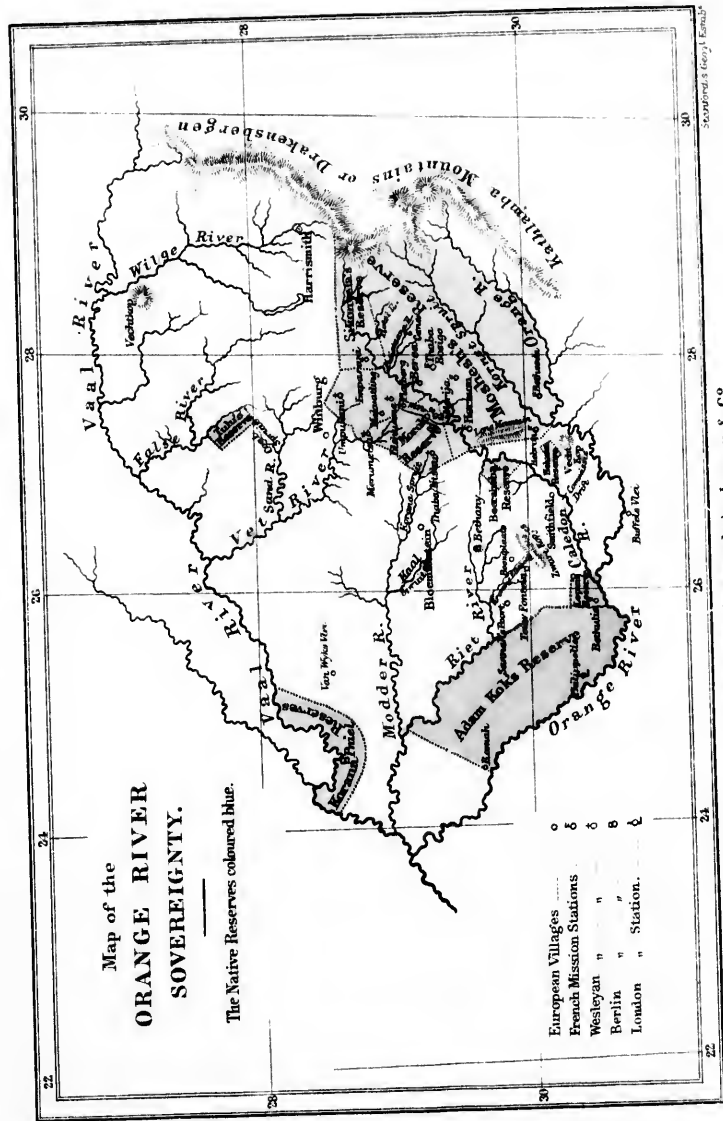
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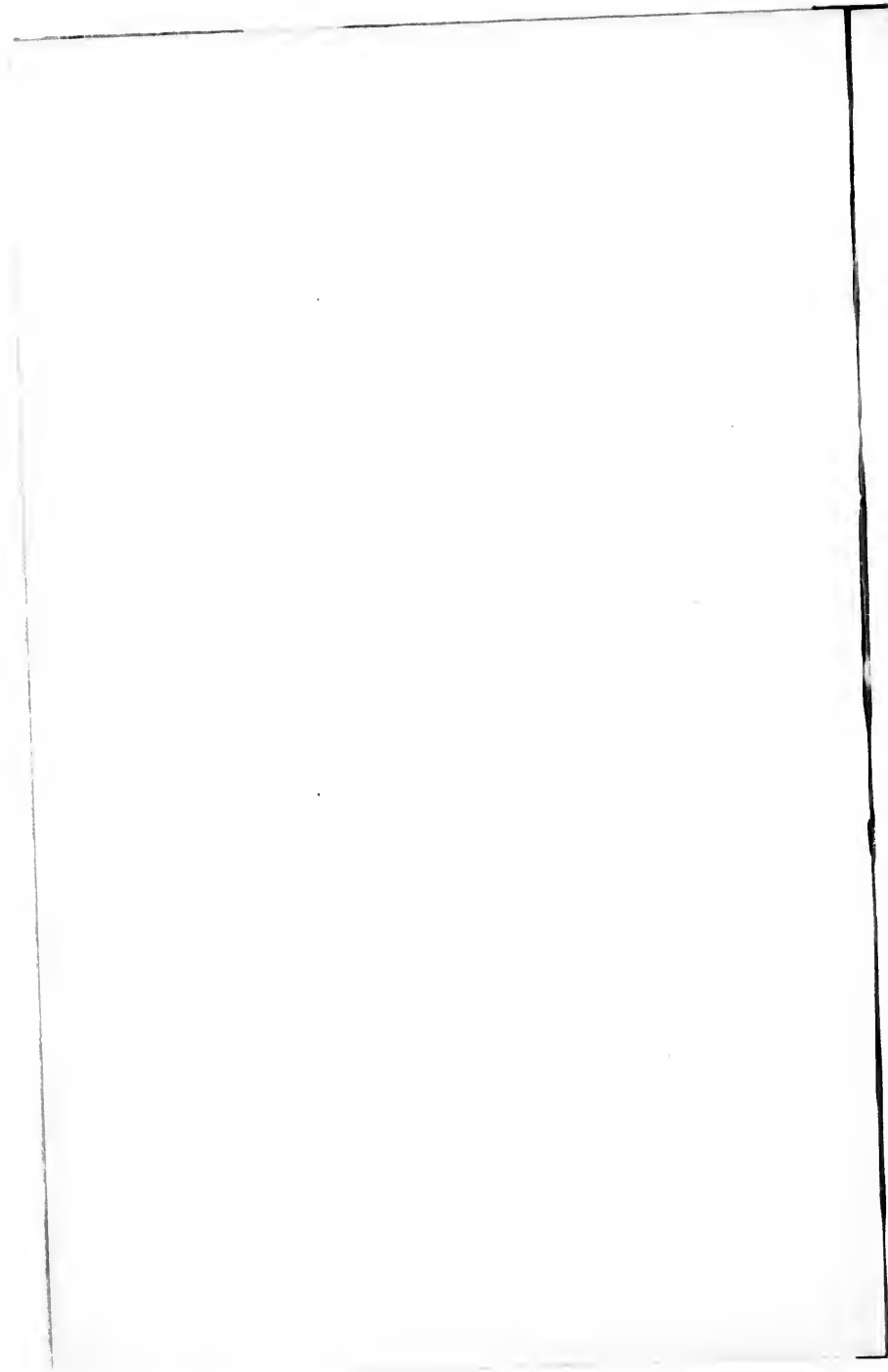
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foot belonging in about equal numbers to the clans of Gontse, Tawane, Moroko, and Matlabe.

Under Matlabe's guidance the commando pursued its march through a country so desolate that after crossing the Vaal not a single individual was met, and the approach of a hostile force was quite unknown to the Matabele. At early dawn on the morning of the 17th of January 1837, the military camp in the valley of Mosega was surprised. This camp consisted of fifteen separate kraals, and was under command of the induna Kalipi, who happened at the time to be away at Kapayin fifty miles further to the northward.

Seven months earlier, three American missionaries, Dr. Wilson and the Rev. Messrs. Lindley and Venable, had taken up their residence at Mosega with Moselekatse's permission. The chief had met Christian teachers before, but he had never comprehended even the first principles of the doctrines which they endeavoured to expound. As soon as he ascertained that

concerning this event, while the sources of their knowledge were different, if this was an error and the party had been a large one he would most likely have corrected it.

Mr. Carel Cilliers, who accompanied both this and the next expedition against Moselekatse, in his journal published in H. J. Hofstede's "Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat" ('s Gravenhage, 1876), never once mentions auxiliaries. He says: "En de nood drong ons dat wij met 107 man het ondernam om tegen de magtige vijand op te trekken, en onze God gaf hem in onze handen, dat wij hem een groot nederlaag gaf en 6,000 beesten van hem namen, en niet een van ons gemis."

Mr. G. J. Kruger, who was with both this expedition and the one in the following November, in an account of the emigration written in February 1852 for the Assistant Commissioners Hogge and Owen, does not allude to native assistance on either occasion. His account remained in manuscript among the documents relating to the Orange River Sovereignty until 1886, when at my instance it was published in the *Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*.

Mr. J. G. van Vuuren, who was with the commando, in his evidence before the Bloemhof commissioners in 1871, says: "about forty coloured people with us under Matlabe."

Matlabe himself, in his evidence on the same occasion says, "Tawane gave two sons, Gontse also gave two of his sons; Tawane's sons took a small number of Kaffirs with them, also Gontse's sons, and I took fourteen, including myself; Moroko did not send any men, but three of his men joined us afterwards."

Against all this evidence, in addition to the overwhelming testimony of subsequent events, the advocates of Montsiwa have to support their views nothing but a letter from Mrs. Erasmus Smit, who was in the Emigrant camp at the time and who wrote to her son in overdrawn language of hundreds of the Maroese helping them; the evidence of Moroko at Bloemhof, in which he says "we mustered a great many men;" and the assertions of some of Montsiwa's followers made for the first time more than a quarter of a century after the event.

the preaching of the American missionaries was against his actions he forbade his people to listen to them, and shortly afterwards he left Mosega and went to reside at Kapayin. The missionaries had been attacked by fever, and some members of their families had died; but they still continued at their post, hoping and praying for an opportunity of carrying on the work to which they had devoted themselves. On the morning of the 17th of January they were awakened by the report of guns, and rushing out of their hut they saw clouds of smoke rising above the entrances of two of the passes into the valley, indicating the position of the farmers under Potgieter and Maritz.

The Matabele soldiers grasped their spears and shields, and rushed forward; but volleys of slugs from the long elephant guns of the farmers drove them back in confusion. Their commanding officer was away, and there was no one of sufficient authority to restore order. The soldiers took to flight, and were hunted by the farmers until the sun was high overhead, when it was computed that at least four hundred must have been slain. The commando then set fire to the military kraals, and having found in the valley most of the waggons that had belonged to their murdered friends and six or seven thousand head of cattle, it was considered advisable to return to the Caledon. Not a single individual, European or native, had been hurt on their side. The missionaries and their families returned with the commando. The native contingent acted as herds, and received payment in cattle for its services. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, stated that he "got forty-seven head, and Tawane's and Gontse's sons each thirty-seven head; he received the most cattle because he was the leading man and the guide."

After returning from Mosega, Potgieter removed from the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu to the Vet River, and formed his camp at a place to which he gave the name of Winburg, from the recent victory. There his party was strengthened by the arrival of numerous families from the Colony. In a short time some of them erected rough cottages, and thus the foundation of a permanent village was laid. Unfortunately, jealousy of each other, that evil which was afterwards so pro-

minent among the Emigrants, had already begun to appear. Potgieter and Maritz quarrelled, and party feeling was bitter and strong.

In April 1837 another band of Emigrants arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu. It consisted of twenty-six families from the Winterberg,¹ in all one hundred and eight individuals besides servants, and was under the leadership of Mr. Pieter Retief, a man of great worth. Mr. Retief, who traced his descent from one of the Huguenots who fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and came to South Africa in 1688, was born and brought up near the present village of Wellington, but had removed to the Eastern Frontier. In 1820 when the British Settlers arrived he contracted with the Government for the supply of provisions to them. In this capacity he was brought into close contact with the leading Settlers, and soon acquired their confidence and esteem. Subsequently heavy losses in building contracts reduced his circumstances, and he then went to reside at the Winterberg, where the war of 1834-5 still further impoverished him. At this time he was Field Commandant of his Division. His remonstrances against the policy pursued towards the Kaffirs after the war brought him into disfavour with Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, who wrote to him in such a style as to increase his irritation. He then resolved to leave the Colony, and was immediately elected by the intending Emigrants from the Winterberg to be their head. A document embodying the reasons for emigrating was then drawn up, and was published in the *Graham's Town Journal*, upon which the Lieutenant-Governor officially announced that he had struck Mr. Retief's name out of the list of Field Commandants because he had signed it.

Upon his arrival at Thaba Ntshu, Mr. Retief was elected Commandant General of all the Emigrants, then numbering over a thousand souls. His first task was to compose the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, and he apparently suc-

¹ Pieter Retief and family, James Edwards and family, 3 families Greyling, 7 families Rensburg, 2 families Malan, 3 families Viljoen, 1 family Meyer, 1 family Van Dijk, 2 families Joubert, 1 family Dreyer, 3 families Van Staden, and a schoolmaster named Alfred Smith.

ceeded in restoring friendship between them, though it only lasted a short season. His next care was for the observance of public worship. There was no ordained clergyman among the Emigrants, but there was an old missionary teacher, by name Erasmus Smit, and he was engaged to conduct the services. Mr. Maritz was recognised as landdrost or magistrate. Mr. Retief then visited the chiefs Moroko, Tawane, Moshesh, and Sikonyela, and entered into agreements of mutual friendship with them.

While these arrangements were being made, the number of the Emigrants was rapidly increasing. They were arriving by single families as well as in parties. One large band under Mr. Pieter Jacobs came from the Division of Beaufort. Another under Mr. Jacobus Uys came from Uitenhage. This last numbered more than one hundred souls, and was composed entirely of Mr. Uys's sons and daughters with their wives and husbands, children and grandchildren, for the leader was nearly seventy years of age. He was one of the most widely respected men in South Africa. His son Peter Lavras Uys had won the admiration of the British Settlers by his gallant conduct in the Kaffir war, and when the party reached Graham's Town on its way towards the border, the residents of that place testified their sympathy by a public deputation which in the name of the community presented a large and very handsome bible to the old man.

By the end of May there were more than a thousand waggons between the Caledon and Vaal rivers, and Mr. Retief resolved early in June to send another expedition against the Matabele. He had already sent word to Moselekatse that if everything taken from the Emigrants was restored, he would agree to peace, but no answer had been returned. Sikonyela, Moroko, and Tawane, seeing the farmers in such strength, offered their services, which Mr. Retief declined with thanks as he knew from experience how impossible it would be to satisfy the demands of native allies. The expedition, however, was prevented from proceeding by rumours that the Griquas of Waterboer and Kok were preparing to attack the Emigrants.

About this time, possibly a month earlier or a month later Dingan, Tshaka's successor, sent an army against Moselekatse. The Matabele were defeated by the Zulus in a great battle, in which one of their regiments perished almost to a man. They saw their cattle in possession of the conquerors; but they had courage and discipline enough to rally, and by another engagement they managed to recover some of their herds. The Zulus then retreated to their own country, taking with them among the captured cattle some oxen and sheep that had once belonged to the farmers.

During the winter of 1837 the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz was revived, and the whole of the Emigrants were affected by it. Retief found it impossible to restore concord. From this time onward for some years jealousies were so rife, and party feeling ran so high, that it is not safe to take the statement of any individual among the Emigrants as an accurate version of occurrences. Even the account of Mr. J. N. Boshof, the calmest and best writer among them, is distorted by partisan feeling. These jealousies caused the secession of a large number of the farmers from the principal body under Mr. Retief. The parties of Potgieter and Uys resolved to set up distinct governments of their own, the first on the ground purchased from Makwana, the last somewhere in the territory that is now the Colony of Natal. To Natal also Retief determined to proceed, and in October he paid a preliminary visit to that district. While he was absent, the second expedition against the Matabele took place.

The commando consisted of two divisions, mustering together one hundred and thirty-five farmers, one division being under Hendrik Potgieter, the other under Pieter Uys. It was also accompanied by a few native herdsmen, exactly how many it is impossible to ascertain, as they are not even mentioned in any of the contemporary accounts. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, said that "he did not go himself, he sent three of his brothers with twenty men, but none of the other captains did that he saw." Mongala, a brother of Matlabe, stated on the same occasion that he "accompanied Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys with the second commando against Moselekatse, and

had some Barolong under his command," without mentioning how many.¹ Moroko may have furnished two or three men, but no record can be traced of a single man having been sent by either Gontse or Tawane.

In November 1837 this expedition found Moselekatse on the Marikwa, about fifty miles north of Mosega, where it attacked him, and in a campaign of nine days inflicted such loss that he fled far away beyond the Limpopo, never to return. The accounts as to the number of Matabele killed on this occasion are very conflicting, both in the documents of the time and in the relations of the actors many years after the event. Mr. Carel Cilliers, who was with the expedition, in his journal set it down as over three thousand.² The Rev. Mr. Lindley, who obtained his information from members of the commando, and who wrote immediately after the event, evidently thought four or five hundred would be nearer the mark. His words are: "On returning to his encampment, Mr. Retief found that a considerable number of the farmers were absent on an expedition against Moselekatse. . . . The expedition against Moselekatse had about the same success as the one in January." Between these extremes there are many accounts, no two of which agree in this respect. The fighting—or rather the chase of the Matabele army, for no farmer was killed—took place over a large extent of ground, and the dead could not have been counted. This matters little, however, for the fact remains that the punishment inflicted upon Moselekatse was so severe that he found it necessary to abandon the country he had devastated, and flee to the far north, there to resume on other tribes his previous career of destruction.

Six or seven thousand head of cattle were captured by the expedition, and given over to the native herdsmen to take care of. One night these were surprised by a small party of Matabele, when several of the Barolong lost their lives, and some of the cattle were retaken. In the division of the captured stock,

¹ This witness's evidence was found on the whole to be unreliable, and in some matters false, but he was known to have been with the commando.

² His words are: "Op deze keer gaf de Heer onze God hem weder in onze handen dat wij hem ten onder bragten, en over de 3000 van hen sneuvelde, zoo dat zij toen hun land verlieten, en wat de zijne was is de onze geworden."

the native herdsmen were very liberally dealt with, Matlabe's people receiving sixty-nine head for their services.

After the flight of Moselekatse, Commandant Potgieter proclaimed the whole of the territory which that chief had overrun and now abandoned, forfeited to the Emigrants. It included the greater part of the present South African Republic, fully half of the present Orange Free State, and the whole of Southern Betschuannaland to the Kalahari Desert, except the district occupied by the Batlapin. This immense tract of country was then almost uninhabited, and must have remained so if the Matabele had not been driven out.

In addition to the printed works mentioned elsewhere, the following were consulted by me when writing this chapter :—

"Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816, with some account of the Settlements of the United Brethren near the Cape of Good Hope." By the Rev. C. I. Latrobe. A quarto volume of 406 pages, London, 1818.

"Ten Years in Southern Africa." By Cowper Rose, Royal Engineer. An octavo volume of 308 pages, London, 1829.

"Humane Policy, or Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements, &c." By S. Bannister, late Attorney-General of New South Wales. An octavo volume of 248 pages with an Appendix of 282 pages (devoted to South Africa), London, 1830.

"Narrative of a Residence in South Africa." By Thomas Pringle. A crown octavo volume of 356 pages, London, 1835.

"Ten Years in South Africa, including a Particular Description of the Wild Sports of that Country." By Lieutenant J. W. D. Moodie, 21st Fusiliers. Two volumes octavo, London, 1835.

"Account of an Eighteen Months' Residence at the Cape of Good Hope in 1835-6." By John Fawcett, H.E.I.C. Military Service. An octavo volume of 98 pages, Cape Town, 1836.

"A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-5." By Robert Godlonton, Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*. An octavo volume of 280 pages, Graham's Town, 1836.

"Narrative of a Voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa in the Flag-Ship *Thalia*, and of a Campaign in Kaffirland, on the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, in 1835." By James Edward Alexander, K.L.S., Captain 42nd Highlanders. Two volumes octavo, London, 1837.

"The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation." By Justus. A crown

octavo volume of 333 pages, London, 1837. This book is a good specimen of the kind of literature which at the time of its publication half maddened colonists of all nationalities, and as such it is valuable. Its statements, however, are so distorted that it is otherwise useless. The author of such a production could not be expected to give his name.

"Notes on South African Affairs from 1834 to 1838." By William B. Boyce, Wesleyan Missionary. An octavo volume of 251 pages, Graham's Town, 1838.

"History of Southern Africa, comprising the Cape of Good Hope Mauritius, Seychelles, &c." By R. Montgomery Martin. A crown octavo volume of 417 pages, London (Second Edition), 1843.

"Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope with Excursions into the Interior, and Notes on the Natural History and the Native Tribes." By Charles J. F. Bunbury, F.L.S., Foreign Secretary of the Geological Society. - An octavo volume of 297 pages, London, 1848.

"Excursions in Southern Africa, including a History of the Cape Colony, an Account of the Native Tribes, &c." By Lieutenant Colonel E. Elers Napier, lately employed on special service in Kaffirland. Two volumes crown octavo, London, 1850.

"Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines in 1835 and 1836, and the Report of the Select Committee in 1837." Imperial Bluebooks of enormous dimensions. The investigation was conducted in such a manner as to favour the views of an extreme party, and hence the conclusions were as erroneous as much of the evidence was misleading.

"Evidence taken at Bloemhof before the Commission appointed to investigate the Claims of the South African Republic, Captain N. Waterboer, and certain other Native Chiefs, to Portions of the Territory on the Vaal River now known as the Diamond Fields." A Bluebook of 392 pages published at Cape Town in 1871. No care has been taken in correcting the proofs of this important Bluebook, and proper names are so misspelt that the volume is almost useless to any one not well acquainted with the subject.

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CHAPTER IV.

Formation of an English Settlement at Port Natal.—Assassination of Tshaka, and Accession of Dingan to the Zulu Chieftainship.—Flight of the Amakwabi.—Murder of Mr. Farewell and others by the Amakwabi.—Failure of the Exploring Expedition under Messrs. Cowie and Green.—Visit of Colonial Farmers to Natal.—Captain A. F. Gardiner in Natal and Zululand.—Foundation of the Town of Durban.—Treaty between Captain Gardiner and Dingan.—Establishment of the American Mission in Natal and Zululand.—The Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill.—Visit of Pieter Retief to Dingan.—Conditions on which Dingan offered Natal to the Emigrant Farmers.—Fulfilment of the Conditions.—Arrival of a Large Party of Emigrant Farmers in Natal.—Second Visit to Dingan of Pieter Retief, with Sixty-five White Men and Lads, and about Thirty Hottentots.—Deed of Cession of Natal.—Massacre of Retief's Party by the Zulus.—Dreadful Massacre of Men, Women, and Children, in Natal.—Unsuccessful Expeditions against the Zulus.—Proceedings of the Emigrant Farmers in Natal.—Arrival of Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, and his Election as Commandant General.—Commando against Dingan.—Battle and Victory at the Blood River.—March to Umkungunhlovu.—Occupation of Port Natal by a Military Force.—Foundation of Pietermaritzburg.—Negotiations with Dingan.—Withdrawal of the Troops from Port Natal.—Revolt of Panda against his Brother Dingan.—March of Allied Forces of Pretorius and Panda against Dingan.—Unjustifiable Execution of two Zulus.—Great Battle between the Forces of Dingan and Panda, and Victory of the latter.—Flight of Dingan, and his Assassination.—Installation by Mr. Pretorius of Panda as King of the Zulus.—Proclamation of Mr. Pretorius, taking possession of the country to the Umvolosi River.

IN order to understand the events that took place when the Emigrant Farmers entered Natal in 1837, it is necessary to go back several years, to cast a glance at the little settle-

ment of Englishmen on the shores of the Bay, and to resume the thread of Zulu history.

In 1822 some merchants at Cape Town formed a joint stock company for the purpose of trading with the natives on the south-eastern coast, and with that object fitted out a brig named the *Salisbury*, of which Mr. James Saunders King, who had once been a midshipman in the Royal Navy, was then master. The supercargo and principal agent of the company was a man of great energy, named Francis George Farewell, formerly a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and a close friend of Mr. King. The *Salisbury* put into Algoa Bay on her passage up the coast, and found there His Majesty's exploring and surveying ship *Leven*, under command of Captain Owen. Mr. Farewell went on board the *Leven*, and obtained from Captain Owen a good deal of information concerning the coast. Seven Kaffirs had been selected by the Cape Government from the convicts on Robben Island, and given to the exploring expedition as interpreters, and two of these, named Fire and Jacob, were transferred with their own consent by Captain Owen to Mr. Farewell. Fire was shortly afterwards accidentally shot, and Jacob managed to run away, but was subsequently met under strange circumstances.

The *Salisbury* visited Delagoa Bay, St. Lucia Bay, and Port Natal, but the voyage was an unfortunate one for the company that fitted her out. Mr. Farewell, however, was so impressed with the capabilities of Natal for colonization, and of its port as a gateway for trade with the interior of the continent, that he resolved to return, and establish himself there. He induced several others to join him in this enterprise, among them being Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, son of an English trader in Cape Town whose business had been suppressed by the Government in 1806, owing to his having exported some specie contrary to law.

On the 27th of May 1824 the main body of the adventurers sailed from Table Bay in a chartered brig named the *Antelope*, taking with them several Hottentot servants, some horses, and a supply of stores. Mr. Farewell followed very shortly in a sloop of thirty tons burden, named the *Julia*, which was

intended to ply between Natal and the Cape. All of the adventurers reached their destination in safety, but the hearts of most of them soon failed. On the 7th of September, Messrs. Hoffinan, father and son, Pietersen, Buxman, Collins, Nel, De Bruin, Johnstone, and Davids, embarked in the *Julia* and set sail for Algoa Bay, which port they reached on the 18th. The *Julia* was soon afterwards lost in a gale, so that those who remained at Natal were completely cut off from intercourse with the outer world. The party of Europeans left there consisted of Messrs. Farewell and Fynn, with two seamen named John Cane and Henry Ogle, and a boy named Thomas Holstead.

A wilder venture can hardly be conceived than that of these few Englishmen. All that they knew of the country around them was that its soil seemed rich, that it abounded with elephants, that it was almost uninhabited, and that Tshaka claimed it. In August, Mr. Farewell, accompanied by Mr. Fynn, Henry Ogle, three of the crew of the *Julia*, and two Hottentots, visited Tshaka at his principal military kraal, where no European had ever been before. They were surprised to find there the interpreter Jacob, who had run away from the *Salisbury* the year before at St. Lucia Bay, and was supposed to be dead. Jacob, who had received from the Zulus the name of Hlambamanzi, was high in Tshaka's favour, and had already a large drove of cattle and several wives. He was obliging enough to commend his former master to his present one, and Mr. Farewell was therefore well received. He had taken as a present with other articles some ointments and simple medicines, which greatly pleased the Zulu chief, whose high opinion of their value was enhanced by a wound from which he was suffering healing very rapidly when dressed by his visitors. In return Tshaka presented to Mr. Farewell a number of oxen, and attached his mark to a formal document in which he "granted, made over, and sold unto F. G. Farewell and Company the entire and full possession in perpetuity to themselves, heirs, and executors, of the Port or Harbour of Natal, together with the islands therein, and surrounding country," which is described as running about a hundred miles

inland and embracing the coast ten miles to the south-west and about twenty-five miles to the north-east of the harbour. This deed was dated the 7th of August 1824. Besides the mark of Tshaka himself, it had upon it the marks of four of the indunas or officers of rank, among whom Jacob appeared under his Zulu name, and it was signed by the whole of Mr. Farewell's party.¹

In the following year, Mr. King was in Cape Town again, where he heard of the loss of the *Julia*, and that his friend, Mr. Farewell, was therefore in need of assistance at Natal, so he resolved to go to his aid. He was then in command of a trading brig called the *Mary*, and he had with him a young man named Nathaniel Isaacs, whose "Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa," published in 1836, contain a very complete account of the events of the next six years. On the 1st of October 1825 the *Mary* was wrecked while attempting to cross the bar at Port Natal, and her crew, with Messrs. King and Isaacs, were involuntarily added to the little community.

The circumstances in which these Europeans were placed were not favourable to the growth of a civilised community. They were under the dominion of Tshaka, and though they kept him friendly by frequent presents, they were obliged more than once to accompany his armies to war. On one of these occasions, of which Mr. Isaacs has given the particulars, that adventurer himself was severely wounded. They endeavoured to induce the Home Authorities to recognise their settlement as a British possession, but failed in their applications. Meantime a few natives who had been living concealed in thickets ventured to place themselves under the protection of the strangers, and very shortly they became practically petty chiefs, each with his own following.²

¹ There are two copies of this deed in the Colonial records. One is attached to a memorial of Mr. Eric Gustaf Aspeling, of Cape Town, dated 13th of May 1843, in which he asked the Governor for compensation for the ground therein described, on account of his having married Mr. Farewell's widow. The other is attached to a memorial of Messrs J. R. Thomson & Co., merchants of Cape Town, of nearly the same date, also asking for compensation, as the deed had been lodged with them as part security for goods sold on credit to Mr. Farewell. In neither case was the application successful. There are several original letters of Messrs. Farewell and Fynn in the Colonial Office.

² Mr. Fynn set the example in this respect. In his account of these transactions

Bitter feuds soon arose between Messrs. Farewell and King. They had obtained a considerable quantity of ivory, when a trading vessel put into the bay and gave them an opportunity of exchanging it for merchandise, principally muskets and ammunition, with which they armed some of their followers.

The crew of the *Mary*, under the guidance of the carpenter, Mr. Hatton, built a small schooner on the southern shore of the lagoon, in which in April 1828 Tshaka sent an embassy with Mr. King to the Cape Government. But the little vessel, on putting into Algoa Bay, was not permitted to proceed further, and after three months' detention she returned to Natal. The Zulu ambassadors were sent back in a man-of-war without any treaty, such as Mr. King desired, having been entered into, the policy of our Government at that period being an avoidance of anything like responsibility for a new settlement on the coast.

The Zulu chief had for some time determined to destroy the tribes between the Umzimvubu and the Cape Colony, and while his ambassadors were at Port Elizabeth he sent an army against them, which marched unopposed to the Bashee

he says that upon their arrival at Port Natal some three or four hundred natives were found in a famishing condition in the thickets around the bay. Tshaka allowed him to collect these poor wretches together, and afterwards permitted him to receive some refugees from Zululand upon his reporting each case. Tshaka would not permit any trade whatever with his subjects, and all their business transactions were with him in person. They made him presents, rarely of less value than £100 at a time, and in return he gave them large quantities of ivory and grain and droves of cattle. Mr. Fynn says he frequently received fifty and sometimes a hundred head at a time, and corn in such abundance that he had no use for it. The Xolo tribe had once owned the country between the Umzimkulu and Umterin rivers, but it was reduced to a few wretched wanderers. Its chief, Umbambe by name, was a soldier in Zululand. Tshaka allowed Mr. Fynn to locate the Xolos on a part of their old territory and at his request gave Umbambe his liberty. Mr. Fynn says that he then formed two establishments, one near the Port, and one west of the Umzimkulu. To the people of each of these establishments he gave cattle and grain, which he derived from Tshaka's liberality. After a time the Zulu chief granted him the whole country between Mr. Farewell's district and the Umzimkulu, and attached his mark to a document to that effect. Over that large tract of country he was the chief, being responsible to Tshaka for the conduct of the people residing in it. He estimates the number of natives ultimately collected under the different European chiefs at over five thousand souls.

The Xolo tribe is still living where it was located by Mr. Fynn, the district being now part of Alfred County, Natal. Umbambe was succeeded by his son Kani, who got into trouble with the Natal Government, and fled into Pondoland, where he died. A few of his followers who entered Pondoland with him then returned to Natal. Patwa, great son of Kani, is the present representative of Umbambe.

Tshaka himself, with one regiment as a body guard, remained at the Umzimkulu. There Mr. Fynn, by persuading him that the Colonial Government would certainly protect the frontier tribes, induced him to recall the army until the result of Mr. King's mission to the Cape could be known.

Just at this time the Amangwane under Matiwane, having crossed the mountains from Basutoland, were despoiling the Tembus. The authorities at the Cape were appealed to for assistance, and a mixed burgher and military force was sent against the intruders, which destroyed the Amangwane. Tshaka's warriors had fallen back before the Colonial commando crossed the Kei, or an English and a Zulu army would have met in battle half a century before our struggle with Cetuyayo.

Early in September, 1828, Mr. King died at Natal, and was within a few months followed to the grave by Mr. Hatton, the builder of the little vessel. There had been no additions to the European party since the wreck of the *Mary*, but about this time Mr. Fynn was joined by his brother William McDowell Fynn, who had been sent from the Cape to Delagoa Bay at the instance of the Government to search along the coast for a small vessel named the *Buckbay Packet*, which was supposed to have been lost. Having obtained tidings of the wreck, he made up his mind to cast in his lot with his brother. Subsequently he was joined by his father and another brother, both of whom died at Natal after a short residence there.¹

On the 23rd of September 1828 Tshaka was assassinated at Tukusa, a military kraal on the river Umvoti, within the present Colony of Natal, and about fifty miles from the Port. The mother of the chief had died a few months before, and such great numbers of people had been butchered for not participating in his grief, as he said, that even the most blood-stained of the Zulus were appalled. A large party of the army, after returning from the Bashee, had been sent against a tribe beyond Delagoa Bay, but had not been successful. Several thousand men had been slain, thousands more had fallen victims to dysentery, and the survivors were re-

¹ Memorial of William McDowell Fynn, dated 3rd July 1843, in the Colonial Records.

treating in the greatest distress from hunger. At this juncture Dingan and Umthlangana, two of Tshaka's half brothers, and Umbopa, his most trusted attendant, entered into a conspiracy to put him to death.

From his brothers, Tshaka seems never to have anticipated any danger. Dingan was, according to native ideas, of higher rank by birth, but the original Zulu Tribe was such a small fraction of the nation then existing, that he was not suspected of ambitious designs. Tshaka was sitting conversing with several of his attendants when the conspirators attacked him. Dingan struck the first blow, but it was his treacherous servant who gave the death wound. His body was left uncovered on the ground, but the next day it was buried, the residents of the place having been struck with superstitious dread when they saw that the hyenas had not devoured it.

Shortly after the death of Tshaka, Dingan with his own hand murdered Umthlangana, his brother and fellow conspirator. Another brother with several sub-chiefs refused to acknowledge him as their head, and a short civil war followed which resulted in the flight of one of Dingan's principal opponents and the extermination of all the others. The one who fled was named Qeto. He had with him a horde called the Amakwabi, with which he crossed the Umzimvubu and committed dreadful ravages south of that river.

The remnants of the conquered tribes far and near hailed Dingan as a deliverer, and for a year or two after his accession his government really was an improvement upon that of his predecessor. But gradually he began to display the vilest qualities. The favourites of Tshaka were the ablest men in the country, for that chief appreciated talent in his officers, and even had sufficient magnanimity to spare the men of rank in clans that sought incorporation with the Zulu power. Most of these were murdered by order of Dingan. Tshaka delighted in a display of force, Dingan in gaining his ends by treachery. The devastations of the latter were trifling in comparison with those of the former, only because there was so little left within his reach to destroy. Five years after his assumption of power

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The Europeans at the bay were invited by Dingan to remain there under his protection for commercial purposes, and they were well pleased to do so. On the 1st of December 1828 Messrs. Farewell and Isaacs sailed from Natal in the little schooner built there, with a view of procuring goods in the Colony. All that were left of the crew of the *Mary* went with them, so that there remained at Natal only Messrs. H. and W. Fynn, John Cane, Henry Ogle, and Thomas Holstead. Upon the arrival of the schooner at Algoa Bay, she was seized and detained by the authorities, and of all who had embarked in her, only Mr. Isaacs saw Natal again. In April, 1830, he returned in an American trading vessel.

Mr. Farewell a second time interested a good many people in his scheme of colonizing Natal, and after an absence of several months, in September 1829 he was returning overland with a party of young Englishmen and some waggons loaded with merchandise when his career was terminated. He with two companions named Walker and Thackwray, and some native attendants, left the waggons one afternoon, and rode on horseback to pay a visit to Qeto, with whom he had been acquainted in Zululand. They were received with apparent friendship, but Qeto did not conceal his annoyance at their intention of proceeding to trade with his enemy Dingan. A hut was given them to sleep in, and at a late hour they laid down to rest. Just before dawn next morning a band of Amakwabi fell upon them and murdered the three Europeans and five of their native servants. They then proceeded to the

¹ Captain Allen F. Gardiner, of the Royal Navy, who visited him in 1835, in his "Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country in South Africa" (London, 1836), gives several instances of the despot's ferocity which fell under his observation. William Wood, who lived with the Great Chief for some time when nothing unusual was taking place, in his "Statements respecting Dingaan, King of the Zoolahs" (a pamphlet of 38 pages, Cape Town, 1840), asserts that the executions at the kraal where he was residing were at the rate of fourteen a week. Staff Assistant Surgeon Andrew Smith, who was the head of an exploring expedition, in his report, dated 6th of May 1834, says: "As characteristic of his (Dingan's) system of proceeding, I may only mention that when I was at his kraal I saw portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives whom he had only a few days previous put to death merely for having uttered words that happened to annoy him."

waggons and plundered them. The remainder of the party managed to escape. After Mr. Farewell's death, John Cane and Henry Ogle divided his people between them, and a few years later, owing to constant accessions to their clans, they were the most powerful chiefs in Natal.

Early in 1829 Dingan was visited by an exploring expedition from the Cape Colony. The members of this expedition were Dr. Cowie, district surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green. They left their waggon and most of their Hottentot servants at Dingan's residence, and proceeded on horseback to Delagoa Bay, where they found fever raging so severely that the European inhabitants of Lorenzo Marques had been reduced from forty to six in number. Their horses died, and the explorers were compelled to leave on foot. On the 4th of April Dr. Cowie died, and was followed a few hours afterwards by one of the Hottentot servants. Four days later Mr. Green died, after having given the journal of the expedition to the interpreter, who brought it to the Colony.

In this journal the explorers state that after crossing the Umzimvubu they entered a nearly depopulated country, through which they were thirty-five days in making their way to Mr. Fynn's kraal near Port Natal. During this time they saw no natives. At Dingan's residence they met about forty half-breed Portuguese from Delagoa Bay, who informed them of the loss of the Cape vessel *Buckbay Packet* in the Maputa River some months before. These half-breeds were traders, whose principal article of traffic was a coarse kind of bead.¹

Mr. Farewell's enthusiastic description of Natal, and of the extensive trade in ivory and skins of wild animals that might be carried on there, had the effect of inducing several young men to follow him, so that a year or two after his death the

¹ An abstract of this journal, supplied by Mr. J. C. Chase, is to be found in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July-September, 1830. John Cane had previously travelled over the same ground as Messrs. Cowie and Green, having first visited Delagoa Bay from Natal, and afterwards having proceeded overland to Graham's Town as a messenger of Tshaka. He returned to Natal a few days after Tshaka's death. Subsequently he made another journey overland from Natal to Graham's Town, and was on the way back with Mr. Farewell when the last named was murdered by the Amakwabi.

European community at the Port was larger than ever before. Mr. James Collis, after visiting the bay in 1830 in an overland journey from Graham's Town, returned in 1831 and established himself as a trader. He took with him several assistants, among whom were the parents of William Wood, who was afterwards Dingan's interpreter. Several men also, who had no other occupation than elephant hunting, made Natal their place of residence about this time.

Dingan's promise of protection did not relieve the Europeans of anxiety as to their safety. They placed greater confidence in their firearms, and in the dense thickets into which they could retire in case of necessity. In 1831, owing to a regiment being sent by Dingan in a fit of passion to destroy John Cane and his people, they all fled in alarm, Isaacs never to return, though the others soon went back.¹ Again in June 1834 they all fled over the Umzimkulu, being apprehensive of an attack. On this occasion, however, their alarm was due to a mistake; and Dingan, to restore confidence, withdrew all his soldiers from the country south of the Tugela for thirty-five or forty miles upwards from the sea, which has never since been occupied for more than a few days by a Zulu army. In September 1834 Messrs. Henry and William Fynn left Natal not to return, and they both soon afterwards took service in the Native Department of the Cape Government.

In this year, 1834, Natal was visited by a party of farmers from the Colony, who travelled overland with fourteen waggons. Among them was Mr. Pieter Uys. They inspected the Bay, where they met with a very friendly reception from the European residents, and they thoroughly explored the uplands, where they were charmed with the luxuriant pasturage and fertile well-watered soil. The district seemed to them to invite settlement. Having satisfied themselves as to its capabilities, they returned to the Colony to find that the Eastern Districts had been laid waste by the Amaxosa during their absence.

In January 1835 Captain Allen F. Gardiner paid a visit to

¹ Just before this event the interpreter Jacob, or Hlambamanzi, ended his career. He was put to death by Henry Ogle, acting under order of Dingan.

Natal, having travelled overland from the Colony, his object being to prepare the way for the establishment of Christian missions among the Zulus. He states, in his "Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country," that there was then at the Bay but one house constructed after a European model, and that was built of reeds and mud. It was occupied by Mr. James Collis, the principal trader at the place, who lost his life by an explosion of gunpowder a few months later. There were about thirty Europeans, a few Hottentots, and some two thousand five hundred blacks resident in the immediate vicinity, but as their huts were all carefully concealed in the thicket, the place presented a wild and deserted appearance.

Captain Gardiner was present when a site was selected for the township of Durban¹—23rd of June 1835—an event of which he gives the following interesting account:—

"This afternoon a very characteristic meeting was held in one of Mr. Berkin's huts, for the purpose of selecting the site for a town. On my arrival I found the hut filled with individuals expressly convened for this purpose. Almost total silence was observed—the subject was not even hinted at, nor had any chairman or leading person been appointed to introduce the business.

At length a voice cried out, "Now let's go and settle the bounds," on which I risked a question, hoping it might elicit a programme of the contemplated proceedings: "Are all present agreed as to the expediency of building a town?" to which it was replied that their presence on this occasion was a proof that they were unanimous on this point.

Thus began and ended this important conference, and off they all scampered in a posse to inspect the ground, some walking, others seated on the floor of a waggon without either tilt or sides, which was drawn at a stately pace by ten oxen. Short pipes, an indispensable accompaniment, were in full action on all sides. Being the winter season, it was a sort of reunion of hunters, who, tired of chasing sea cow and buffalo, were now sighing for town houses and domestic cheer. The appearance of any one of these forest rangers would have gained the medal for any artist who could have transfigured his *tout ensemble* upon canvas. At length a pause was made.

"This'll do," cried one.

"That's the spot," exclaimed another.

After some minutes of such like random conversation, the whole

¹ The site first selected was a little further up the shore of the lagoon than where the present town is built.

party were compactly collected, and the business was at length entered upon and conducted in a rational manner every proposition being subjected to the votes of those who were present and carried or negatived accordingly.

It was in this impromptu manner that the town of D'Urban was named, its situation fixed, the township and church lands appropriated, and, in short, as much real business gone through as would have required at least a fortnight's hard writing and debating in any other quarter of the globe.

The regulations for the new town, with the provision for a church and a hospital, show the little European community to have been an intelligent and progressive one. Including Captain Gardiner, his interpreter, George Cyrus, and his waggon driver, Richard King, the whole white population did not amount to thirty-five souls. They held advanced views upon representative government, as is proved by the following petition to Sir Benjamin D'Urban:—

May it please your Excellency.

We, the undersigned British subjects, inhabitants of Port Natal and its vicinity, have commenced building a town, called D'Urban¹ in honour of your Excellency.

We hold in our possession extensive tracts of excellent land, a considerable portion of which has long been under cultivation. Many of us are occupied in conducting a valuable trade in hides and ivory, the former of which is almost exclusively obtained within the limits which by mutual consent of surrounding chieftains have been conceded to us.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Tshaka, late King of the Zulus, and other causes, the whole country included between the Umzinkulu and Tugela rivers is now unoccupied by its original possessors, and, with a very few exceptions, is totally uninhabited.

Numbers of natives from time to time have entered this settlement for protection, the amount of whom at this present moment cannot be less than three thousand. These all acknowledge us as their chiefs, and look to us for protection, notwithstanding which we are living in the neighbourhood of powerful native states, without the shadow of a law or a recognised authority among us.

We therefore humbly pray your Excellency—for the sake of humanity, for the upholding of the British character in the eyes of the natives, for the well being of this increasing community, for the cause of morality and religion, to transmit this our petition to His

¹ Now usually written Durban.

Majesty's Government, praying that it may please His Majesty to recognise the country intervening between the Umzinkulu and Tugela rivers, which we have named Victoria in honour of our august Princess, as a colony of the British Empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them, in concert with a body of representatives chosen by ourselves to constitute a House of Assembly.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

There was one ever present cause of irritation between Dingan and the European settlers. Fugitives from his tyranny were continually placing themselves under the protection of the white chiefs at the Bay, and naturally the Zulu despot was incensed at any interference between him and his subjects. On the other hand, the Europeans found it difficult to turn away the poor creatures who applied to them, and whose only fault might be that they were relatives or dependents of some one that had incurred the wrath of Dingan, who in many instances condemned to death not only an offender but his entire family. The danger the Europeans were in from this circumstance was, however, so great that they consented to a proposal of Captain Gardiner, which was embodied in the following treaty:—

Dingan from this period consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country, or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingan.

Any infringement of this treaty on either part invalidates the whole.

Done at Congella this 6th day of May 1835, in presence of

UMTHELELA } Chief Indunas and Head Councillors of

TAMBUSA } the Zulu nation.

G. CYRUS, Interpreter.

Signed, on behalf of the British residents at Port Natal.

L. of C. ALLEN F. GARDINER.

Under this treaty Captain Gardiner himself conveyed a party of four fugitives back to Dingan, by whose orders they were starved to death. The Captain was now considered so trustworthy that Dingan gave him authority over the whole of the Natal people, with permission to establish a mission station at the Bay and also in the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, which was under the induna Nongalaza. Captain Gardiner thereupon returned to England as speedily as possible, with a view of procuring men to occupy these posts.

In 1835 the first American missionaries, six in number, arrived in South Africa. Three of them went northward to Moslekatse's country, and the others, Dr. Adams and the Rev. Messrs. Champion and Aldin Grout, proceeded to Natal. They visited Dingan at his residence, Umkungunhlovu, and obtained permission to establish themselves in his country. In February 1836 their first station was founded about eight miles from the Bay, on the river Umlazi; and in November of the same year they commenced another, which they called Ginani, on the Umsunduzi, about ten miles north of the Tugela. In July 1837 the three who had been compelled to abandon Mosega joined their colleagues in Natal, and shortly afterwards commenced two other stations, one thirty miles south-west of the Bay and the other about the same distance beyond Ginani.

In June 1837 Captain Gardiner reached Natal again, having brought with him from England the Rev. Mr. Owen of the Church Missionary Society. By dint of coaxing, Dingan's consent was obtained to Mr. Owen being stationed at Umkungunhlovu. The missionary had his wife and sister with him, and was accompanied by an interpreter named Richard Hulley, who with his family had joined the party at Butterworth on its way overland from Port Elizabeth to Natal. Captain Gardiner took up his residence at the Bay, at the station which on his former visit he had named Berea, where he endeavoured to act in the double capacity of a missionary and a magistrate under the Imperial Act of August 1836, which is commonly called "The Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill," as it was framed "for the prevention and punishment of offences com-

mitted by His Majesty's subjects within certain territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope."

This Act extended the colonial criminal law to all British subjects within any territory adjacent to the Colony and south of the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and made crimes committed by such persons cognizable in colonial courts. It empowered the Governor of the Cape Colony to grant commissions as magistrates to persons in such territories to arrest, commit to custody, and bring to trial before colonial courts His Majesty's subjects charged with crime. The Act, however, was not to be construed as investing His Majesty with any claim or title to sovereignty or dominion over such territories.

The Europeans in Natal, upon being informed of the authority claimed by Captain Gardiner by virtue of a commission which he held under this Act, immediately resolved not to submit in any way to his control. They desired, they said, to be recognised as a British Colony, and to have proper courts of law established; but to submit to the operation of an Act which took no cognizance of offences committed against them, which left them without protection to be robbed or murdered, while it tied their hands even against self-defence, was something which as free men they could not consent to.

This was then the condition of affairs when Pieter Retief visited Natal. Dingan claimed the whole country between the Drakensberg and the Sea as far south as the Umzimvubu, but did not practically exercise direct authority south of the Tugela. There were six mission stations, three north of the Tugela and three south of that river, occupied by five ordained clergymen (four American Presbyterian and one Church of England), two medical men, and one Captain of the Royal Navy, nearly all of whom had families with them. At Durban and in its vicinity there were about thirty Englishmen residing either permanently or in the intervals between hunting excursions. The leading man and largest trader among them was Mr. Alexander Biggar whose fate, with that of his two sons, will presently be told. Several of these Europeans were living as chiefs of native kraals, and exercised power even of death over their followers. The actual number of blacks between the Tugela and the

Umzimvubu cannot be accurately given. No estimate of that period rises as high as ten thousand, yet it would not be safe to say that there was not fully that number between the two rivers. They were living in the most secluded places, and kept out of observation as much as possible.¹

Early in October 1837 Pieter Retief in company with a few of the leading Emigrants set out from the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu for the purpose of examining the capabilities of Natal and obtaining Dingan's consent to its occupation. On the 19th the party arrived at the Port, without having met a single individual after they crossed the Drakensberg. The residents of Durban were greatly pleased on hearing that it was the desire of the Emigrants to settle in their neighbourhood. They presented Mr. Retief with a warm address of welcome, and did all that was in their power to assist him. A messenger was immediately sent forward to announce his intended visit to Dingan, and some days were then spent in examining the harbour and the country around it.

On the 27th the party left the Port for Umkungunhlovu, accompanied by John Cane and Thomas Holstead, two of the oldest inhabitants of Natal, in the capacity of guides and interpreters. Their reception by Dingan was outwardly as friendly as it was possible to be. He seemed to agree with what Mr. Retief said concerning the advantages to his people of a European settlement in their neighbourhood, and he promised to take the request for land south of the Tugela into consideration and give a decisive reply in a few days. In the mean time he entertained the farmers with exhibitions of dances, in one of which nearly two hundred oxen, all of the same colour, were mixed with the men of a regiment and went through certain manœuvres with the most perfect accuracy. Among the stock recently captured from Moselekatse were some of the sheep taken by the Matabele from the Emigrants on the Vaal. Dingan informed Mr. Retief that most of these

¹ A list of the titles of the fragments of tribes then occupying the present Colony of Natal, furnished by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, is given in an Appendix to the "Report and Proceedings of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs," printed at Cape Town in 1883.

were dead, but he restored one hundred and ten as a present, and offered the skins of the others.

On the 8th of November Mr. Retief arranged to return to his friends. On leaving, Dingan gave him a document written by the Rev. Mr. Owen, in which the Zulu chief stated that he was willing to grant the land asked for, but the farmers must first recover and restore certain cattle that had recently been stolen from one of his outposts by a party of horsemen clothed as Europeans and armed with guns. He asserted that some of his people suspected the robbers were farmers, and he wished them to prove their innocence. It was, however, certain that the Zulus knew the plundering band to be some of Sikonyela's Batlokua.

The conditions seemed to Mr. Retief very easy of fulfilment. The stolen cattle were only about seven hundred in number, and the Batlokua, by driving them through an Emigrant encampment and thereby bringing the trail upon the farmers, had made themselves liable to be called to a reckoning. Mr. Retief therefore returned to the Caledon, sent for Sikonyela, and when that chief appeared informed him that he would be detained as a prisoner until the cattle stolen from the Zulus were given up. They were at once surrendered, and the great body of the Emigrants thereupon moved off to Natal. In the course of a few weeks nearly a thousand waggons crossed the Drakensberg.

The Emigrants spread themselves out along the Blue Krans and Bushman rivers, and Mr. Retief then prepared to visit Dingan again to deliver the cattle recovered from Sikonyela. But by this time many of the farmers had acquired such a feeling of uneasiness as induced them to urge their leader not to venture again into the Zulu despot's power. A man whose life was of less value to the community they thought should be sent, and there were not wanting many who nobly volunteered to fulfil the dangerous task. Mr. Maritz offered to go with only three or four others. But Mr. Retief objected to anything that might lead Dingan to suspect that they distrusted him, and he therefore determined to go himself and take a suitable escort of volunteers. Some sixty of the best

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ws and Customs," printed

men among the Emigrants offered to accompany him, and several of these imprudently allowed their sons—boys from eleven to fifteen years of age—to go also. Before they left, Thomas Holstead and George Biggar arrived at the Bushman River. The last named was a young man who had been residing in Natal since 1834, and who came up from the Port as his father's agent to ascertain the requirements of the Emigrants in the way of trade. He remained for this purpose after Mr. Retief's party had left. Thomas Holstead, who had been thirteen years in Natal, and who spoke the Zulu language as readily as the English, went again with Mr. Retief as interpreter. There were also about thirty Hottentot servants leading spare horses with the party.

On their arrival at Umkungunhlovu, 3rd of February 1838, Dingan expressed himself highly satisfied with their conduct, regretting only that they had not brought Sikonyela bound to him to be put to death for having dared to plunder a Zulu cattle post. He asked for some firearms and horses which the Batlokua chief had been required to give up, but appeared satisfied when he was informed that these had been restored to their legitimate owners. As on the former occasion, the farmers were entertained with exhibitions of dances and sham fights. The day following their arrival, Dingan requested the Rev. Mr. Owen to draw up a document to show that he had given the farmers a country to live in. Mr. Owen thereupon drafted a paper in the English language, which met with Dingan's approval after it had been thoroughly explained to him. The document was then signed, and the chief handed it to Mr. Retief. It was as follows:—

Umkungunhlovu, 4th February, 1838.

Know all men by this,

That whereas Pieter Retief, Governor of the Dutch Emigrant Farmers, has retaken my Cattle which Sinkonyella had stolen from me, which Cattle he the said Retief now delivered unto me:—I, Dingan, King of the Zoolas, do hereby certify and declare, that I thought fit to resign unto him, Retief, and his Countrymen, the place called Port Natal, together with all the land annexed; that is to say, from

Massacre of Retief's Party.

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the Togela to the Omsovoobo River, Westward, and from the Sea to the North, as far as the Land may be useful and in my possession.

Which I did by this, and give unto them for their everlasting property.

Mark x of King Dingaan.

Witnesses,

M. JOSTHUIZEN,
A. C. GREYLING,
B. J. LIEBENBERG,
MOARO x Great Counsellor.
JULIAVIUS, x Do.
MANONDO, x Do.

Grants similar to this, and covering the same ground or portions of it, had been previously made by Tshaka and Dingan himself successively to Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, King, Isaacs, and Gardiner; and under no circumstances would such a cession, in native estimation, mean more than permission to occupy the ground during the lifetime of the reigning chief, whose supremacy as feudal lord would be assumed. But Dingan from the first was only seeking to lure the farmers to destruction, and never intended his cession to mean anything.

The farmers were entirely thrown off their guard by the trouble that was taken apparently to entertain them. On the morning of Tuesday the 6th, Mr. Retief and his party prepared to return to their friends, and went to take leave of Dingan, whom they found, as usual, surrounded by warriors. Great care had been taken to show them that according to Zulu custom no one could approach the chief armed, and consequently when they were requested to leave their guns outside the kraal, they did so without suspicion of danger. They were received in the ordinary manner, and were pressed to seat themselves and partake of some beer, which was being handed round freely. While in this defenceless position, into which they had been so carefully entrapped, Dingan suddenly called out "Seize them," when instantly the Zulu soldiers rushed upon them. Thomas Holstead, the interpreter, cried out "We're done for," and added in the Zulu language "Let me speak to the king." Dingan heard him, but waved

his hand in token of dissent, and called out repeatedly "kill the wizards." Holstead then drew his knife, and mortally wounded two of his assailants before he was secured. One of the farmers also succeeded in killing a Zulu, but the others were seized before they could spring to their feet. They were all dragged away to a hill where executions were commonly performed, and were there murdered by having their skulls broken with knobkerries. Mr. Retief was held and forced to witness the death of his companions before he was murdered. His heart and liver were then taken out and buried in the path leading from Natal to Umkungunhlovu, but no other mutilation of the bodies took place, nor was their clothing removed.

Some of the servants had been sent for the horses when the farmers went to take their leave. These were surrounded by a party of soldiers, and were also put to death. One of them nearly made good his escape by the fleetness of his feet, but eventually he was run down and killed like the rest. In all there perished on this memorable morning sixty-six Europeans¹ and about thirty Hottentots.²

¹ Their names were Dirk Aukamp, Willem Basson, Johannes de Beer, Matthys de Beer, Barend van den Berg, Pieter van den Berg the elder, Pieter van den Berg the younger, Johannes Beukes, Joachim Botha, Gerrit Bothma the elder, Gerrit Bothma the younger, Christian Breidenbach, Johannes Britz, Pieter Britz the elder, Pieter Britz the younger, Pieter Cilliers, Andries van Dyk, Marthinus Esterhuizen, Samuel Esterhuizen, Hermanus Fourie, Abraham Greyling, Rynier Grobbelaar, Jacobus Hatting, Thomas Holstead, Jacobus Hugo, Jacobus Jooste, Pieter Jordaan, Abraham de Klerk, Jacobus de Klerk, Johannes de Klerk, Balthazar Klopper, Coenraad Klopper, Lukas Klopper, Pieter Klopper, Hendrik Labuschagne, Barend Liebenberg, Daniel Liebenberg, Hercules Malan, Carel Marais, Johannes van der Merwe, Pieter Meyer, Barend Oosthuizen, Jacobus Oosthuizen, Johannes Oosthuizen, Marthinus Oosthuizen, Jacobus Opperman the elder, Jacobus Opperman the younger, Frederik Pretorius, Johannes Pretorius, Marthinus Pretorius, Matthys Pretorius the elder, Matthys Pretorius the younger, Pieter Retief, Isaao Roberts, Johannes Roberts, Christian van Schalkwyk, Gerrit Scheepers, Johannes Scheepers, Marthinus Scheepers, Stephanus Scheepers, Stephanus Smit, Pieter Taute, Gerrit Visagie, Stephanus van Vuuren, Hendrik de Wet, and Johannes de Wet.

² It was at one time generally asserted, and is even yet believed by some persons, that John Cane instigated Dingan to commit this massacre. In the Colonial Records I have found only one letter bearing upon this subject. It is dated 20th of July 1838, and was written from Port Natal by Mr. Edward Parker, a recent arrival there, to Major Charters, Military Secretary to Sir George Napier. Mr. Parker accuses John Cane of having caused the massacre of Retief's party by treacherously sending a message to Dingan that the Boers, who had run away from the Colony against the wishes of the English Government, would try to drive him from his country, and

While the massacre was taking place, Mr. Owen sat in his hut, not knowing but that any moment he might hear the footsteps of the messengers of death. Dingan sent word to him that the farmers were being killed because they were wizards, but that he need not fear for himself. Notwithstanding this message, he felt that his life was in imminent danger, as the chief appeared to delight in nothing so much as in treachery. His interpreter, Mr. Hulley, was absent, having gone to Natal for supplies; but Mrs. and Miss Owen, a woman named Jane Williams, who had accompanied them from Wales, Mrs. Hulley, and her three children were with him. Another European who was present was a youth named William Wood, who had been living for several months at Umkungunhlovu, in the capacity of interpreter to Dingan. Mr. Owen, Wood, and Jane Williams have published accounts of the massacre. They remained at Umkungunhlovu a few days in order that Dingan might not suspect them of having lost confidence in him, and then they retired to Natal. Before they left, Dingan asked Mr. Owen for his best waggon and most of his household effects, which the missionary did not think prudent to refuse.

A few hours after the massacre, two other Europeans arrived at Dingan's kraal. They were the Rev. Mr. Venable, and his interpreter, Mr. James Brownlee. The indunas at the different stations had shortly before this issued orders that no person whatever was to attend the mission services or schools, and Mr. Venable was deputed by his colleagues to visit the chief and endeavour to get these orders countermanded. But when he learned what had happened, he thought it best to say no-

that the English would not assist them. Parker states that Daniel Toohey, a clerk in Maynard's business at the Bay, informed him he had it from Cane's own mouth that he had sent such a message. On the other hand, in none of the statements by Zulus concerning the massacre is any such charge brought against Cane, though if it had been correct they would almost certainly have mentioned it. Neither Mr. Owen nor William Wood, both of whom would most likely have heard of such a message and been questioned by Dingan concerning its accuracy, say anything of it. Cane's subsequent conduct also is inconsistent with the commission of such an act. The real evidence against him, apart from popular belief, being very weak, and the probabilities of the case being all in his favour, I have not referred to this charge in my relation of the massacre. A similar charge was made against Henry Ogle, and even against the Rev. Mr. Owen, by a few prejudiced persons, but failed to obtain credit.

thing of the object of his journey. As soon as he could prudently leave he did so, and gave notice to his colleagues at the different stations, all of whom retired immediately to the Bay.

At noon on the same day some ten thousand Zulu warriors marched towards Natal, with the intention of falling upon the Europeans before they could hear of what had happened and prepare for defence. Having divided themselves into several bands, at early dawn on the morning of the 17th they burst upon the foremost parties near the present village of Weenen, which has obtained its name, meaning wailing or weeping, from the events of that day. Men, women, and children were barbarously murdered, and every European in that part of Natal must have met with this fate had not, fortunately, two or three young men escaped, who hastened to inform those further on of the imminent danger in which they were. These at once made the best possible preparations in their circumstances, by forming lagers or camps by drawing their waggons in circles about them. Hardly had they time to effect this simple arrangement when they were assailed, but in no instance were the Zulus able to penetrate these camps, though great numbers perished in the attempt. At one place on the Bushman's River they persevered for a whole day in the endeavour to reach the farmers, whose ammunition was nearly exhausted, when a shot from a three-pounder, in ploughing through a mass of the assailants, struck down several of their leading men, which caused the remainder to retreat precipitately. In the defence of the lagers, the women were nearly as serviceable as the men, by loading spare muskets for their husbands and brothers.

As soon as the Zulus retired, the farmers hastened to learn the fate of their friends in front, when they found that, with few exceptions, all who had not had time to take shelter in lagers had been murdered. All their cattle had been swept off and their household goods had been destroyed. The waggons had been broken to pieces and burnt for the sake of the iron in them, and beside the ruins lay the corpses of men and women, boys and girls, in some cases horribly mutilated. A few in-

dividuals had been left for dead, but subsequently recovered. Among these were two girls, named Johanna van der Merwe and Catherina Prinsloo, about ten or twelve years of age, who were found still living, though one had received nineteen and the other twenty-one stabs of the assagai. They were tended with care, and recovered, though they ever after remained cripples. In another place, on a heap of corpses lay the mangled remains of George Biggar, the young Englishman from the Bay. Altogether forty-one men,¹ fifty-six women, one hundred and eighty-five children, and about two hundred and fifty coloured servants were thus cut off without warning.

The survivors of this fearful massacre, after ascertaining the full extent of their loss, held a consultation to decide upon what was to be done. One or two proposed to withdraw from the country, but they were put to shame by the women, who declared that they would never leave Natal till the blood of their relatives was avenged. Their earnest, deep-seated religion supported them in this hour of distress, and gave a tone to all their proceedings. What had happened, said one, was in punishment for their sins, but let them call upon God and He would certainly help them. And then from that sorrow-stricken camp went up their cry to the God of heaven, that He would not forsake His people nor let the heathen triumph over them. The discussion was not so much what was expedient for them to do, as what was it their duty to do. The resolution they arrived at was that it was clearly their duty to punish the murderers of their friends. For this they were then too weak, but they were not left long without assistance.

Commandants Potgieter and Uys, upon hearing of these

¹ Their names were Christian de Beer, Stephanus de Beer, Zacharias de Beer, Josua van den Berg, Andries Bester, Wynand Bezuidenhout, George Biggar, Johannes Botha the elder, Johannes Botha the younger, Roelof Botha, Abraham Bothma, Louw Bothma the elder, Louw Bothma the younger, Jacobus Coetsee, Gerrit Engelbrecht the elder, Gerrit Engelbrecht the younger, Willem Engelbrecht, Laurens Erasmus, Michiel Grobbelaar, Stephanus Grobbelaar, Willem Jacobs, Johannes Joubert, Josna Joubert the elder, Josua Joubert the younger, Laurens Klopper, Frederik Kromhout, Christian Lochenberg, Hendrik Lochenberg the elder, Hendrik Lochenberg the younger, Marthinus van der Merwe, Willem van der Merwe, Joachim Prinsloo, Carl Roos, Johannes Roos the elder, Johannes Roos the younger, Atrian Russouw, David Viljoen, Willem Wagenaar, Pieter de Wet, Frans van Wyk, and Cornelis van Zyl.

events, hastened across the Drakensberg to the support of their countrymen. The Englishmen at the Bay, having ample proof from the fate of Thomas Holstead and George Biggar that they were in the same danger, offered to raise a native commando to attack Dingan from one direction while the farmers should do the same from another. This was decided upon, but even in this juncture the jealousies which were the bane of the Emigrants prevented that action in obedience to a single will which alone could command success. After Mr. Retief's murder, Mr. Maritz became the head of the whole of the parties in Natal, and they desired that the expedition against Dingan should be under his command. But neither Hendrik Potgieter nor Pieter Uys would serve under him, nor would one of these serve under the other. At last it was arranged that Mr. Maritz should remain in command of the lagers in Natal, while Messrs. Potgieter and Uys should proceed against Dingan, acting in concert, but each having independent control over his followers.

Early in April the two expeditions set out. The one from the Port consisted of about twenty English traders and hunters, the same number of Hottentots, and from a thousand to fifteen hundred natives. These last were nearly all fugitives from Zululand, so that their fidelity could be depended upon. The whole expedition was nominally under command of Mr. Robert Biggar, a brother of the young man who had been murdered;¹ but in reality each white chief, such as John Cane and Henry Ogle, had absolute authority over his own people and obeyed only such orders as pleased him. Four days after leaving the Port this commando reached a Zulu kraal, from which most of the men were absent. They secured here the whole of the cattle, variously estimated from three to seven thousand head, and a considerable number of women and girls. The bonds of discipline were too weak to stand the strain of this success. Cane's people raised a quarrel with Ogle's as to the division of the spoil, and a combat with sticks took place in which the latter were badly beaten. The English leaders saw that they

¹ He had been resident in Natal since 1833. His father and brother arrived in 1834.

could not advance further until the plunder was disposed of, and they therefore returned to Natal.

In the meantime Commandants Potgieter and Uys were advancing towards the Zulu capital. Between them they had three hundred and forty-seven men. Take the fact of their being mounted and armed with muskets into consideration, and this expedition must still remain one of the most daring events on record, considering that Dingan could bring into the field at least a hundred times their number of warriors, trained to despise death in battle, disciplined to move in concert, and armed with the deadly stabbing assagai. The loss of their horses at any moment must have been fatal to the commando. For five days their march was unopposed, the country which they passed through appearing to have been abandoned.

On the 11th of April they came in sight of a division of the Zulu army, which they attacked impetuously, and were drawn into a skilfully planned ambush. Before them were two parallel ranges of hills, between which was a long defile, and into this the farmers were led by the Zulus apparently retreating before them. Uys's division was in advance. When in the narrowest part of the gorge they found themselves surrounded by an immense force which had been lying in ambush, and by which they were so hemmed in that they could not fall back rapidly after firing and again load and charge, as was their mode of fighting with Moselekatse. The horses of Potgieter's division became almost unmanageable through the din created by the Zulus striking their shields. There was but one course open. The farmers directed all their fire upon one mass of the enemy, when, having cleared a path by shooting down hundreds at once, they rushed through and escaped. They left their led horses, baggage, and spare ammunition behind.

The loss of the farmers in this engagement was ten men,¹ among them the Commandant Pieter Lavras Uys. He was assisting a wounded comrade when he received an assagai stab. As he fell he called out to his followers to leave him and fight

¹Pieter Lavras Uys, Dirk Cornelis Uys, Joseph Kruger, Francois Labuschagne, David Malan, Jacobus Malan, Johannes Malan, Louis Nel, Pieter Nel, and Theunis Nel.

their way out, for he must die. His son, Dick Cornelis Uys, a boy of fifteen years of age, was some distance off, but looking about he saw his father on the ground, and a Zulu in the act of stabbing him. The gallant youth turned his horse and rode to help his parent, but could only die at his side. Englishmen will remember how bravely another son of the same Commandant Uys conducted himself forty-one years later in our war with Cetywayo, and the manner of his death at Hlobane on the 28th of March 1879.

While this event was taking place, the Englishmen at the Port were about to leave for the second time. The quarrel concerning the division of the spoil taken on the first occasion was, however, not altogether made up, so that neither Ogle, nor his people, nor his partizans, would go again. The second expedition consisted of seventeen Englishmen, about twenty Hottentots, and fifteen hundred natives, of whom between three and four hundred were armed with muskets. It was nominally under command of Mr. Robert Biggar, as before. A few miles south of the Tugela the commando came in sight of a Zulu regiment, which pretended to take to flight, left food cooking on fires, and even threw away a number of shields and assagais. The Natal army pursued with all haste, crossed the Tugela, took possession of a kraal on the northern bank, and then found it had been drawn between the horns of a Zulu army fully seven thousand strong.

The battle that was fought, on the 17th of April, was one of the most desperate contests that ever took place on that blood-stained soil. Three times in succession the Natal army beat back the regiments that charged furiously upon it. Then a strong Zulu reinforcement came in sight, and renewed the enemy's courage. Another rush was made, which cut the Natal army in two, and then all hope of successful resistance was over. One of the divisions tried to escape, but the only open path was down a steep bank of the Tugela and across that river. A Zulu regiment hastened to cut off the retreat of the fugitives, and many were killed in the water; but four Englishmen, two or three Hottentots, and about five hundred Natal natives managed to get through. The other division

was entirely surrounded. But no lion at bay ever created such havoc among hounds that worried him as this little band caused among the warriors of Dingan before it perished. The young regiments were selected to charge upon it, while the veterans looked on from a neighbouring hill. Whole masses went down before the withering fire, the survivors recoiled, but again they were directed to charge. At last a rush of a regiment, with another in reserve close behind, carried everything before it, and the stubborn fight was over. A thousand Natal natives had perished, and probably three times that number of Zulus. Thirteen Englishmen lay dead on the field of battle, Robert Biggar, Henry Batts, C. Blanckenberg, William Bottomley, John Cane, Thomas Carden, John Campbell, Thomas Campbell, Richard Lovedale, Robert Russell, John Stubbs, Richard Wood, and William Wood.

After this victory Dingan's army marched leisurely to Durban; but, fortunately, the *Comet*, a small vessel bound to Delagoa Bay, had called at Natal and was then lying at anchor there. The American missionaries, except Mr. Lindley who had volunteered to remain behind and report occurrences, had already left in a vessel bound to Port Elizabeth. Mr. Owen and his family, with Mr. Lindley, and the surviving residents of Durban, took refuge on board of the *Comet* at night and on one of the islands in the lagoon during the day. The natives retired to the thickets. The Zulus remained nine days at the Bay, during which time they destroyed all the property they could find, leaving not even a dog or a fowl alive. They then returned to Umkunguhlovu to report themselves.

Some eight or nine Englishmen—among them Alexander Biggar, Henry Ogle, Daniel Toohey, Charles Adams, and Richard King—now resolved to try their fortune once more in Natal, and accordingly they left the island and sought out the natives in the thickets. The missionaries sailed in the *Comet* to Delagoa Bay and thence to the Cape Colony. They and most of their colleagues intended to return as soon as prospects should be favourable; but of them all only Mr. Lindley, Dr. Adams, and Mr. Aldin Grout saw Natal again.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter with his adherents also left

Natal at the same time. Party feeling was running so high that there were not wanting those who attributed the disaster in which Pieter Uys lost his life to mismanagement on Mr. Potgieter's part. He had the country purchased from Makwana, and that abandoned by Moselekatse, to fall back upon; and he did not therefore care to remain in Natal, where the opposing faction was much stronger than his own. A large party recrossed the Drakensberg with him. On the 16th of May an officer sent to make inquiry by the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg met them two days march on the inland side of the mountains, moving towards Sand River. There they remained until the month of November following, when they proceeded onward to Mooi River and formed on its banks the first permanent settlement of Europeans in the present South African Republic. To the town which they built there they gave the name Potchefstroom in honour of their chief. Henceforth until September 1840 this party had a government of its own, separate from and independent of that of the other Emigrants. Its Volksraad claimed jurisdiction over the whole territory north of the Vaal and also over the northern half of the present Orange Free State.

The secession of Mr. Potgieter's adherents was, however, more than compensated by the arrival at Natal of fresh parties from the Colony. The largest of these consisted of thirty-nine families who came from Oliphants Hoek and were under the leadership of Mr. Carel Pieter Landman.¹

In May, Mr. Maritz's camp was visited by Fieldcornet Gideon Joubert, of the Division of Colesberg, and Mr. J. N. Boshof. Mr. Joubert's object was to endeavour to induce the Emigrants to return to the Colony. Mr. Boshof was Civil Commissioner's clerk at Graaff-Reinet, and visited Natal from sympathy with his countrymen, whom he joined shortly afterwards. Both of these gentlemen drew up reports upon the condition of the people and the country. That of Mr. Boshof has been published, and that of Mr. Joubert is still in manuscript in the Colonial Office. The Emigrants were found to

¹ Lieutenant-Governor Pine aptly described Mr. Landman's character in one short but expressive sentence: "He is a stranger alike to fear and to falsehood."—Despatch to Sir Harry Smith of 9th August 1861.

be fully resolved to remain in Natal, and to punish Dingan as speedily as possible. Mr. Landman had been appointed Commissioner, and was absent on a visit to the Port, near which, in compliance with a request of the English settlers, a camp was about to be stationed. At this time there were in Natal about six hundred and forty male Europeans capable of bearing arms, and three thousand two hundred women and children.

On the 16th of May, Mr. Landman, with the concurrence of the few remaining Englishmen at Durban, issued a proclamation taking possession of the Port in the name of the Association of South African Emigrants. He appointed Mr. Alexander Biggar landdrost, and Mr. William Cowie fieldcornet. Mr. Biggar, who was suffering under great depression of spirits consequent upon the loss of his sons, did not care to perform the duties, and therefore, a few weeks later, Mr. L. Badenhorst was appointed landdrost in his stead. He, in his turn, after a very short tenure of office was succeeded by Mr. F. Roos.

In July, Sir George Napier issued a proclamation inviting the Emigrants to return to the Colony, promising them redress of well-founded grievances, stating that they could not be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects, and announcing that whenever he considered it advisable he would take military possession of Port Natal. It had previously been announced that "the determination of Her Majesty's Government was to permit no further colonisation in this part of Africa, nor the creation of any pretended independent State by any of Her Majesty's subjects, which the Emigrant Farmers continued to be." But proclamation and announcement alike fell upon deaf ears, for those to whom they were addressed were resolved not to return.

In August, Dingan's army attacked the camp on the Bushman's River again, and on three successive days endeavoured to force an entrance, but on each occasion was compelled to retire with heavy loss. Only one farmer, Vlodman by name, was killed.

Most of the Emigrants were at this time in great distress from want of proper food and other needs of life, so much

property having been destroyed and so many cattle swept off. Disease, in the form of low fever, broke out among them, probably induced by insufficient nourishment and clothing; and many must have perished if supplies of medicine and other necessaries had not been forwarded by their countrymen at the Cape. This winter was, indeed, one of such suffering and hardship that it was long remembered as the time of the great distress. Mr. Landman was now the nominal head of the Emigrants in Natal, for the health of Mr. Maritz had completely broken down, though he lingered in life until early in October.

In November a Commission sent by Governor Sir George Napier visited Natal. Its object was to ascertain exactly the condition and number of coloured apprentices with the Emigrants—these being entitled to full freedom on the 1st of December and to demand that they be permitted to return to the Colony. Mr. Gideon Joubert, the Commissioner, found no difficulty in carrying out his instructions. In most instances the farmers had already freed their apprentices, and where this was not the case they were without exception offered the choice of returning with Mr. Joubert or of remaining as servants with wages. Nearly all of them preferred to remain, so that Mr. Joubert brought back with him only eight men, eleven women, and twenty-one children.

In November Mr. Andries W. J. Pretorius, a man whose name was often to be heard during the next fifteen years, arrived in Natal, and was immediately elected Commandant General. Mr. Pretorius had visited the country on a tour of inspection just before the massacre of Mr. Retief's party, and had been so well satisfied with its appearance that upon his return to Graaff-Reinet he and his friends resolved to remove to it. The new Commandant General was a man of considerable wealth and of high character. His family traced its descent through many generations to Johannes Pretorius, son of a clergyman at Goeree in South Holland, who arrived at Cape Town in the early days of the settlement; and they prided themselves upon having preserved an unstained reputation for integrity during that long period. Mr. Pretorius, like most

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of the farmers of that day, had received so little education from books that he had no knowledge of modern history or the condition and relative strength of European nations, but in Bible history he was as well versed as his remote ancestor could have been. His knowledge and his opinions indeed, as well as his virtues and his failings, were those of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century. At this time he was in the noontide of life, being but thirty-nine years of age, and was in full vigour of mind and body.

Early in December a strong commando was ready to take the field against Dingan. It was under direction of Mr Pretorius as Commandant General, Mr. Landman being the officer next in rank. Guided by experience, the farmers determined to take a considerable number of waggons and some artillery with them for defensive purposes. Mr. Alexander Biggar, whose grief for the loss of his sons was inconsolable, joined the burgher army with a small party of natives to act as scouts. Altogether four hundred and sixty-four men mustered exclusive of the Commandants.

At this season of the year thunderstorms are frequent, and the rivers of Natal and Zululand are usually in flood. The Tugela in its lower course being impassable, the Commandant General resolved to cross its branches near the Kathlamba.

The march towards Umkungunhlovu was conducted with the greatest caution, so as to prevent a surprise. Scouts were continually out in all directions, and every night a lager was formed by drawing the waggons up in a circle and lashing them together. The commando resembled an itinerant prayer-meeting rather than a modern army on the march, for the men were imbued with the same spirit as the Ironsides of Cromwell and spoke and acted in pretty much the same manner. There was no song, no jest heard in that camp, but prayers were poured forth and psalms were sung at every halting place. The army made a vow that if God would give them victory over the cruel heathen, they would build a church and set apart a festival day in every year to commemorate it. The church in Pietermaritzburg stands as a sign that they kept their vow. They did not wish to fight merely for the sake of revenge. On

three occasions the scouts brought in some Zulus whom they had captured, and Mr. Pretorius immediately sent these to Dingan to inform him that if he would restore the property taken from the Emigrants they were prepared to enter into negotiations for peace.

Dingan's reply came in the shape of an army ten or twelve thousand strong, which attacked the camp at early dawn on Sunday the 16th of December 1838. The camp was on the bank of a river, which here formed a long and deep reach, giving complete protection on that side. Another side was also well protected by a water drain, then dry, with steep banks about fourteen feet deep, which opened into the stream. The Zulus attempted to effect an entrance into the camp by sheer pressure of numbers on the two open sides, and they persevered in their efforts for two full hours, notwithstanding the terrible havoc created among them by the fire of the artillery and of the farmers' guns. At last they concentrated their strength on one point, when Mr. Pretorius led a body of horsemen out and attacked them in the rear, while they were being mown down in front. This movement decided the action, for the Zulus, finding themselves between two fires and utterly unable to reach either, broke and fled. There were four or five hundred in the water drain and along the bank of the river, and these were all shot down. The farmers had three men slightly wounded, Mr. Pretorius himself being one of them. They estimated the number of Zulus lying dead around the camp at over three thousand. The ground was covered with corpses and gore, and even the water was discoloured. From this circumstance the stream on the bank of which the carnage took place received the name of the Blood River.

On the 17th the commando moved forward, and on the 21st reached Umkungunhlovu, when it was found that Dingan had set fire to his capital and had fled with his army to the thickets and ravines skirting the Umvolosi River. The first man to enter the still burning town was Mr. Jacobus Uys, brother of the late commandant, and next to him was young Jacobus Uys, the late commandant's son. Mr. Carel Cilliers, the most earnest preacher and at the same time one of the very best

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warriors in the camp, was not far behind. But they found nothing living in that awful place which had been the scene of so many murders and so much woe. On the hill outside of the town they discovered the skeletons of Mr. Retief and his companions, who ten months before had fallen victims to Dingan's treachery, and whose murder they were then avenging. The bodies appeared never to have been disturbed since the day of the massacre. The riems with which the victims had been dragged to the place were still attached to the skeletons. All the skulls were broken, showing how thoroughly the murderers had done their work. The skeleton of Mr. Retief was recognised by some fragments of clothing and a leather despatch bag which he had suspended from his shoulder. In this bag was found the deed of the cession of Natal, written by Mr. Owen, in a perfect state of preservation.

After the interment of the remains, a camp was formed some miles further on, and then Mr. Pretorius sent a patrol of two hundred and eighty horsemen in pursuit of Dingan. A Zulu army was found in an extensive and broken valley having rocky and precipitous sides, and here for nearly a whole day the farmers were skirmishing. Towards evening they found that another body of Zulus was closing them in from behind, when they resolved to turn at once and cut their way out. In doing so they were obliged to cross a swollen rivulet, and here the enemy got among them, and killed Mr. Alexander Biggar, five Emigrants, named Gerrit van Staden, Barend Bester, Nicholas le Roux, Marthinus Goosen, and Johannes Oosthuizen, and five of the Natal natives. The others got away in safety.

The commando then commenced its return march. When it reached the Buffalo River a patrol was sent out, which was fortunate enough to fall in with a herd of four or five thousand cattle, guarded by only a hundred men. The guards were shot, and the cattle seized.

During the absence of this commando, a military detachment arrived from Port Elizabeth, and took possession of the Bay of Natal. It consisted of a company of the 72nd Highlanders and a few gunners, altogether about a hundred men, and was under command of Major Samuel Charters of the Royal Artillery.

Mr. (now Sir) Theophilus Shepstone accompanied it in the capacity of Kaffir interpreter. After landing the troops on the 4th December Major Charters proclaimed that he had taken military possession of all the ground surrounding the Bay within two miles of high-water mark, and declared martial law in force within these bounds. There was standing near the Point a substantial stone building, recently erected as a store for Mr. Maynard, with a small wooden building close by belonging to Mr. John Owen Smith of Port Elizabeth. These were obtained from their occupants, and were converted into storehouses for provisions, magazines for arms, &c. Three guns were landed, and mounted on neighbouring sand-hills which commanded an extensive range. The troops were provided with tents, which they occupied until wattle and daub barracks could be erected. The whole encampment was enclosed as soon as possible with stockades cut in the mangrove thickets, and it then received the name of Fort Victoria.

The objects of this military occupation are stated by Sir George Napier in a despatch to Earl Glenelg, dated 16th of October 1838, to have been

1. To prevent all supplies and warlike stores from entering the Port, by which means alone he could prevent aggression against the native tribes by the Emigrant Farmers, and thus put a stop to further bloodshed.
2. To prevent the Emigrants establishing an independent Government, by being in possession of the only seaport through which gunpowder and other necessary supplies could be conveyed to them; and by which means he was sanguine enough to hope that emigration would cease.

In a proclamation dated the 14th of November 1838, His Excellency declared his determination to seize the harbour of Port Natal, erect a fort, and keep possession of the same until otherwise directed by Her Majesty's Government, in consequence of the disturbed state of the native tribes in the territories adjacent to the Port, arising in a great degree from the unwarranted occupation of parts of those territories by certain Emi-

grants from the Colony, being British subjects. In this proclamation it was stated that—

“The said occupation shall be purely military, and of a temporary nature, and not partake in any degree of the nature of colonization or annexure to the Crown of Great Britain; wherefore the said Port shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, closed against all trade except such as shall be carried on under the special licence and permission of the Government of this Colony, any clearance or permission granted by any British, Colonial, or Foreign Custom House to the contrary notwithstanding. And in order to ensure the maintenance of this prohibition, I do hereby authorise and require the officer who shall be in command of the said fort to prevent, by force of arms if necessary, the entry of any vessel into said harbour for the purpose of trade, or the landing from any vessel of any cargo of what description soever on the coast adjacent to the said fort, unless such vessel be provided with such licence as aforesaid.”

The proclamation gave the commander of the fort power to expel or confine any persons whom he might consider dangerous. It directed him to search for, seize, and retain in military possession all arms and munitions of war which at the time of the seizure of Port Natal should be found in possession of any of the inhabitants, care being taken that the same should be kept in proper order, and receipts being granted to the owners thereof.

This action on the part of Sir George Napier was regarded in a very unfriendly light by the Emigrants, but neither he nor any other Englishman could look with indifference upon their design of establishing an independent republic upon the sea coast, with a harbour through which access to the interior could be had. Even those who sympathised most deeply with them approved of the Governor's taking possession of the Port, but would have been better pleased if it had been declared a permanent British possession, and the safety and welfare of the Emigrants had been provided for.

Major Charters took possession of a large quantity of ammunition which was found in the stores of Messrs. Maynard and

John Owen Smith, as well as the contents of a small magazine belonging to the Emigrants. Upon the return to Natal of the commando under Mr. Pretorius, the Volksraad deputed Mr. Landman to confer with Major Charters, and to receive from him the ammunition which they hoped he would not detain after full information concerning them had been given. The Major, however, declined to release it without a pledge from the leading Emigrants that they would not again cross the Tugela, and would only use it for defensive purposes. This pledge they declined to give, on the ground that they were a free people and the ammunition was property which they had a right to.

At this time there were three small Emigrant camps close to the Port. One consisting of about five and twenty or thirty families, under Mr. L. Badenhorst, was near the head of the Bay. A second, rather larger, was at the Umlazi; and the third, of about fifteen families, was ten or twelve miles beyond in the same direction. The last two were under Andries de Jager and Jacobus Uys.

Major Charters returned overland to Cape Town as soon as the troops were settled, leaving Captain Henry Jervis of the 72nd in command. This officer held a commission under the Imperial Act for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by British subjects within the territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Under it he summoned a farmer who was accused of assault to appear before him, but the farmer declined to attend, alleging that he was a member of an independent community, and responsible only to the landdrost appointed by the Volksraad. Thereupon Captain Jervis referred the case to Sir George Napier, by whom he was informed that it would be inexpedient to press the matter. Thus began and ended the attempt to exercise judicial authority over the Emigrants at Natal, for in no other instance was the slightest effort made to interfere with their civil government. In the absence of instructions from the Secretary of State, which were repeatedly solicited, but in vain, the Governor could do nothing more than inform them on every opportunity that they were still regarded as British

subjects, and officially ignore their Volksraad and courts of law, while all the time they were acting as an independent people.

At this time Pietermaritzburg¹ was laid out. It received its name from the late Commandants Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz. Here, from this date onward, the Volksraad, or Governing Council of the Emigrants, met. It consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually, who met every three months, and not only exercised supreme legislative power but appointed all officials, the Commandant General included.

Early in 1839 an attempt was made by Captain Jervis to bring about an agreement of peace between the Emigrants and Dingan. He obtained a messenger from Henry Ogle, whom he sent to Dingan to ask that he would appoint delegates and direct them to proceed to Natal to talk matters over. As afterwards seen, Dingan had no intention of concluding peace. He had lost about ten thousand men in all the engagements, but his army was still so large that he was by no means humbled. He was, however, quite ready to enter into an arrangement which would enable him to keep a constant watch upon the Emigrants' proceedings. He therefore sent delegates to Natal with three hundred and sixteen horses and a message indicating a wish for peace.

On the 26th of March, Dingan's delegates had a meeting close to the fort with Mr. Pretorius and some other leading Emigrants, in presence of Captain Jervis, when they were informed that peace would be made on the following terms:—

1. That the cession of land by Dingan to the late Mr. Retief for the farmers should be confirmed and ratified by him.
2. That Dingan should restore all the cattle, horses, arms, ammunition and other property which his army had stolen from the camps and the farmers, and make good on demand all the damage sustained by the Emigrants from his people.
3. That any Zulu passing the boundary of the land ceded by

¹ Now usually termed Maritzburg for the sake of brevity.

Dingan, and thus coming within the acquired territory of the farmers, should be shot, and *vice versa*.¹

The Zulu delegates professed to consider these conditions fair and reasonable, but said they would require to be approved of by Dingan. They accordingly returned home, and shortly afterwards came back to the Bay with a message to Captain Jervis to the effect that the farmers' property had been collected and would be delivered to them if they would send for it. Captain Jervis hereupon communicated with the Emigrants at the nearest camps, and they with the Volksraad at Maritzburg. Upon this, Mr. Pretorius assembled a commando of three hundred and thirty-four burghers near the junction of the Mooi and Tugela rivers, where he formed a camp, and then sent a Commission, consisting of Messrs. William Cowie, J. A. van Niekerk, and J. P. Roseher, to Dingan for the property.

Dingan was found by the Commission at a new town built about four hundred yards from the site of the one that had been burnt six months before. He stated that much of the farmers' stock had died, and that many of the guns had been lost, but he sent back with the Commission thirteen hundred head of horned cattle, about four hundred sheep, fifty-two guns, and forty-three saddles, which were delivered at the camp on the 7th of June. To the Commission, Dingan expressed himself as very anxious for peace, but circumstances that indicate the still unbroken spirit of the people are noted in the report of the interview which Mr. Cowie furnished to Captain Jervis. The great indunas were not sent to the Emigrant camp, on the alleged ground of fear, but two petty captains were deputed to arrange matters. These informed the Emigrant leaders that Dingan was quite willing to agree to the terms delivered to the Zulu delegates in presence of Captain Jervis at the Bay, to which Mr. Pretorius replied that there was then no obstacle to peace, that they estimated the losses and damages still due at nineteen thousand three hundred head of cattle, but part of that might be paid in ivory if more convenient. The captains

¹ In Captain Jervis's report of this meeting (manuscript in the Colonial Office) the conditions are stated differently, but imply almost the same. The above is the wording of the terms as subsequently signed.

then affixed their marks to the conditions of peace, and promised on behalf of their master that delegates of rank should ratify their acts and that a quantity of ivory which had already been collected should, immediately on their return home, be sent to Mr. Pretorius on account.

As soon as the conditions were signed, the Commandant-General wrote to Captain Jervis, requesting the delivery of the ammunition belonging to the Emigrants, on the ground that there could be now no pretence for detaining it. Captain Jervis replied that he would give it up immediately upon the following declaration being signed:—

“We, the undersigned, Leaders of the Emigrant Farmers, parties to the late treaty of peace with the Zulus, and others, do hereby solemnly declare that provided the ammunition which was seized by the troops on the occupation of Port Natal is restored to us, it is not the intention of ourselves and people to turn our arms against the Zulus or any other of the native tribes, but to restrict ourselves to measures of self defence alone, on the territory which we now occupy.”

Neither Mr. Pretorius, nor any other of the principal leaders, however, would admit the right of an English officer to impose any conditions whatever, and so the powder and lead remained in the magazine of Fort Victoria. That there was no scarcity of ammunition among the Emigrants was well known, and if other evidence had been wanting it was proved by a fire which broke out on the evening of the 3rd of June in one of the camps near Pietermaritzburg, in which nine individuals lost their lives, ten others were severely injured, and the waggons and household effects of twenty-nine families were utterly destroyed. The principal damage was caused by the explosion of the gunpowder stored in the different waggons.

On the 30th of June, two messengers arrived at Maritzburg from Dingan. They brought no ivory, but said they had come to ratify the terms of peace and to inquire when the cattle would be taken over. But the Volksraad, ascertaining that they were persons of no rank, declined to confer with them further than to direct them to inform Dingan that he must

send some of his chief captains within twelve days, otherwise they would treat with him no longer, but settle matters with a *comrando*. On several occasions after that messengers arrived, but they did nothing else than deliver compliments, make promises, and apologize for mistakes, until it became evident that Dingan's only object was to ascertain whether the farmers kept in *lager* or were dispersing over the country.

At this time the *Emigrants* were agitated by a rumour that a large body of English colonists would shortly be landed at Port Natal with the object of overturning their Government. Great as was the danger from Dingan, they regarded this as greater. On the 31st of July, the *Commandant-General* and the *Volksraad* wrote to Captain Jervis: "We shall never allow people to establish themselves here without subjecting themselves to the jurisdiction of this community." "The bones," wrote they, "of our innocent and treacherously murdered relatives and friends at the *Bushman's River* will remain a lasting evidence of our right to this land until another beacon of similar materials shall overshadow ours." On the 11th of November, the *Volksraad* passed a resolution to oppose the landing of immigrants without its previous consent, and if such immigrants should be attended by a military force too great to be resisted on landing, to carry on a *guerilla warfare* against them.

But their fears were groundless. The Home Government was indisposed to add another acre of land in South Africa to the Empire. Sir George Napier could get no instructions how to act. The 72nd *Highlanders* were expecting orders to embark for Europe, and the Governor therefore made up his mind to withdraw the little garrison from Fort Victoria and to leave the *Emigrants* entirely to themselves. His own opinion, often repeated and urgently pressed upon the successive Secretaries of State, was that Natal should be constituted a British Colony, but, as he stated in a despatch to Lord John Russell, dated 22nd of June 1840, "the reiterated expression by Lords Glenelg and Normanby of their merely temporary and conditional approval of the military possession of the port, their observations on the expense attending it, and the apparently fixed determination of Her Majesty's Government not to extend Her Colonial

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Revolt of Panda against Dingan.

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possessions in this quarter of the world, made him feel confident that the colonization of that country would never be sanctioned, and therefore he felt the further retention of the post might give rise to hopes or even fears which it was probably the wish of Her Majesty's Ministers not to foster."

On the 24th of December 1839 the troops embarked in a vessel that had been sent for them. The ammunition of the farmers was at last restored without any guarantee as to its use, and they saw all the symbols of English sovereignty disappear, though in a friendly farewell letter of Captain Jervis he stated that they were still considered British subjects. Under such circumstances, however, they might reasonably conclude that the Imperial Government had practically abandoned its claim to their allegiance.

About four months before the departure of the troops, a very important event took place in the Zulu country. Umpande, or Panda as he is usually termed by Europeans, one of the younger sons of Senzangakona, entered into a conspiracy against Dingan. In ability he was far inferior to either of his brothers, and almost immeasurably lower than his son Cetywayo in later years. But he possessed a large amount of low cunning, and he was clever enough to seize the opportunity that then occurred to improve his position. A great number of the incorporated Zulus—the remnants of tribes that had come under Tshaka, as the only means of saving themselves—were ready to rally round any leader who could give them reasonable hope of deliverance from incessant bloodshed and tyranny. The induna Nongalaza, who was in command of the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, declared for Panda, and they joined him. The rebel chief, with a very large following, then crossed the Tugela, and sent three messengers to Landdrost Roos at the Bay to ask protection from the Europeans. These messengers arrived on the 14th of September, and stated that Panda was accompanied by Nongalaza, Sotobe who had been sent by Tshaka to the Cape with Mr. King in 1828, and six other great indunas.

The Emigrants at first regarded Panda with suspicion, as it was by no means certain that his flight was not merely a pre-

tence to draw them to destruction. But in an interview which he had with the Volksraad on the 15th of October, he convinced the members of his sincerity, and permission was given to him to occupy for the time being a tract of land between the Tugela and Umvoti rivers. On the 26th of the same month he was installed "Reigning Prince of the Emigrant Zulus" by a Commission from the Volksraad, of which Mr. F. Roos, land-drost of the camps around the Bay, was President. An arrangement was soon afterwards entered into that the Volksraad should demand from Dingan immediate payment of their losses, and that in the event of Dingan's non-compliance the Emigrants should assist Panda to depose his brother, in which case he undertook to pay the debt. It was understood on both sides that the first clause was a mere matter of form, and Panda therefore paid about two thousand head of cattle at once.

In accordance with this arrangement, on the 4th of January, 1840, the Volksraad directed Commandant General Pretorius to march against Dingan, to demand from him forty thousand head of horned cattle, and if they were not given, to take them by force. Ten days later a burgher commando of four hundred men, supported by five or six thousand of Panda's adherents under Nongalaza, set out for Zululand.

During the campaign several prisoners were taken, and to the astonishment of the Zulus, who were acting in concert with the farmers, they were released. On one occasion this happened after a mountain had been occupied with difficulty.¹ Panda's followers could not appreciate such gentleness towards enemies, which they considered reprehensible. A tragic deed, which must always remain a reproach on the reputation of this commando, was more in accordance with their views of propriety.

¹ The traveller Delegorgue, who was with the commando, says: *La manière dont les Boers se comportaient en cette circonstance intrigua beaucoup leurs alliés amou- leux; elle excitait leur admiration en même temps que leur mécontentement, et plus d'un parlait avec mépris du système de guerre que pratiquent les blancs. "Comment," disait Nonglass, "après les avoir contraints à quitter une position aussi difficile, vous leur laissez la vie! Ceci n'est pas faire la guerre, ce n'est pas profiter de ses avantages. En guerre, il faut tuer beaucoup, tout même s'il est possible."*— Vol. I., page 237.

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Unjustifiable Execution of Zulu Officers. 129

The approach of the commando was made known to Dingan by his spies, and recognising the gravity of the position in which he was placed, he attempted—possibly in earnest—to come to terms with the Emigrants. There were two officers immediately under him whose advice he frequently sought, and through whom he carried on his government. Their names were Tambusa and Umthlela. The first named of these he now sent to the Emigrant camp to renew negotiations for peace.

Upon Tambusa's arrival he and his servant Kombazana were made prisoners, and contrary to all law and justice were brought to trial before a court martial. Panda and some of his officers were kept by Mr. Pretorius in his own camp as security against treachery, the column under Nongalaza being at some distance and marching in a parallel line. These persons, who would assuredly do all in their power to cause the death of one of Dingan's magnates, were allowed to take part in the mock trial. Panda acted indeed in the double capacity of prosecutor and judge. He attributed the massacres of the Emigrants to the advice given to Dingan by Tambusa, and accused the chief prisoner of many other enormities.

Tambusa, finding himself in the hands of those who were determined on his death, acted with the utmost calmness and dignity. He did not deny the truth of Panda's assertions, but said he was not there to defend himself: he had come as an envoy from a great chief to arrange terms of peace. He scorned to ask mercy for himself, but demanded the release of his servant on the ground that he was obliged to obey any orders given to him. Kombazana, on his part, displayed equal pride by refusing to be separated from his master even in death. They were both condemned to be executed.

When the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Pretorius spoke to the prisoners of God, the Almighty master in whose presence they must soon appear, and besought them to pray to Him for pardon of their sins while yet there was time.

Tambusa answered that he had but one master; that it was his duty to remain faithful to Dingan to the last moment of his life; and that if he did this the Great Chief of whom Mr. Pretorius spoke could not fail to be satisfied with his conduct.

A few hours later on the same day, 31st of January 1840, the condemned men were led to execution. They were manacled together, and both were perfectly naked. Two farmers from a distance of sixty paces fired at them, when Kombazana was killed instantly. Tambusa fell to the ground with a ball in his body, though he was not mortally wounded. Rising immediately, he again stood erect, though manacled to the still quivering corpse of his servant, and faced the executioners with an undaunted eye. The second discharge followed speedily, and laid him low to rise no more.¹

This act of Mr. Pretorius,—for the chief blame must rest upon him, was a great mistake as well as a great crime. It gave those who were jealous of his influence an opportunity to attack him, which they at once availed themselves of. In the Volksraad he was accused of having exceeded the authority entrusted to him by creating a tribunal with power of life and death. His partisans, however, were so strong that after a time the charges against him were allowed to drop.

Immediately after this event a messenger from Nongalaza brought word to the burgher column that on the day following, 30th January, he had fought a great battle with Dingo's army led by Umthlela, and had won a complete victory.

This battle proved to be a decisive one. At its commencement Dingan's army was superior in number, but a body of his troops went over to Panda's side, and turned the scale. Those who were faithful stood their ground, and fell as became Zulu warriors. The slaughter on each side was enormous. The two best regiments of Dingan perished. The veterans who had won their plumes under Tshaka preferred to die rather than show their backs to the traitors who had deserted their cause. Umthlela placed himself at the head of the reserve, and went into the hottest part of the field, where he was pierced through the heart with an assagai. Still the issue of the day was doubtful, when the cry echoed along Nongalaza's ranks, "The Boers are coming." It was not so, but the belief that it was answered Nongalaza's purpose. The remnant of Dingan's army

¹ Delegorgue was a witness of this tragio scene. See his "Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe," Volume I., pages 223 et seq.

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Proclamation of Mr. Pretorius.

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the men who could not flee from a foe armed with spear and shield, gave way in their fear of those dreaded horsemen who had power to deal out death without meeting it themselves. A bushy country spread out before them, and favoured their escape. The battle was over, and the terror which the Zulu name had inspired for twenty years was a thing of the past.

Dingan fled northward to the border of the Swazi country, where he built a kraal in a secluded and tolerably secure position. There he was soon afterwards assassinated by a Swazi who stole upon him unawares. Those who had adhered to him in his misfortunes then tendered their submission to Panda, by whom they were received with every mark of favour.

After the decisive battle, an enormous booty in cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors. About forty thousand head were delivered to Mr. Pretorius, and were subsequently distributed among the Emigrants in proportion to their losses.

On the 10th of February Mr. Pretorius formally installed Panda as king of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the Emigrant Volksraad, to which he promised fidelity. It was arranged that he should remove his followers to the north side of the Tugela, but that the ground on which he was to reside should be an appanage of the Republic of Natal. To this end the following proclamation was issued by Mr. Pretorius on the 14th of February 1840:—

"In the name of the Volksraad I take possession of all the land from the Tugela to the Black Umvolosi; and our boundary shall in future be from the sea along the Black Umvolosi River to where it runs through the double mountains near its source, and so on along the Randberg in the same direction to the Drakensberg, including St. Lucia Bay, as also all sea coasts and harbours already discovered, or that may yet be discovered, between the mouths of the Umzimvubu and the Black Umvolosi rivers."

While writing this chapter and the next, the following printed books were before me:—

"Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe, notamment dans le Territoire de Natal, &c., exécuté durant les Années 1838-1844." Par M. Adulphe Delegorgue. Two volumes octavo, Paris, 1847.

"Ordinances, Proclamations, &c., &c., relating to the Colony of Natal," 1836-1847. (Official.) An octavo volume of 200 pages, Cape Town, 1848.

"Natal, Cape of Good Hope, comprising Descriptions of this well-endowed Colony from the year 1575 to the present time by Government Officials and Travellers." By J. S. Christopher, of Natal. An octavo volume of 146 pages, London, 1850.

"A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1850." A small volume of 227 pages, London, 1852. A portion of this volume is devoted to Natal and the Orange River Sovereignty.

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CHAPTER V.

Boundaries of the Republic of Natal—Foundation of the Village of Weenen—Constitution of the Republic—Form of Union with the Districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom—Correspondence with Sir George Napier concerning Recognition of Independence—History of the Pondo Tribe—The Bacas—Attack upon the Bacas by the Emigrant Farmers—Application to Sir George Napier by the Wesleyan Missionaries in Pondoland for Protection of Faku—British Troops sent to Pondoland—Resolution of the Natal Volksraad with regard to the Natives—The Troops in Pondoland moved on to Natal—Mr. J. A. Smellekamp in Natal—Action between the Farmers and the Troops—Siege of the English Camp at Durban—Relief of the Camp by Troops under Colonel Cloete—Conditions of Capitulation of the Republic—Views of the Imperial Government—Advocate Cloete sent to Natal as Commissioner—Murder by Panda of his Brother Xoxo—Rush of Zulu Refugees into Natal—Proceedings of Commissioner Cloete—Stormy Meetings at Maritzburg—Submission of the Volksraad—Retirement from Natal of the Great Body of Emigrant Farmers—Proposals of the Volksraad as to Future Government—Treaties with Panda—Treaty of Sir Peregrine Maitland with Faku, giving to the Pondos the Country as far north as the Umzimkulu—Natal made a Dependency of the Cape Colony—New Boundaries—Appointment of a Staff of Officials.

THE territory under the government of the Emigrants between the Drakensberg and the sea, and which they termed the Republic of Natal, had different boundaries from the present Colony of that name. On the north the Tugela from its source to its mouth separated it from the subject Zulu State under Panda. Thus the whole of that triangular block of land now comprised in the Counties of Klip River and Newcastle was in the Dependency of Zululand, not in the Republic proper. On the south-west the boundary was the Umzimvubu

River, and embraced therefore what is at present known as Eastern Pondoland and a portion of Griqualand East.

This territory was divided into three magisterial and ecclesiastical districts: Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal. The village of Weenen was laid out in 1840. As in Maritzburg, the erven or building allotments were parallelograms one hundred and fifty by four hundred and fifty feet in size, thus providing space for each family to have its own garden and orchard, while the public grounds were so large as really to make the village a communal farm. The commonage around Maritzburg was about one hundred and twenty square miles in extent. That around Weenen was also sufficiently large to enable the residents in the village to engage extensively in pastoral pursuits if they chose to do so. Every burgher of full age who had settled in Natal before the beginning of 1840 was entitled to two farms of three thousand morgen each and one erf in either of the villages. Each lad above fifteen years of age was entitled to one farm and one erf. Every head of a family arriving after that date and casting in his lot with the community was to be entitled to one farm free of payment.

The public revenue was derived from

- (a) Duties levied at the Port. All wines paid 15s. per half cask. Spirits of any kind paid 3s. per gallon. Tobacco in any form, timber, and all articles made of wood, paid twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*. All other merchandize paid three per cent *ad valorem*.
- (b) Port dues paid by vessels dropping anchor, at the rate of three pence per ton.
- (c) A land tax of eighteen shillings yearly on every farm not exceeding three thousand morgen in extent. Farms above that size paid in proportion.
- (d) Transfer dues at the rate of two per cent on the purchase amount.
- (e) Fines of court.

The civil list was so small as to be unique in the history of European communities. The landdrost and the clergyman of Maritzburg were each paid at the rate of £100 per annum.

The Secretary of the Volksraad received £75 per annum. Each of the landdrosts of Port Natal and of Weenen received £37 10s. per annum. The clergyman Smit, whose health had completely failed, drew a yearly pension of £45. The Port Captain, Customs Officer, and entire Police Establishment, cost the Republic less than £100 per annum. The total civil list was under £500.

At Port Natal and at Weenen congregations were organised, each with its own elders and deacons, but neither place had a resident clergyman. In June 1839 Dr. Adams and the Rev. Daniel Lindley, two of the American missionaries, returned to Natal. Dr. Adams resumed his labours with the natives at his former station on the Umlazi, but Mr. Lindley, seeing the Europeans without pastoral care, conceived it to be his duty to minister to them. The affection with which his name is still pronounced in hundreds of South African households is a proof that his decision was appreciated by the people among whom he thenceforth laboured. He became the resident clergyman of Maritzburg, but once every year he visited Port Natal and Weenen, and yearly also he went over the Drakensberg to hold services at Winburg and Potchefstroom. In June 1840 the Rev. Aldin Grout returned to Natal and joined Dr. Adams at the Umlazi, where he devoted himself solely to the natives. In May of the following year he removed to Zululand and commenced mission work in a thickly populated district on the Umhlatusi. But Panda, taking offence at the doctrine preached by Mr. Grout and fearing that the effect of such teaching would be to weaken his authority, viewed the mission with no friendly eye. At dawn on the morning of the 25th of July 1842, a band of warriors, acting under his orders, attacked the station, and wiped out of existence three of the kraals that were believed to have paid most attention to the white teacher's words. Mr. Grout himself was spared, but he deemed it prudent to return at once to Natal, where he shortly afterwards tried to found a station on the Umgeni.

The Volksraad, which was the supreme legislative power in the Republic, consisted of twenty-four members, and it met at Maritzburg in regular session on the first Mondays of January

April, July, and October. Twelve members formed a quorum. At each session a chairman was chosen, who took the title of President, and, with the aid of a few members who formed what was termed the Commissie Raad, carried on the administration during the following three months. All appointments to office were made by the Volksraad. No sentence of death could be carried into effect without its sanction. At the end of every year the Fieldcornets sent in papers signed by the burghers of their wards, on each of which was the name of the individual whom the subscribing burgher desired as a representative. The twenty-four individuals having the greatest number of votes formed the Volksraad for the following year. As if this form of government was not sufficiently democratic whenever a measure of importance was to be decided, a meeting of what was termed *The Public*, that is of all who chose to attend, was called together to sanction or reject it.

The result of all this was utter anarchy. Decisions of one day were frequently reversed the next, and every one held himself free to disobey any law that he did not approve of. The most violent language was used in discussing even ordinary matters. The landdrosts frequently found themselves without power to enforce their decisions, or even to compel the attendance before their courts of persons summoned for debt or accused of crime. Public opinion of the hour in each section of the community was the only force in the land. In the Volksraad and in the public service, exclusive of Mr. Lindley, there were only two individuals sufficiently educated to be able to write English correctly, and not more than five or six who were acquainted with the rudiments of Dutch grammar. Mr J. N. Boshof excepted, there was not one who had the slightest experience of office work. Under such a government any people with less stability of character than the Emigrant Farmers must have become thoroughly demoralised.

The political tie between the people of Natal and those Emigrants who occupied the country west of the Drakensberg was exceedingly frail, though the sympathy of blood was strong. After recrossing the Drakensberg in 1838, Commandant Hendrik Potgieter had taken up his residence on the Mooi

River, and had established an independent government. There was no native power near enough to disturb him, for Moselekatse had fled so far away that when in July 1840 a commando assembled to follow him up and endeavour to recover the captive children, the Matabele could not be found. In September 1840 a loose kind of alliance was formed between the government of this section of the Emigrants and the Volksraad of Natal. The Emigrants west of the Drakensberg were thenceforth under what they termed an Adjunct Raad, consisting of twelve members, and claiming authority over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom. The district of Winburg was defined as the whole country south of the Vaal, from the Vet River to the Drakensberg, that is nearly half of the present Orange Free State. The district of Potchefstroom was held to be all the country north of the Vaal conquered from Moselekatse. Its boundaries were not accurately defined, but in the articles of arrangement between Messrs A. W. Pretorius and A. H. Potgieter the land open for settlement is described as extending from the desert on the west to Rhenoster Poort on the east, and from the Saltpan (near Lithako) and the Vaal River on the south to Zoutpansberg on the north. At the villages of Winburg and Potchefstroom there were landdrosts and church officers without clergymen, as at Weenen and Port Natal.

In each of these districts, just as in each of the three districts of Natal, there was a Commandant who had power in case of war to call out all the burghers capable of bearing arms. Mr. Potgieter, who was over these again, was styled Chief Commandant. In Natal Mr. A. W. Pretorius, the officer of highest military authority, was termed Commandant General.

Under the agreement of union, the Adjunct Raad retained full and independent control in minor matters over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom, but had the right of sitting with the Volksraad at Maritzburg whenever important subjects were considered.

Between the Vet River and the Orange there were several parties of Emigrants acting independently of either of the Councils here named. With all of them the form of government was merely probationary. They readily acknowledged

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Correspondence with Sir Charles Napier. 139

that they knew nothing of the policies of other people, ancient or modern, except from Scripture history, and were only experimenting until they could work out a system adapted to their needs.

The details of the administration having been settled, the Volksraad deemed it advisable to enter into correspondence with the Governor of the Cape Colony, with a view of obtaining a recognition of their independence. Sir George Napier had long been urging the Imperial Government to take possession of Natal and establish a strong Government there, but the Ministry was unwilling to increase England's responsibilities in South Africa, and could resolve upon nothing. The Governor, believing that the interests of Great Britain and of the Cape Colony alike were being endangered by delay, was yet powerless to take any action except under extraordinary circumstances, and could only temporize until distinct instructions should arrive. He was not apprehensive of any cruel or unjust treatment of the natives by the Emigrants as a body, but the weakness of their Government he rightly regarded as a fruitful source of individual acts of wrong.¹

The correspondence commenced with a letter, dated 4th of September 1840, from Mr. L. Badenhorst, then President, and Mr. J. J. Burger, Secretary of the Volksraad, informing Sir George Napier that peace had been established with the surrounding tribes, and asking through His Excellency that Her Majesty might be graciously pleased to acknowledge and de-

¹ In a despatch to Lord John Russell, dated 22nd June 1840, he wrote: "Considering the feelings of exasperation which the perfidious slaughter of so many of their friends under the command of Retief must have produced in their minds, it appears to me, as far as I have been able to learn, that their treatment of the natives has not been, generally speaking, characterised by flagrant injustice, or productive of misery to these people. . . . The alleged misery and cruelties inflicted on the aboriginal tribes by civilized men are light in comparison to the injuries they suffer from perpetual tyranny and despotism among themselves. . . . That the security they at present enjoy under the temporary dominion of the Emigrants is less perfect than it would be under an established Government is, I think, obvious, because although the majority of them are not, I believe, animated by feelings which might lead them to the habitual perpetration of cruel acts, still where men are left without sufficient law to control their acts and punish crime, instances will certainly and often occur in which the natives will suffer more under their present protectors than under the influence of a firmly established Government which possesses the power as well as the inclination to restrain its subjects from the commission of crimes."

clare the Emigrants to be a free and independent people. They proposed to send two Commissioners to Cape Town to treat for "an acknowledgment of their independence, with the rights of British subjects." Such a sentence as this is an illustration of much of the correspondence of the Volksraad when the letters were not drafted by Mr. Boshof.

Sir George Napier replied on the 2nd of November, asking for "an explicit statement of the terms on which they were disposed to treat," but without making any promises or admissions.

On the 14th of January 1841 the conditions which they desired to embody in a treaty were, after long discussion, agreed to by a majority of the Volksraad, and communicated to Sir George Napier in a letter signed by Carel Pieter Landman, then President, and twelve members. The following is a translation of the terms:—

"We are willing and desirous to enter into a perpetual alliance with the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, on the following principles:

1. That the honoured Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England would be pleased to acknowledge and declare our settlement here as a free and independent State, under the name of THE REPUBLIC OF PORT NATAL AND ADJOINING COUNTRIES, the boundaries whereof can be hereafter defined.
2. That Her Majesty's Government declare itself willing to treat with the said Republic in the character of an ally.
3. That the said Republic reciprocally declares itself to stand in the closest alliance with the British Government.
4. That Her Majesty's Government shall be at liberty, in case of any hostile undertaking against this Republic by sea, by any other Power whatever, to interpose itself either in a friendly manner or to repel the same by force.
5. That in case of war between the British Government and any other Power, this Republic shall be viewed as neutral, and all private commercial vessels lying at anchor in the ports of the Republic shall be left unmolested.
6. That the British Government shall have the right to place here an Ambassador or Representative Agent.
7. That the trade in British merchandise shall not be made subject to higher imposts than that of other people or nations, but the same duties, as far as practicable, shall be levied as are levied on British goods entering British Colonies with the exception of

wines, strong liquors, and other articles prejudicial to this Republic, the unnecessary importation of which it would be advisable to restrain by higher duties. In consideration of which all articles of trade of this Republic shall be received in all British possessions, and not be subject to higher duties than those of British settlements.

8. That this Republic engages never to make a hostile movement against any of the native tribes who reside between the boundary of the said Republic and that of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, without first giving notice thereof to the representative of that Government here, or to the Governor for the time being of the Colony aforesaid, and stating also the cause which may have given rise thereto, with exception, however, of occasions when it will be our duty to take immediate steps against the enemy either in opposing or repelling their inroads or contemplated attacks upon us or upon any of the natives on our frontier and in alliance with us, or in case of robbery to pursue immediately the robbers and overtake them, and in all such other cases wherein delay or neglect would be dangerous and prejudicial to us.
9. That we further bind ourselves not to extend our boundary line further, to the detriment or disadvantage of any of the surrounding tribes, nor to make any hostile movement against them, unless any tribes by preceding hostile attack shall give us such occasion thereto that we, for the maintenance of our rights, or for the security of our property, shall be compelled to take up arms against them.
10. That the Republic promises to give every encouragement to the spreading of the Gospel among, and for the civilization of, the heathen tribes which surround us or are residing under our Government.
11. That this Republic promises not to give any aid or assistance in any manner to the declared or public enemies of the British Government in any hostile undertaking against the same, nor to permit such known enemies' vessels to enter our ports, or to provision them; but on the contrary, in case of war with the Colony by Kaffirs or other tribes residing between us and the Colony, should the Governor of the Colony be desirous to send by sea and march overland armed forces through our territory, to assist the same with provisions, means of transport, &c., and further as far as possible to accommodate them.
12. That this Republic undertakes and binds itself never to enter into any slave trade, or to encourage or assist the same, or to permit any vessel or craft of that trade to enter our ports, or to furnish them with any refreshment.
13. That British subjects residing in this Republic shall be equally protected in their persons and property, and shall not be subject to higher taxes or duties than the burghers of this Republic are.

While this correspondence was being carried on, an event took place which altered the whole aspect of affairs, and which necessitates a brief account of the Pondo tribe being given.

This tribe is one of those mentioned by the wrecked seamen of the *Stavenisse* in 1686. It was then found between the Abambo and the Abatembu, in its present position, though the limits of its possessions at that time cannot be ascertained. For the next hundred years there appears to have been no intercourse between these people and Europeans, of which a record has been preserved. In 1790-1 an expedition under the leadership of Mr. Jacob van Reenen travelled from the Cape Colony through Kaffirland to the mouth of the Umzimkulu in search of survivors from the wreck of the English East Indiaman *Grosvenor*, which was lost on the coast a short distance above the mouth of the Umzimvubu on the 4th of August 1782. Several accounts of the wreck were published within the next ten years, from the narratives of seamen who made their way overland to the Colony; and the journal of Mr. Van Reenen's expedition followed in 1792. These, however, throw little or no light upon the condition of the Pundos at that time.

Mr. Van Reenen's party visited a village in which they found three aged white women, survivors of a wreck which must have taken place on the coast about 1730 or 1740. They had been married to natives, and had a numerous offspring. Depa, the petty Pondo chief with whose people the first mission in the country was established, was a son of one of these women.

From the date of Mr. Van Reenen's visit more than thirty years passed by without anything being heard of the Pondo people. About 1823 their name came occasionally to be mentioned in connection with the ravages of Tshaka, and afterwards some particulars concerning them were gathered from the accounts of the Europeans at Port Natal. In July 1828 Major Dundas, Landdrost of Albany, who was sent by the Governor of the Cape Colony on a mission to Tshaka, passed through Pondoland and had an interview with the chief Faku, who was then living in the valley of the Umgazi River. The paramount ruler of the Pundos was found dispirited and in a

most abject condition, with only two or three attendants about him. Tshaka's army had swept the country of cattle, and after an occupation of a month and a half had left only ten days before Major Dundas's visit.¹ The Pondos had nothing to live upon or to make clothes with. Faku had sent to Hintsa and Vusani, chiefs of the Galekas and Tembus, for assistance, but had received none, and he was then about to become a vassal of Tshaka.

In May 1829 the Rev. Mr. Shaw visited Faku, at the Umgazi. The country close around was thickly populated, and the people had gathered a plentiful harvest of corn, but had very few cattle. In this year, 1829, Morley mission station was founded by the Rev. Mr. Shepstone among Depa's people. It was destroyed a few months later by the Amakwabi, when the mission family narrowly escaped; but it was subsequently rebuilt in another and better position on the western bank of the Umata.

In 1830 the Buntingville mission was commenced by the Rev. Messrs. Boyce and Tainton. Faku, who believed the missionaries to be powerful rainmakers, gave them one of the driest sites in the whole country, in hope of benefiting by the rain which he anticipated they would cause to descend for their own profit. When, however, he found that his expectations were not realised, he granted a much better site elsewhere, and the mission was removed.

From this time there is abundant material in existence for compiling an account of the Pondo people. There are, in addition to the official records, many statements since made by individual Pondos and published, besides printed reports and letters of missionaries, and references by travellers in several books. Among these last the most important are to be found in "Travels and Researches in Caffraria," by the Rev. Stephen Kay, London, 1833; Mr. Isaacs' "Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa;" and Captain Gardiner's "Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country."

From these sources it can be ascertained that the Pondo

¹ It was on this occasion that a Zulu army penetrated to the Bashee. Tshaka himself remained at the Umzimkulu with a regiment that laid waste the Pondo country. See account in preceding chapter.

tribe suffered very severely by the wars of Tshaka. It was not alone invasions of their country by armies under that dreaded chief's commanders that harassed them. Numerous hordes, fleeing before the Zulu spear, sought refuge in the rugged district drained by the Umzimvubu, others made a pathway through it to safer regions beyond. Every horde that came was an enemy to all the rest, and so there was for years a continual scene of pillaging and butchering throughout the land.

It would be a waste of time to search out and place on record the titles of all the clans that made their appearance on the Umzimvubu at this period, let alone to trace their history. Many of them have become incorporated with the Pondo tribe. Many others are now subject to the Government of Natal. Several have perished utterly, among these being the Amakwabi, already mentioned. One clan only requires a brief notice. This was the remnant of the Baca tribe, which had been driven down from the north, and which was then, owing to its hereditary chief being a minor, under a regent named Ncapayi.¹ The Baca clan was the most powerful body of refugees in the valley of the Umzimvubu. Its propensities for plundering all within its reach were no greater than those of the others, but its strength enabled it to hold its ground when weaker people perished. The fame of Ncapayi extended to the Cape Colony, where he was spoken of as pre-eminently the freebooter of Kaffirland.

In the wars and disturbances of this period the Pondo tribe was greatly reduced in number, and was entirely driven from the country north of the Umzimvubu. Faku himself went to reside in the valley of the Umgazi, and for ten or twelve years at least he was deprived of all authority in what is now called Eastern Pondoland.

Early in 1836 an embassy was sent by Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban to the chiefs Kreli, Vadana, and Faku, for the purpose of establishing a general peace between the tribes and arranging for the return of the missionaries to the stations

¹ Ncapayi was killed in battle with the Pondos in July 1845. He was the father of Makaula, who is at present the head of the Bacas in the district of Mount Frere.

which had been abandoned in the previous year, owing to the war between the Amaxosa and the Colony. A military officer, Captain Delaney of the 75th Regiment, was at its head; and it was intended to make an impression upon the native mind, for it consisted in all of one hundred and ten individuals, of whom eighty were soldiers. It was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Palmer, who had previously laboured among the Pondos, and by Mr. William Fynn as interpreter. On the 5th of February Captain Delaney reached Buntingville, where he met Faku with his councillors and about twelve hundred followers, by whom he was received "with every possible demonstration of pleasure and satisfaction." The Pondo chief promised the embassy to keep the peace in future with his neighbours.¹ Before parting, presents were exchanged. Faku's gift consisted of five tusks of ivory: one for the Governor, one for Colonel Smith, and three for Captain Delaney.

In the report of the embassy and the documents which accompany it nothing is said of the extent of the Pondo territory, but in a despatch from Sir Benjamin D'Urban to Lord Glenelg, of the 16th March 1836, Faku is described as "Chief of the Amapondas on the Umtata, Umgazi, and Umcimvooboo."

One of the earliest acts of the Emigrant Farmers after entering Natal was to communicate with Faku, who had the reputation of being abler and better disposed than the other chiefs in the neighbourhood. He and Ncapayi were nearly always at war, but just at this time the Pondos and Bacas were fighting on the same side against the Pondomisis and Tembus. Faku replied to the communication of the Farmers in a friendly manner. Nothing was said about the extent of territory subject to him, as he put forward no pretensions to any part of the country north of the Umzimvubu. Though desiring to be on good terms, the Farmers did not consider him a potentate of any great importance, but rated his military strength below that of Ncapayi.

The descriptions of the tribe given by the Wesleyan missionaries in the country were to the same effect. It was just

¹ For details see the historical paper on Pondoland in the Cape Colonial Blue Book on Native Affairs for 1885.

at this period that Mrs. Jenkins went to reside in Pondoland. This lady, an account of whose life for the next forty years would be an account of the growth of the Pondo tribe, wrote of them then as being in a state of great poverty. They had no cattle of whose skins to make clothing, so the men went entirely naked, and the women wore nothing but a girdle made of maize leaves fastened together and tied round their waists. The different clans of the Pondos, Bacas, Pandomisis, Xesibes, and others, were constantly fighting among themselves. She and her husband were residing at Buntingville. Faku was opposed to Mr. Jenkins preaching, for he said it would make his people cowards in fight and afraid of death if they were often spoken to about another world.

In March 1838 Faku removed from the Umgazi, where he had been so long residing, to the Umzimhlava, a streamlet emptying into the sea a short distance north of the Umzimvubu. His professions to Captain Delaney had been entirely forgotten, and instead of keeping peace with his neighbours, he was constantly attacking one or other of them. He and Ncapayi had just made some successful forays upon Pandomisi and Tembu kraals, and the missionaries, in remonstrating with him for these acts, reminded him of his promises to an agent of the Colonial Government and of the fate of Matiwane in 1828. Faku became alarmed, and as the Farmers were now between him and the Zulus, he immediately moved over the Umzimvubu, announcing to the missionaries that he feared the Government would send a commando to punish him for what he had been doing, and therefore wished to get as far away as possible. This may, or may not, have been his real motive; at any rate his fear of punishment did not prevent him from joining Ncapayi in November following and again laying waste a portion of the Tembu country.

The first intimation on record of any claim being made on behalf of the Pondos to ground north of the Umtentu is in 1839, when the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, without any authority to do so, told Faku that Governor Sir George Napier guaranteed to him the boundary of the Umzimkulu River.¹ At that time

Extracts from a letter of Major Samuel Charters to Sir George Napier, dated

side in Pondoland. In the next forty years the Pondo tribe, wrote of poverty. They had so the men went but a girdle made round their waists. Xesibes, themselves. She said it would make death if they were

Umgazi, where he of the Umzimvubu. entirely forgotten, he was con- and Ncapayi had Tembu with him for to an agent of the Matiwane in 1828. were now between ver the Umzimvubu, red the Government or what he had been r away as possible. motive; at any rate t him from joining gain laying waste a

claim being made on of the Umtentu is in any authority to do Napier guaranteed to iver. At that time to Sir George Napier, dated

the missionaries in general took a very different view of government by native chiefs from that now held by their successors, though it is but fair to the Wesleyan Society to add that the opinions of most of its agents even then were those of the present time, and they would gladly have seen British dominion established over the tribes with whom they were labouring. The prevailing opinion, however, was in favour of native states under missionary guidance, and a cry of oppression and wrong was raised and made to echo throughout England whenever anything was undertaken that tended to prevent the growth of a chief's authority. The savage rulers of petty tribes, who were unable to comprehend any other power than that of brute force or of magic, were in missionary documents of the time commonly styled kings. In many instances the missionaries were more violent partisans of the chiefs with whom they were living, and claimed more for them, than the hereditary councillors of the tribe. As Grahamstown, 27th February, 1839:—"On the 4th instant I reached Faku's kraal and experienced a friendly reception from him. I learnt from this chief that the Emigrant Boers had been endeavouring to form an alliance with him, and had offered to him a present of cattle. I counselled him strongly to have nothing to do with them, and made him aware that the Boers were in their present position contrary to the authority of Her Majesty's Government. He seemed, however, to be under considerable apprehensions on their account, and said that if they should threaten him he would retire towards the Colony. Faku shows no signs of that energy I was led to believe he possessed. No subject seemed to interest him for more than five minutes at a time, and it was with much difficulty I could engage his attention. . . . I remained a few days at Buntingville, the Wesleyan Missionary Station, and whilst there I learnt by chance that Mr. Jenkins had delivered a message to Faku, as coming from Your Excellency through Mr. Shaw, the chief of the Wesleyans who resides in Grahamstown, namely that Your Excellency guarantees to the Amaponda Chief his boundary to the Umzimkulu River, and that in the case of this boundary being violated by the emigrant Boers, that Faku shall apply to your Excellency for military aid. Not being aware of any other communication having been made to Mr. Shaw on this subject than the answer to that gentleman's letter to your Excellency of the 25th October 1838, and being also well aware that that answer contained no such guarantee, this message to Faku appears to me very like a wilful misrepresentation of Your Excellency's meaning. In corroboration of the justice of this observation, I transmit a copy of the answer in question, which was written by myself in Cape Town previous to my departure for Natal, by your Excellency's orders. I questioned Mr. Jenkins very closely respecting the import of the message. Both Mr. Napier and Mr. Shopstone were present, so there can be no mistake that the above message was actually given to Faku. It will be extremely difficult to remedy this error (if it shall be so considered), as Faku's power is not to be trifled with, and these people are made to comprehend with much difficulty that such errors can be committed in the transmission of important communications."

each, however, supported his own potentate, and the interests of these were continually clashing, the Government at the Cape had the means of forming a tolerably correct judgment between them. In this instance Mr. Jenkins went far beyond any Pondo, in claiming for the tribe not only the district occupied by its ancestors and lost in war, but a great extent of country beyond.

That Faku himself made no claim to such a large district is proved by a message which he sent to Captain Jervis, the commander of the troops at Port Natal, in October 1839. His messengers were directed to ask Captain Jervis's consent to the occupation by Pondos of the land between the Umtentu and the Umtamvuna rivers, that is a portion of what is now Eastern Pondoland. Captain Jervis avoided all responsibility, though his language is ambiguous, by replying that the Government had no wish to interfere in Faku's affairs, but that in his own territory (which he does not define) he was at liberty to move wherever he pleased.

At the close of the year 1840 the Pondo tribe was in a much more prosperous condition than it had been at any time since 1823. The crops of 1838 and 1839 had been so scanty that Mrs. Jenkins wrote of the sufferings of the people from famine as indescribable; but this season the gardens had yielded abundance of food. The tribe had enjoyed three years of absolute protection against Zulu inroads, by which its scattered members had been enabled to rejoin their chief. A considerable number of cattle had been captured from the Bacas. Still it was doubtful which was the more powerful of the two, Faku or Ncapayi. The fighting between them had recently been renewed, and Faku had sent to Maritzburg to ask the Farmers to allow the Hlangweni chief Fodo, who was living under their jurisdiction on land south of the Umzimkulu, to come to his assistance. Between the Bacas and the Hlangwenis there was an old feud, for Fodo's father had been killed by the followers of Ncapayi.¹

¹ The clan under Fodo was one of the numerous branches of the large Hlangweni tribe, that had been driven by the Zulus from its original home near the Tugela. In its flight it fell upon and routed the Bacas, who were then living where Maritzburg now stands. Nombewu, Fodo's father, wandered from place to place until he reached

Attack on the Bacas by Emigrant Farmers. 149

While affairs were in this condition a number of cattle were stolen from various farmers in Natal. The spoors of these cattle were traced to the rugged country along the Umzimvubu which was occupied by Ncapayi's people, and it was ascertained that although the principal plunderers were Bushmen, the Bacas were undoubtedly implicated in many of the thefts. A discussion took place in the Volksraad as to what steps should be taken to punish the robbers and prevent further stealing. Some were for making such an example of Ncapayi that no one in that direction would dare to molest the Emigrants again. Others counselled a close alliance with Faku, and the punishment of the robbers through him. Moderate men like Mr. Boshof and Mr. Landman saw clearly that an attack upon any tribe on their southern border, without the concurrence of the Cape Government, would be resented by the Colony as endangering the peace of its frontier. The party of violence was, however, the more numerous, and while the negotiations were being carried on which they hoped would terminate in the acknowledgment of their independence by the British Government, a commando of two hundred and sixty men assembled to punish Ncapayi.

This force was under the direction of Commandant General Pretorius, but Commandant H. S. Lombard took the most active part in the operations. On the march it was joined by Fodo and his men. The Bacas were attacked early one morning, and were driven from their kraals without any loss on the part of the assailants. According to the information supplied by Ncapayi to the missionaries, twenty-six men, ten women, and four children were killed on his side, and the horned cattle belonging to sixty-two families, together with about two thousand sheep and goats, were driven off. He also stated that a

the border of the Cape Colony, where the descendants of some of his followers are still to be found. After a time Nombewu with a few retainers retraced his steps, and settled on a feeder of the Umzimvubu. There he was attacked and killed by the Bacas under Ncapayi. His son Fodo escaped, and, after wandering about for some time, had a tract of land assigned to his use by the Emigrant Farmers, where he collected the remnant of the clan. The descendants of these people are now living in the Umzimvubu district of Griqualand East, under Dungaawe, the representative of the late chief Fodo.

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great many women and children were taken away by the commando. Commandant Lombard's account is that the spoil amounted to about three thousand head of horned cattle, among which were some of those that had been stolen from the farmers. The sheep and goats were taken by Fodo's people, as also were the women and children, but as soon as the farmers ascertained that the native contingent had these captives, they liberated them and allowed them to return to their friends. Seventeen children, however, whose parents were ascertained to be dead, were kept to be apprenticed until they should be of age.

The success of the attack upon Ncapayi, even more than the overthrow of Dingan, caused Faku to realize the power of the Emigrants, for the Bacas though weak were close by and the Zulus though mighty were far off. The joy of the Pondo chief at his enemy's losses was blended with fear that the same fate might some day overtake him. In his dealings with white people he had by this time come to be guided entirely by the missionaries, and he now sent messengers to Buntingville to request Mr. Jenkins to pay him a visit. On the 1st of January 1841 the Rev. Messrs. Palmer, Jenkins, and Garner assembled at the chief's residence on the Umzimhlava, where they remained until the 5th, and during that time the course to be pursued was decided upon. A letter was sent to Sir George Napier, who was then on the Colonial frontier, begging that Faku might be taken under his protection, and containing as an enclosure the following declaration :

"I, Faku, King of the Amaondo, being in great fear of the Boers at Port Natal, in consequence of several reports that have reached me, together with a late attack upon the Amabaca tribe in my immediate neighbourhood, also a peremptory summons for me to appear at the Boers' camp that had been established in my country, am under the necessity of removing from the land of my Fathers east of the Umzimvooboo; but I hereby declare that I have not abandoned the said country, having only left it for the present in consequence of the circumstances above referred to; and I hereby desire the missionaries now at my kraal to forward this my letter to the Governor of the Colony, to remain with him as my witness that the land from the Umzimvooboo to the Umzimcooloo belongs to

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me, Faku, King of the Amaondo, and the various tribes tributary to me."

To this document are attached the marks of Faku, Damasi, and Bangasili, and the signatures as witnesses of Saml. Palmer, Thos. Jenkins, and Wm. H. Garner, Wesleyan Missionaries, It is dated 5th of January 1841.

Whether the attack upon Ncapayi was morally justifiable or not, Sir George Napier was convinced that British interests in South Africa were imperilled by the attitude of the Emigrants, as anything that tended to press the native population down upon the frontier increased the danger of war. He was at the time in possession of authority to use his discretion as to the military re-occupation of Port Natal, or not;¹ and he would have sent troops there months before only that he believed they would be resisted, and it would therefore be imprudent to employ less than three hundred men, a force which "under the unsettled and irritated state of the farmers on the eastern frontier, occasioned by the constant and unprovoked plunder of their cattle and horses by the Kaffirs, he did not feel justified in detaching, as it would endanger the safety of the Colony."² He now resolved immediately to form a military post in Faku's country, where it would serve the double purpose of preventing another attack by the Emigrants upon a tribe south of Natal, and of placing the frontier Kaffirs between two fires.

A few hours after receipt of the intelligence his orders were issued, and on the 28th of January 1841 Captain Thomas C. Smith of the 27th marched from Fort Peddie at the head of two companies of his own regiment, fifty men of the Cape Mounted Rifles under Captain H. D. Warden, a Lieutenant and eight men of the Royal Artillery, and a Lieutenant and four men of the Royal Engineers. He had with him a train of fifty-four transport waggons, and was accompanied by several men whose names have since become well known in South Africa, among whom may be mentioned General Bisset, then

¹ Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 18th of June, 1840.

² Despatch from Sir George Napier to Lord John Russell, dated 29th of September, 1840.

an Ensign in the Cape Mounted Rifles, the late General Somersset, then a Lieutenant in the same regiment, and Mr. C. F. Potgieter, then a Commissariat clerk, since Assistant Commissary General. Captain Smith met with no difficulty in his march to the Umgazi, where he formed a camp.

Upon being apprised by Sir George Napier that he was sending troops to protect Faku, the Volksraad caused a very long letter to be written, justifying the attack upon Neapayi, and denying that Faku was in any danger from them.¹ But there were many men in Natal who felt that a great blunder had been made; and party feeling, always violent, became more violent still after this occurrence.

The tone of the correspondence concerning the position of the Emigrants was now changed. The Governor did not reply to the Volksraad's letter of the 14th of January until the 10th of June, when he wrote that he "could not enter into any negotiation or further communication with them until they distinctly acknowledged their full and entire allegiance as British subjects to their Sovereign Her Majesty the Queen of England, and further declared their willingness to obey the lawful authority of the British Government."

The Imperial Government could not yet resolve to enlarge its South African possessions, and withheld from the Governor the necessary authority for taking action of any kind, except to station a garrison again at Port Natal to control the trade, if he thought that by so doing the Emigrants would be induced

¹ Extracts from a letter to Sir George Napier, dated Pietermaritzburg, 7th of April 1841, and signed by J. Prinsloo, then President, and J. J. Burger, Secretary: "It is difficult to understand how Faku could have seen reason to request protection against an attack from us. . . . As in the year 1838 we had, by an interchange of letters, concluded a sort of amicable understanding with Faku, we were requested by him in the course of last year to allow Captain Fodo to assist him against an attack from Neapayi. . . . When on their march the Commandant, Mr. Pretorius, sent to Faku three of our burghers, who then found that just before their arrival Neapayi had again been in hostile collision with Faku. They even saw some of the killed. Faku was then apprised of our expedition and of its object, and at the same time assured of our friendship and requested to come to the Commandant, who was desirous of taking that opportunity of entering into a permanent treaty of peace with him. He on the other hand expressed himself highly gratified with the mission, but declined to come, on the ground of age and ill health, adding that he deemed it unnecessary to make peace with us, as we had always been friends and never enemies."

in time to return to the Cape Colony. On the 3rd of September he wrote, in terms of his instructions, that "Her Majesty had desired him to inform the Emigrant Farmers that she could not acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an Independent Republic, but that on their receiving a military force from the Colony, their trade would be placed on the footing of the trade of a British possession."

To this letter a reply was received, dated the 11th of October and signed by Mr. Prinsloo, who was still President, and Mr. J. J. Burger, as Secretary, in which the Governor was informed that the Emigrant Farmers refused to be considered British subjects, and that they would not "consent to Her Majesty's proposal to receive a military force, while they had not asked for it and had no need for it at present for their protection."

After the Farmers had taken possession of Natal, several thousand Bantu refugees of different tribes moved in, and the few natives who had survived the Zulu invasions crept out of the forests in which they had concealed themselves. There was every likelihood of these people giving considerable trouble if they should be allowed to locate themselves wherever they pleased. The Volksraad, therefore, in August 1841, passed a resolution that they should be collected together and, except those who might choose either to return to Zululand or to take service, be located in the district between the Umzimvubu and Untamvuna rivers, so as to effect a complete separation between them and the Europeans. In that district the blacks were to be left pretty much to themselves, but an officer of the Emigrant Government was to be stationed with them to exercise general control, for they were to be regarded as subjects of the Republic.

This resolution could not be acted upon at once, as some months were required to make the necessary arrangements, and before these were completed Sir George Napier interfered. In his view the project was one tending to crowd the natives down towards the Colonial frontier, and could not therefore be permitted.

There was yet another cause of irritation. In August 1841 an American trading brig, named the *Levant*, arrived at Port

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Natal with a general cargo, crossed the bar in safety, and discharged a quantity of merchandize which her supercargo offered for sale. There was so little money and such a small quantity of ivory and hides in the district at the time that the amount of trade done was very trifling. The fact, however, was established that a port was open on the coast through which the commerce of the interior might eventually pass, and the merchants of the Colony raised a cry of danger.

To the letter of the 11th October from the Volksraad no reply was made: but on the 2nd of December Sir George Napier issued a proclamation, in which after stating the Emigrants' claim to be considered an independent people and the resolution to locate the natives on the ground between the Umtamvuna and Umzinvubu, "which country," His Excellency continued, "forms part of the territories belonging to Faku from which most unjust and illegal proceeding there is reason to apprehend that warfare and bloodshed will be occasioned," he declared that Her Majesty would not recognise the Emigrants as an Independent People, nor permit them to form themselves into an Independent State, and that he should resume the military occupation of Port Natal by sending thither without delay a detachment of Her Majesty's forces. Finally, he warned all British subjects, including the Emigrants, of the consequences of resisting either Her Majesty's troops or the exercise of Her Majesty's authority.

To carry this proclamation into effect, Captain Lonsdale of the 27th, was instructed to march from the Colonial frontier to reinforce Captain Smith at the Umgazi with one hundred and eight men of his own regiment and seventeen Engineers, Cape Mounted Riflemen, and Artillerymen. He was also to take two field pieces. Captain Smith was directed upon the arrival of this reinforcement to leave a guard at the Umgazi camp, and to move on to Port Natal himself with two hundred and twenty-two of the 27th regiment, seventeen of the Royal Artillery with three guns, six Royal Engineers, and eighteen Cape Mounted Riflemen. Instructions were also issued as to his intercourse with the Emigrants, which may be briefly summed up as follows:—Pledge the Government to nothing until Her

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Majesty's pleasure is known. Do not interfere with the Emigrants. Treat them courteously, but call them constantly Her Majesty's subjects. Protect all from attack, black and white, and see that you keep the peace.

Upon receipt of these instructions, and while awaiting Captain Lonsdale's arrival, Captain Smith opened communication with some English residents at Durban, by whom he was informed of the condition of affairs there and promised assistance. Several Emigrants also forwarded assurances that they were weary of the constant strife between the different sections of their own community, and would welcome his arrival with troops as the only means of relief from anarchy. These letters and messages were secretly forwarded to and fro by native runners supplied by Henry Ogle, who was then living on the Umkomanzi, about thirty miles south of the Port.

The tone of the Volksraad was, however, very different, as is indicated by the following translated extracts from a long letter to Sir George Napier, dated at Maritzburg on the 21st of February 1842, and signed by Joachim Prinsloo as President and eighteen of the members :—

"We know that there is a God, who is the ruler of heaven and earth, and who has power, and is willing to protect the injured, though weaker, against oppressors. In Him we put our trust, and in the justice of our cause; and should it be His will that total destruction be brought upon us, our wives and children, and everything we possess, we will with due submission acknowledge to have deserved it from Him, but not from men. We are aware of the power of Great Britain, and it is not our object to defy that power; but at the same time we cannot allow that might instead of right shall triumph, without having employed all our means to oppose it.

"We are able to convince every true philanthropist that our intention with regard to the Ka'firs, both the old residents and those who have lately come here, in making arrangements for their removal, as well by the already mentioned resolution as by another since taken on the same subject is founded on true philanthropy. . . . Even if Faku had any claim to the tract of land mentioned in Your Excellency's proclamation he alone would have to be blamed if we had occupied it. In the first place we have proofs that already in the year 1834 he declared that he had no claim on that land; and with the exception of some spy-kraals he had never inhabited it, as far as we can find out.

. . . Faku has also entered into a friendly understanding with us, and we obtained from and gave him assurance of peace and even protection, so that there was nothing to prevent him from protesting, if we disposed of any part of his territory. But he has voluntarily admitted to our deputies that the country lawfully belonged to Tshaka and afterwards to Dingan, as far as the Umzimvubu; and he acknowledged our claim thereto. . . .

"We are bound to declare our conviction that we shall not be safe in this country, or even able to subsist, if we again submit to the jurisdiction of a Colonial Government as before. The country of which Your Excellency already disposes, threatening to take it from us and our children, would then be of no value to us. What prospects have we of enjoying better protection than that which the border inhabitants of the Colony enjoy, and on account of which we have been compelled to flee from that country? What prospects have we even to enjoy that protection? Your Excellency's proceedings with regard to us give us every reason to suspect that your anxiety and care only exist for the uncivilized people, and that it would cause no great regret if we with our wives, children, and servants were butchered by them as sheep. Nay, that the philanthropists of the day will invent false accusations enough to make the world believe that we have amply deserved it, and that it is our own fault.

"Fate seems therefore to drive us to one of two choices, namely to bend ourselves like oxen to bear willingly the burden imposed upon us, until finding it too heavy we commence as before a new emigration, when we shall have to leave behind us all that we possess in the world; or in the defence of our rights, of our possessions, nay even of our lives, to take to arms and fight against our oppressors, and with our fall or failure to end our troubles on earth. We leave it to Your Excellency's own judgment, and to the judgment of every well thinking Englishman, which of the two is preferable. . . .

"Finally we must, as well for ourselves as at the urgent request of our fellow Emigrants, most strongly protest against the occupation of any part of this land, as threatened in Your Excellency's proclamation of the 2d December aforesaid, and declare that for the future we shall be able to keep ourselves free from any blame for the injurious consequences of such a step, before God, our own consciences, and the world."

On the first of April 1842 the force destined for Natal left the camp on the Umgazi. The little army consisted of two hundred and sixty-three men of all ranks, and it was furnished with one howitzer and two light field pieces. It was accompanied by a long waggon train, sixty of the drivers of which were Englishmen and were armed. The distance between the point left and that aimed at by the route followed was reckoned

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to be two hundred and sixty miles. There was no road through the country, and heavy rains had recently fallen, so that the rivers were swollen and nearly impassable. On the thirty-third day of the march, as the expedition was drawing near to Durban, it was met by two farmers, who handed to Captain Smith a written protest from the Volksraad against the troops entering Natal; but he declined to receive it. On the day following, the 4th of May, the troops reached their destination, and encamped on a plain at the base of the Berea, about half-a-mile from the few scattered buildings that then constituted the town of Durban. Not a single casualty had occurred during the march. While the camp was being formed, the Volksraad's protest was again tendered, and its receipt again rejected. The same thing occurred on the 5th, and on this last occasion the deputation informed Captain Smith, by word of mouth, that the Republic was in treaty with Holland, and under the protection of that Power.

The origin of this statement was one of the strangest episodes in the history of Natal. When information of the great emigration from the Colony reached the Netherlands, it naturally created intense interest, and sympathy with the Emigrants in their sufferings was everywhere warmly expressed. To several individuals the occasion seemed favourable for establishing new business connections. In particular, Mr. George Gerhard Ohrig, of the firm of Klyn & Co. of Amsterdam, exerted himself to form an association purposely for trading with Natal. He published a pamphlet, which he entitled "The Emigrants at Port Natal," in which the former greatness of the Netherlands was referred to, the Emigrants were applauded as worthy descendants of the men who had fought for liberty against Spain and who had founded a world-wide commerce, and the advantages of establishing a trade at Natal and securing a port of call there for Dutch ships in time of war were dwelt upon. This pamphlet was privately distributed in the Netherlands and so carefully was its circulation guarded that the British consular agents in that country were unable to obtain a single copy of it. With some difficulty, the Colonial Authorities procured a copy, when it was found to be just such a production

as might be expected from an enthusiastic man with strong national feeling and a single object—that of creating sympathy—in view.

Mr. Ohrig failed to induce men of sufficient capital to take shares in his projected trading association, so the firm of Klyn & Co., of which he was a partner, had a small vessel built on their own account, in which they shipped an assortment of goods for Natal. This vessel, called the *Brazilia*, arrived at her destination on the 24th of March 1842. She had on board as super cargo a man named Johan Arnold Smellekamp, who was full of enthusiasm for the cause of the Emigrants, and who was gifted with a fair share of ability and perseverance.

The arrival of this vessel at a time when men's minds were most deeply dejected at the prospect of the renewed English occupation had an extraordinary effect upon the Emigrants. They persuaded themselves that the Government of the Netherlands would certainly aid them in resistance. Mr. Smellekamp and Skipper Reus of the *Brazilia* paid a visit to Maritzburg, and were met some distance from the town by a large party of young men, who unyoked the oxen and themselves drew the waggon in which the strangers were seated. All the bunting and red and blue calico in the place had been turned into flags, and above scores of house tops and waggon tents waved the tricolour of the Netherlands. The Volksraad formally welcomed the visitors as representatives of the Fatherland. Then there were religious services, and strong men were observed to shed tears when a quantity of bibles and books of devotion, which had been sent out as a present by Mr. Jacob Swart, Lecturer and Examiner at the Naval College of Amsterdam, came to be distributed. The eight days that Messrs. Smellekamp and Reus spent at Maritzburg were days of public meetings, feasting, and religious services. Mr. Ohrig's pamphlet was read by many who had seldom read anything but their bibles and hymn books before, and by a strange perversion it was taken to convey the views of the Dutch Government. Mr. Smellekamp was furnished by the Volksraad with funds, and was sent back to Holland to negotiate a treaty and procure clergymen and schoolmasters. He left Maritzburg on the

30th of April, and was accompanied overland to Graaff-Reinet by the landdrost, Mr. J. N. Boshof. From Graaff-Reinet he proceeded to Swellendam, where he was arrested under the obsolete proclamation of the 25th of February 1806 for travelling without a pass, and was forwarded as a prisoner to Cape Town. There he was kept two days in confinement, but as he did not choose to reveal anything and evidence against him was not obtainable, he was released and allowed to embark for Europe.

The greater portion of the cargo of the *Brazilia* was found unsuitable for the requirements of the Emigrants. Skipper Reus, therefore, after disposing of as much as he could, sailed for Batavia just before Captain Smith reached Durban.

The assertion of the deputation on the 5th of May that the Republic was under the protection of Holland was thus really in accordance with what the Emigrants had deluded themselves into believing would soon be the truth. Captain Smith, however, treated the statement with derision.

Messengers were now sent by Commandant General Pretorius in all haste to Potchefstroom and Winburg to ask for aid. Chief Commandant Potgieter refused to take any part in resistance to the English troops, but Commandant F. G. Mocke called out his burghers and prepared to go down to Natal. The burghers of Pietermaritzburg and Weenen were in the meantime gathering at Kongela. On the 9th of May Captain Smith with one hundred soldiers marched towards Kongela with the intention of calling upon the farmers to disperse, but on the way he was met by Mr. Pretorius, and after a short parley he returned to his camp. Captain Smith stated afterwards that he returned because Pretorius agreed to withdraw his men from Kongela. Mr. Pretorius asserted that he had promised nothing more than to remain quiet until the Volksraad should meet, unless he was attacked. On the 11th a party of armed farmers paraded in sight of the English forces, in Captain Smith's opinion to provoke an attack.

On the 17th Captain Smith wrote to Mr. Pretorius, but his letter was returned unopened, on the ground of its not being addressed with his title of Commandant General. On the

same day the Volksraad met at Kongela, and instructed Mr Pretorius to write to Captain Smith, demanding that he should evacuate Port Natal before noon on the 19th and march back beyond the boundaries of the Republic. Captain Smith declined to receive the letter. On the 20th two messengers from Pretorius visited the English camp and verbally demanded that the troops should leave at once. Captain Smith's reply was laconic: "I shall not go, I shall stay."

During this time two vessels had arrived at Natal, and had crossed the bar. One was a brig named the *Pilot*, with provisions and munitions of war from Cape Town. Her cargo was discharged at the Point, and to protect it a guard of twenty-three men under a sergeant was stationed there. The other was a schooner named the *Mazeppa*, from Algoa Bay with merchandise for the traders and the private property of several of the officers.

On the 23rd of May a large number of transport cattle were taken possession of by the farmers. Whether they were driven off with the intention of retaining them or not is doubtful, for as usual the statements of the two parties do not agree. On the one side it is asserted that they were seized by armed men on the other that they were mingled with the farmers' cattle on the grazing ground, and would have been sent back as soon as they could be separated, just as the farmers' cattle had been returned by the troops when driven in a similar manner to the camp. This matters little, however, for both parties were ready for an encounter.

That night at eleven o'clock Captain Smith left his camp at the head of one hundred and nine men of the 27th regiment, eighteen of the Royal Artillery, eight Sappers, and two Cape Mounted Riflemen, for the purpose of attacking the farmers at Kongela, who were, from an intercepted letter, known to be then two hundred and sixty-four strong. A large gun was placed in a boat, with orders to the boatmen to convey it up the bay to a spot where the troops would receive it.

The attack was badly planned. It was a bright moonlight night, yet it was hoped to take the farmers by surprise. The boat could reach its destination at high water only, and the

troops, by the route taken, theirs only when the tide was out. The distance was a march of about three miles, and the road was along a patch of dense thicket. There is but one way of accounting for such a movement, and that is on the supposition that the commanding officer altogether underrated the vigilance and courage of his opponents.

The troops were marching fully exposed past the thicket, with two field pieces drawn by bullocks, when a sharp fire was opened upon them. They returned the volley, but without doing the slightest damage to the farmers, who were well protected and thoroughly concealed. Another discharge from the thicket wounded some of the oxen, which broke loose from the yokes, and rushed furiously about, adding to the confusion. There was no remedy but retreat. Sixteen killed and thirty-one wounded were found by the farmers on the ground next day; but when the roll was called, fifty out of the hundred and thirty-eight men who formed the expedition were not there to answer to their names. The three missing are supposed in the confusion to have got into deep water in the bay, and to have been drowned. The two guns, the oxen, and indeed everything that could be left behind, fell into the hands of the farmers.

Captain Smith was closely followed to his camp, where he prepared for defence. There was, however, no attempt made to storm the position, but until sunrise a desultory fire was kept up, in which one farmer was killed. At sunrise the farmers returned to Kongela. The wounded soldiers were carefully tended, and as there was no medical man at Kongela, they were all sent back to the English camp in the course of the day. The dead bodies of the soldiers were also sent to the camp for burial by their late comrades.

Richard King, one of the residents at Durban, now undertook to ride overland to Graham's Town with intelligence of the disaster. Mr. G. C. Cato, another of the residents,¹ ferried him across the lagoon, so as to avoid passing the farmers' camp, and the express, though fired at, got safely away.

¹ Mr. George Christopher Cato had been a resident of Durban since 1839, in which year he went to Natal as agent for the mercantile establishment of John Owen Smith of Port Elizabeth. When Durban became a municipality in 1854 he was elected its first Mayor.

The 25th of May passed without any event of importance. The troops were busily engaged strengthening their camp, in hourly expectation of an attack, but no enemy appeared.

Just before daylight on the morning of the 26th, about one hundred farmers presented themselves at the Point, and called upon the sergeant in command of the guard there to surrender. This he refused to do, whereupon they opened fire, killing two soldiers and an old English resident named Charles Adams, and wounding two soldiers. The sergeant then surrendered, when an eighteen pounder, with all the stores and ammunition brought by the *Pilot*, fell into the hands of the farmers. This was immediately followed by the seizure of the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa*, but, with the exception of the captains, no one was removed from these vessels. The property of Captain Smith and of such other persons as were in arms against the Republic was declared confiscated by the Volksraad, and a party of men under direction of Messrs. Michael and Servaas van Breda went on board the *Mazeppa* and removed it. Mr. Pretorius then sent to Captain Smith to propose that the troops should leave in the *Pilot* and *Mazeppa*; and to gain time¹ to strengthen his defences and increase his supply of provisions by salting down cattle which Mr. William Cowie and some other residents of Durban were conveying to the camp by night, he agreed to a truce until the 31st of the month.

The negotiations for removal of course came to nothing, and at six o'clock on the morning of the 31st of May, the camp was invested, and fire opened upon it from the farmers' batteries, on which were mounted the eighteen-pounder taken at the Point, and the two six-pounders taken on the night of the 23rd. The nineteen soldiers captured at the Point, together with eleven English residents of Durban who had assisted the troops, were sent as prisoners to Maritzburg.

On the 1st of June, the Rev. Mr. Archbell, then Wesleyan missionary at Durban, was requested by Mr. Pretorius to go to the camp with a flag of truce, and propose that the women and

¹ As far as I am aware, portions only of Captain Smith's letters have been published. The originals are in the Colonial Records. In his report of these occurrences, he informed Sir George Napier that he agreed to the truce solely to gain time. He never had any intention of abandoning Natal.

children should be removed for safety to the *Mazeppa*. The offer was gladly accepted, and twenty-eight individuals in all, including the wives and children of several of the prisoners at Maritzburg, took refuge on board that vessel.

Captain Smith then determined to defend himself to the last extremity. He had caused deep trenches to be dug, in which the soldiers could remain in security, and he increased his stock of provisions by slaughtering his horses and drying their flesh. The men were put upon short allowance, which, as the siege advanced, became less and less, until they had nothing more than a few ounces of biscuit dust and dried horse-flesh daily. Fortunately, there was no want of water, obtained from wells sunk within the camp.

The arrival of Commandant Mocke with a large contingent raised the force under command of Pretorius to six hundred men. They fortified the entrance to the bay, and pressed the siege with vigour. Their cannon balls having become exhausted, they manufactured others by casting leaden ones over links cut from a chain cable. But so well were the soldiers protected that the fire of the farmers was almost harmless, only eight men being killed and eight wounded on the British side during the twenty-six days that the siege lasted, though six hundred and fifty-one cannon shot were fired at the camp. Even this small loss was sustained principally during sorties. On the other side four men were killed, and eight or ten—the exact number cannot be given—were wounded.

On the 10th of June the crew of the *Mazeppa* managed to slip the cable and get to sea, being in hope of meeting with a British war-ship, from which relief could be obtained. There was very little food and no ballast on board the schooner at the time, and she had to run the gauntlet at the Point, sailing slowly along, with a light breeze, at a distance of only thirty yards from eighty farmers armed with muskets and a four-pounder. Her sails and rigging were pretty well cut up, but no one on board was hurt. She ran northward as far as Delagoa Bay, and then, having met with no assistance, put about and found the frigate *Southampton* at the outer anchorage of Natal.

Famine was beginning to tell upon the soldiers and they could have held out only a very short time longer, when in the evening of the 24th of June rockets flashing through the air over the outer anchorage announced that relief was at hand. All that night and the next day the famished soldiers watched and waited in vain. As night fell on the 25th, rockets were again seen shooting skyward, and soon after dark the booming of heavy guns far to seaward was heard.

When Richard King reached Graham's Town with intelligence of the disaster at Natal, one hundred rank and file of the 27th regiment under Captain Durnford were ordered at once to march from that place to Port Elizabeth, and were there embarked in a schooner named the *Conch*, which was chartered as a transport. Captain Bell, the master of this vessel, had been to Natal before, and was well acquainted with the harbour. On the 11th of June the *Conch* sailed from Algoa Bay. She arrived at the outer anchorage of Natal on the 24th, and sent up the rockets that evening which were seen from the camp.

As soon as the news reached Cape Town a wing of the 25th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Cloete, then under orders for India, was embarked in the frigate *Southampton*. This ship sailed from Simon's Bay on the 14th of June. She arrived off Natal during the night of the 25th, and it was the booming of her guns in answer to the rockets from the *Conch* which was heard in the camp.

A few additional troops and some stores were sent from Table Bay on the 15th of June in a chartered brig named the *Maid of Mona*, but she did not reach Natal in time to be of any service.

On Sunday, the 26th of June 1842, a light breeze was blowing from the south-east, of which Colonel Cloete determined to take advantage. The Bluff at the entrance to the Bay was held by three hundred and fifty farmers, who could pour down a torrent of musket balls upon the deck of any vessel attempting to pass. The *Southampton* was therefore brought as close to the bar as was considered prudent, and from that position she opened her broadside and dispersed all who were within reach of her heavy guns.

To the hundred men already on board the *Conch*, thirty-five more were added, and eighty-five were embarked in boats and taken in tow. Colonel Cloete himself was in command of this party, and Captain Hill, R.N., was in charge of the boats. A line was run along the schooner a couple of feet above her bulwarks, and was covered with the soldiers' blankets, to prevent the men on deck from being aimed at. Having taken this precaution, all sail was set on the *Conch*, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, with the wind and tide in her favour, she crossed the bar, passing under the farmers' fire with the loss of three soldiers killed and three soldiers and two sailors wounded.

The troops were landed without further resistance, for the farmers were already in retreat. At four o'clock Colonel Cloete met Captain Smith, and the camp was relieved.

Commandant Moeke and the burghers from beyond the mountains now abandoned the cause and returned to their homes. The farmers of Natal also deserted in such numbers that Pretorius was soon left without power of resistance. He accordingly marched a few miles inland, where he formed a camp and awaited further events.

Colonel Cloete, as senior in rank, assumed the command of the whole of the troops in Natal. And now another difficulty arose. The *Conch* had hardly any provisions left on board, the *Maid of Mona* had not yet arrived, and a sudden gale sprang up which compelled the *Southampton* to put to sea before anything of consequence could be landed. Under these circumstances the fresh troops were in danger of suffering from hunger as much as those they had been the means of relieving. Only one remedy presented itself. Some hundreds of natives were hovering about the neighbourhood. Their condition had been greatly improved by the Emigrant occupation of the country;¹ but on this, as on every other occasion of the kind of which South African history furnishes a record, the Bantu

¹ In a report of Colonel Cloete to Sir George Napier, dated 5th of August 1842, the evidences of this improvement are given. The natives are described as being then in possession of small herds of cattle, and as cultivating maize, tobacco, and pumpkins. Their number within the Natal district was said to be at least ten thousand.

were ready to join the winning cause. Panda even, the vassal of the Emigrants, showed himself no exception to this rule. When Captain Smith was in almost desperate circumstances he in vain called upon the Zulu chief to come to his assistance. "No," was the reply, "you are now fighting for the upper-hand, and whichever gains must be my master." So he refused to aid either party.¹ But as soon as the troops proved themselves to be the strongest, Panda sent messengers to Colonel Cloete to say that he was about to march against the farmers, and it was only when he was informed that he must not do so that he abandoned the project.²

In his necessity Colonel Cloete called upon the natives living round the bay to bring him all the horses and cattle they could get, and they, interpreting this order into a general plundering licence, commenced to ravage the nearest farms. Three Emigrants, named Dirk van Rooyen, Theunis Oosthuizen, and Cornelis van Schalkwyk, were murdered in cold blood. Mr. Pretorius sent a letter of remonstrance against these proceedings to Colonel Cloete, who replied that he would endeavour to prevent excesses, but that he could not annul the order. "You," wrote he, "have caused this state of things by rebelling, and you must bear the consequences." The farmers were then called upon to acknowledge themselves to be Her Majesty's subjects and to break up their military organisation.

Mr. Pretorius replied, by letter dated the 4th of July, that it was impossible to accede to conditions which required as a preliminary step a declaration of submission to Her Majesty's authority. He added: "I must also acquaint you that we have already made over this country to His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and have called upon that Power to protect us, so that we have every right to expect that our cause will be supported in Europe."

The farmers now retired to Maritzburg, where a meeting of the Volksraad took place at which the discussions were so stormy and the language of party recrimination was so violent

¹ Report of Colonel Cloete to Sir George Napier, dated 3rd of July 1842.

² Report of Colonel Cloete to Sir George Napier, dated 8th of July 1842.

that the best men lost all hope of being able to defend the country. Messrs. Pretorius, Boshof, Landman, and others thereupon sent an invitation to Colonel Cloete to visit Maritzburg for the purpose of talking matters over, and they guaranteed to him perfect safety and full freedom in going and returning.

The Colonel accepted the invitation, and on the 14th of July, accompanied by Major D'Urban and Lieutenants Napier, Maclean, and Fuller, he entered the Emigrant capital. Confusion is but a weak word to describe the condition of affairs there. One little group after another had gone away to their farms, declaring that they would take no part in any arrangement whatever. Mr. J. N. Boshof, who was then chosen President, and Commandant General Pretorius were using all their influence to induce the farmers to come to terms, but the argument that had most effect was that by doing so time would be gained for Holland to interfere in their behalf. On the 15th of July half the members of the Volksraad consented to the following conditions:—

1. The immediate release of all prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians.
2. The giving up of all cannon, those taken as well as others, with the ammunition and stores belonging to them.
3. The restitution of all public and private property seized and in possession.

These conditions were signed by Mr. Boshof and eleven other members of the Volksraad, and with a declaration of their submission to the authority of the Queen, comprised all that they engaged to do.

On the other hand Colonel Cloete agreed to a general amnesty, excepting only the persons of Joachim Prinsloo, late President, Jacobus Johannes Burger, late Secretary to the Volksraad, and Michael and Servaas van Breda, who had removed the goods from the *Mazepa*; to respect all private property; to permit the farmers to return to their homes with their guns and horses, and to protect them against the natives; not to interfere with the existing administration and civil institutions until the pleasure of the Queen should be made

known, excepting only in the district bounded by the Umgeni on the east, the Umlazi on the west, and a line along the ridges and crest of the Berea hills joining these two rivers on the north, which district was to be under the exclusive control of the commander of the troops; to leave all revenue at the disposal of the Volksraad, excepting the port and custom dues, which were to belong to the Crown; and not to disturb the natives in any lands then occupied by them.

Matters having been arranged in this manner, Colonel Cloete returned to Cape town with four companies of the 25th, to be in readiness to embark for India. An old tender named the *Fawn*, under Command of Lieutenant Nourse, was sent to Natal with a strong armed crew, and was anchored in the bay, where she served as a floating fort.¹ The remaining company of the 25th was then withdrawn, and the late commanding officer, now entitled Major Smith, was left with a garrison consisting of 275 of the 27th, 12 Cape Mounted Riflemen, 24 of the Royal Artillery, and 20 Royal Engineers.

These arrangements seem incapable of being misunderstood; yet the great majority of the Emigrants afterwards maintained that they implied nothing more than a truce of six months. The Volksraad continued its functions as before, and party feeling ran as high as ever. Mr. Pretorius resigned his office, and Mr. Gerrit Rudolph was appointed Commandant General in his stead, as if the country was perfectly independent. Sir George Napier on the 11th of August issued a proclamation offering a reward of £250 for the apprehension of each of the four persons excepted from the amnesty, but they continued to live as publicly as before, and no one thought of disturbing them.

It is now time to ascertain in what light the Imperial Government regarded these events.

On the 6th of December 1841 Sir George Napier wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he was resuming the military occupation of Port Natal, and recommending that a distinct colony should be established there.

¹ Lieutenant Nourse and his bluejackets were not withdrawn until June 1844, when the *Fawn* was condemned as unseaworthy and sold as a hulk.

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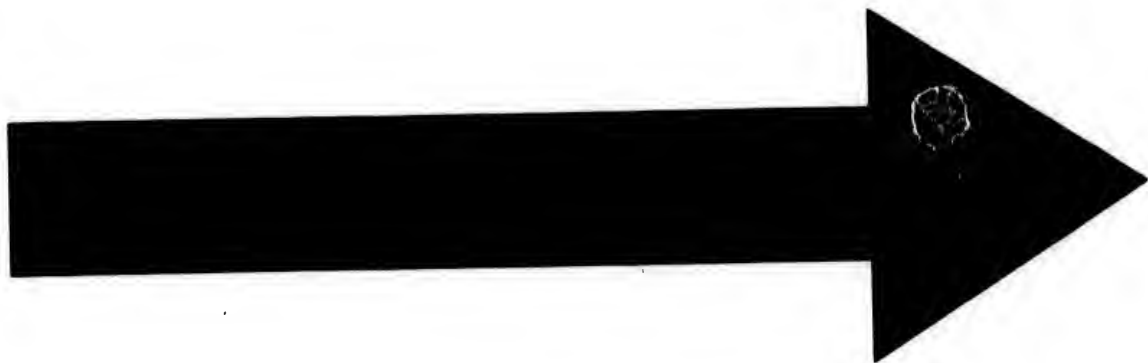
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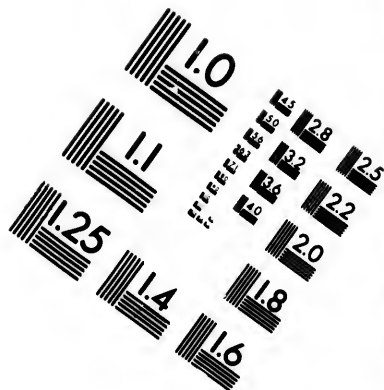
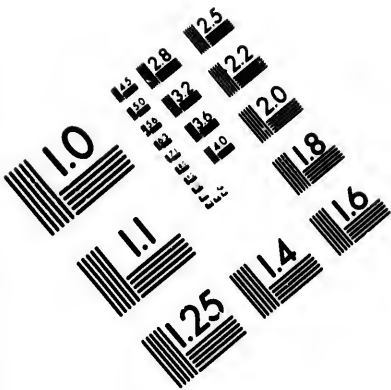
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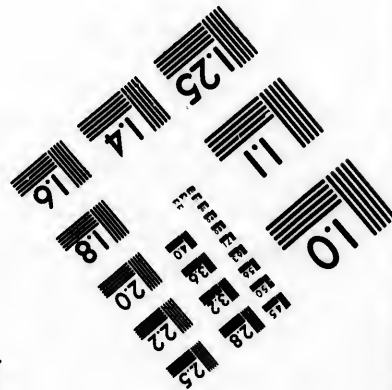
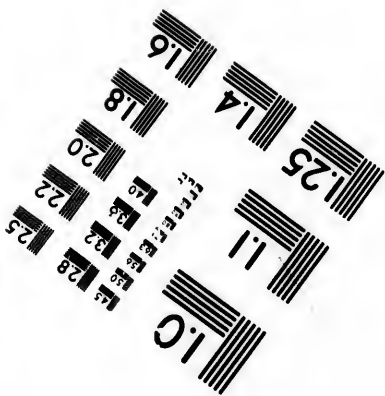
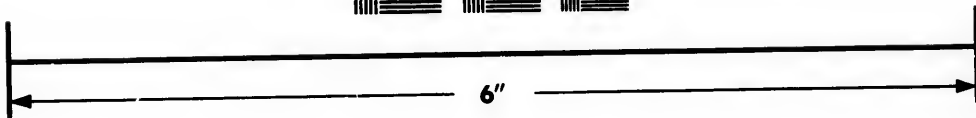
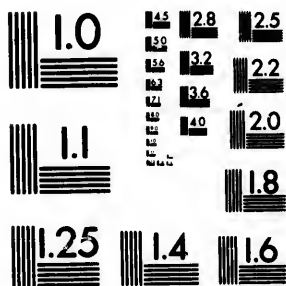
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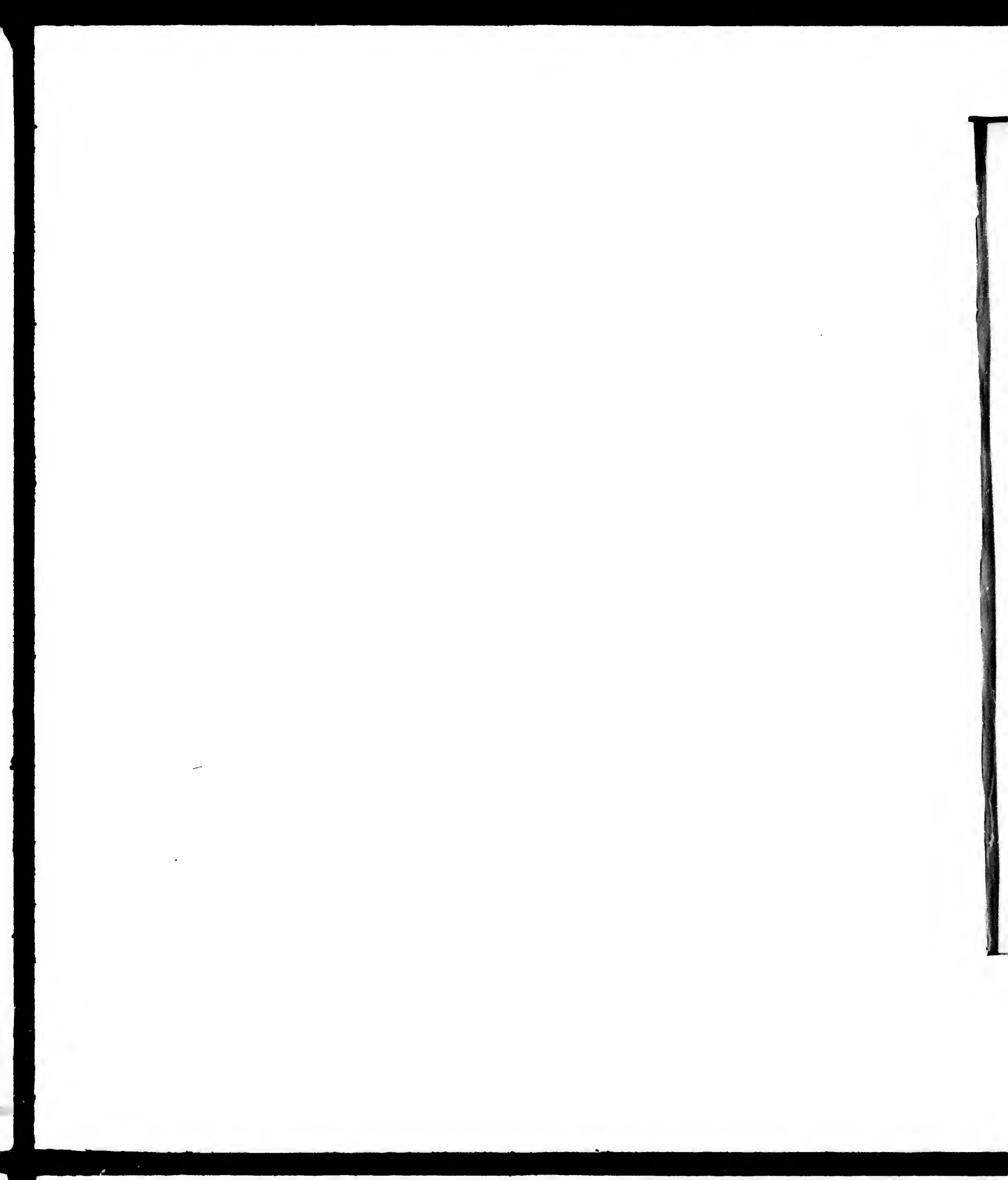
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To this despatch Lord Stanley replied on the 10th of April 1842, in the following terms :—

“ Many considerations concur to dissuade the establishment of a new colony in Southern Africa. Some of them are derived from a general survey of the actual extent of our colonial possessions in different parts of the world, from the magnitude of the naval and military forces required for the defence of such settlements, and from the demands to which the national revenue is already subject. . . . I am compelled to conclude that Port Natal itself is nearly worthless as a harbour; that it is, however, the only harbour on that coast; that the adjacent territory possesses no peculiar physical recommendations; that the establishment of a colony there would be attended with little prospect of advantage; that it would be productive of a serious charge to the revenues of Great Britain for many years to come; that it would tend still further to disperse the population and to impair the resources of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, without at all diminishing the charge of that Government; that it would bring us into new and hazardous relations with the aboriginal tribes of Southern Africa; and that there is no assignable limit to the operation of that principle, if once admitted, of overtaking by colonization and settled forms of government the migratory habits of British subjects who, by advancing into the interior or along the shores of the African Continent, may withdraw themselves from the local allegiance which they owe to their Sovereign.

“ It is necessary that you should open a direct communication with the Emigrants, and distinctly inform them that Her Majesty's Government regard as altogether inadmissible, and even as extravagant, the pretension which they make to be regarded as an Independent State or Community; that the allegiance which they owe to the British Crown is, according to the laws of the British Empire, an obligation which it is not in their power to disclaim or to violate with impunity; that so long as the Queen's subjects dwell within the limits of the settled districts of Her Majesty's dominion and perform the duties of allegiance, they are entitled to expect, and will undoubtedly receive, from their Sovereign the effective protection of their persons and their property; that by withdrawing themselves without authority from those districts, and still more by invading in hostile array the territories of a neighbouring people, they forfeit during their absence, and while engaged in such an enterprise, their claim to Her Majesty's protection, though they do not absolve themselves from responsibility to the Queen for their conduct. They should further be informed that it is Her Majesty's gracious wish to contribute to the utmost of her power to relieve them from the distress in which they are involved, and to save them from the perpetration of those crimes into which that distress may urge them. They should be told that Her Majesty is willing to extend an amnesty and

pardon to such of them as shall return, within a time to be limited for the purpose, within the precincts of the Colony of the Cape; that when arrived there they will be protected in their persons and property and permitted to pursue their lawful occupations unmolested and in peace; and that the Government will lend every assistance in its power to facilitate their return to the Colony and their settlement there. But it should be added that so long as they shall persist in residing in the territories of which they have taken possession, Her Majesty's Government will adopt every practicable and legal method of interdicting all commercial intercourse and all communication between them and the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope; and that if they should presume to molest, invade, or injure the Kafir tribes with which Her Majesty is in alliance, Her Majesty's Forces will support those tribes in resisting such aggressions; and that any of the Emigrants who might be found in arms against the Forces of their Sovereign, whether beyond or within the precincts of the Colony, would be regarded by the Queen as rebels, and be liable to be dealt with accordingly.

"The intimations thus to be made to the Emigrants should be regarded as the real course of policy to be observed respecting them. You are better able than I am to judge how far the existing law of the Cape of Good Hope would justify you in issuing a proclamation interdicting all intercourse with them. If you have power to promulgate and to enforce by adequate penalties such a proclamation, you will immediately publish and enforce it. If the law is inadequate to the purpose, you will propose to the Legislative Council the enactment of the necessary laws. In this, as in all other cases, Her Majesty is better pleased that laws of internal economy should originate with the Local Legislature than that they should be made in the exercise of her own legislative authority. The object of the law should be to oppose the most effectual obstacles which can be raised to the supply to the Emigrants of any articles of which they may stand in need, and especially of gunpowder, firearms, and other munitions of war. The Admiral on the station should be particularly empowered and desired to intercept all supplies which should be sent by sea, in contravention of any such law. . . .

"Immediately on the receipt of this despatch you will take the most prompt and effective measures for recalling the military detachment at Port Natal."

On the 25th of July Sir George Napier wrote, acknowledging the receipt of the above despatch, and stating that he took upon himself the responsibility of not carrying the instructions into effect until he should have a reply to what he was then communicating. At great length he explained his own views. He had come to South Africa, he said, determined to uphold

the policy of the Secretary of State by refusing on every occasion to listen to schemes which contemplated an enlargement of the territorial limits of the Cape Colony; but he had changed that opinion. He then reviewed the events that led to the existing condition of affairs, and stated that he could not protect the natives or control the inland trade without a much greater force than he had at his disposal. The occupation of Port Natal was necessary as a check upon unrestricted commerce. The facility with which munitions of war could be smuggled through that port, if it were not in English hands, was very great. In conclusion, he referred to the disastrous consequences to friendly whites and natives of the withdrawal of the troops, he maintained that retaining possession of and colonizing the country from the Tugela to the Umzimkulu was the best course that could be followed under the circumstances, and he urged that he might be supplied with more troops.

On the 12th of October Lord Stanley replied that he considered the Governor justified in taking upon himself the responsibility of not withdrawing the troops from Natal. He approved of the provisional measures taken, and would bring the question before his colleagues.

On the 13th of December Lord Stanley wrote instructing the Governor to send a Commissioner to Natal to investigate matters there and report upon them. He was to inform the inhabitants that Her Majesty approved of the amnesty, that they were taken under her protection, and that they would be allowed to retain possession of all lands actually occupied for twelve months previous to the Commissioner's arrival. A Governor would be appointed by Her Majesty, and no laws would be valid without his consent. The revenue from land and customs would be vested in Her Majesty, and applied exclusively to the maintenance of the civil government at Natal. Her Majesty was anxious to place the institutions of the Colony upon such a footing, consistent with her authority, as might be most acceptable to the people, and the Commissioner was therefore to invite an expression of opinion. In legislation, however, Her Majesty reserved the most entire freedom of action. The Commissioner was to understand that he was sent to

collect information and opinions, and not authorised to make any definite arrangements. Whatever might be the institutions ultimately sanctioned, three conditions were absolutely essential, viz.:

1. That there should not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, should be extended impartially to all alike.
2. That no aggression should be sanctioned upon the natives residing beyond the limits of the Colony, under any plea whatever, by any private person, or any body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority and orders of the Government.
3. That slavery in any shape or under any modification should be absolutely unlawful, as in every other portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

This despatch was received at Cape Town on the 23rd of April 1843, and on the 12th of May Sir George Napier issued a proclamation appointing Advocate Henry Cloete,¹ Her Majesty's Commissioner for the district of Port Natal, and announcing that this district, "according to such convenient limits as should be fixed upon and defined, would be recognised and adopted by Her Majesty the Queen as a British Colony." On the 5th of June Mr. Cloete with his secretary Mr. C. J. Buisinne arrived at Port Natal, where the Emigrants were found to be in a state of unusual excitement.

On the 8th of the preceding month the schooner *Brazilia* had again anchored in the roadstead. She was from Rotterdam, with a clearance for the Mauritius, but her real destination was Natal. Upon Mr. Smellekamp's return to Holland, the Government of the Netherlands not only declined to countenance any act that could be construed into an encouragement of the Emigrants to resist British authority, but threatened to enforce with severity its laws against its subjects taking part in hostilities against a friendly Power. Baron

¹ A brother of Colonel A. J. Cloete, and afterwards successively Recorder of Natal and Puisne Judge of the Cape Colony.

The Society and Trading Company of Amsterdam. 173

Kattendycke, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, had given the strongest assurance to that effect to the British Representative at the Hague, and a copy of his assurance had been printed in South Africa and circulated by the Government with a view of informing the Emigrants how vain were their expectations of aid from that quarter. They, however, professed to regard the document as not authentic.

But if the Government of the Netherlands disclaimed sympathy with the Emigrants, many Dutch subjects were their enthusiastic advocates. A Society was formed at Amsterdam, termed the "Commission for supplying the religious wants of the inhabitants at Natalia." It was composed of persons of respectability and wealth, and was directed by a committee of clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church, Mr. Swart, who has been already mentioned, being its guiding spirit. This commission engaged the services of a young licentiate named Ham and a schoolmaster named Martineau as pioneers to the Emigrant Republic.

A small trading company was also formed at Amsterdam, Mr. Swart and Mr. Ohrig being leading men in it. The *Brazilia* was engaged, and for the second time was sent out, with Mr. Smellekamp as Chief Director, Mr. and Mrs. Ham and Mr. Martineau, who were to place themselves at the disposal of the Volksraad, and an assistant trader, who was to set up a store at Port Natal. Upon the *Brazilia* casting anchor, Skipper Reus and Mr. Smellekamp went ashore, but were not permitted by Major Smith to communicate with any one but himself and his officers. Lieutenant Nourse, of the *Fawn*, went on board the *Brazilia* and examined her cargo with the expressed intention of detaining her if he should find any munitions of war. Nothing of the kind was discovered, and the skipper and director were allowed to return to their vessel after being informed by Major Smith that he would permit nothing whatever to be landed unless they produced a clearance from a port of the Cape Colony. The *Brazilia* then sailed for Delagoa Bay, where Mrs. Ham died. The schoolmaster had died on the passage out. Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham landed at Lorenzo Marques with their personal property and some cases of books

sent out by the Amsterdam Commission, and the *Brazilia* proceeded to Java to look for a market for her cargo.

Major Smith's refusal to allow Mr. Smellekamp to communicate with the Emigrants was certainly a mistake, for he could only have informed them of the true attitude of the Netherlands Government.¹ As it was, the farmers were now thoroughly convinced that the document circulated by Sir George Napier was spurious, and that Mr. Smellekamp was expelled because he had something important to tell them.

Another matter causing great excitement was an influx of an enormous number of Zulus, which was then taking place. Panda, upon suspicion that some of his subjects were conspiring against him, had recently put his brother Xoxo to death with the usual circumstances of barbarity, had caused his brother's wives to be ripped up and the brains of his children to be dashed out, and was proceeding to exterminate all whom he suspected, when a great rush was made into Natal. In the course of eight or ten days it was calculated that no fewer than fifty thousand individuals of both sexes and all ages crossed the Tugela to be under the white man's protection. The principal

¹ On the 1st of August he wrote from Delagoa Bay to the Volksraad at Natal that they need not expect aid from Holland. In December Messrs. Joachim Prinsloo, Gerrit Rudolph, Cornelis Coetsee, and a youth named Bezuidenhout left Weenen on horseback and rode to Delagoa Bay purposely to have an interview with Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham. Mr. Smellekamp informed them of the position taken by the Netherlands Government, and advised them to abandon Natal and move north of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, where the company which he represented could open a trade with them either through Delagoa Bay or some port further up the coast. Shortly after their arrival three of the party were taken ill with fever, from the effects of which Mr. Coetsee died when endeavouring to return and Mr. Prinsloo fourteen days after reaching home. The information brought by the survivors tended to make the people of Natal more submissive. Soon after this Mr. Ham abandoned all hope of being able to serve the Emigrants, and left in a vessel bound for Table Bay. The remainder of his life was spent as a clergyman in the Cape Colony. Mr. Smellekamp remained at Delagoa Bay, where he was visited by Commandant Potgieter and several others, to whom he gave the same advice as to Mr. Prinsloo's party. In a subsequent chapter it will be seen that this advice was followed. The *Brazilia* on her return passage from Java put into Delagoa Bay, and Mr. Smellekamp returned to Holland in her. In 1848 he was back in a vessel named the *Animo*, but fever and the tsetse prevented him from carrying out his plans. Undaunted still, he returned to Holland, and two years later tried again, as the agent of a new company by whom a vessel named the *Vasco da Gama* was laden and sent out. But the climate and the tsetse were obstacles that he could not overcome. Mr. Smellekamp finally settled at Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, where until his death he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the Emigrants.

fugitive was a chieftainess of high rank, named Mawa, from whom this inroad is commonly called in the documents of that day "the flight of Mawa."

Panda sent messengers to Major Smith to demand that the fugitives be compelled to return and that the cattle they had taken with them should be given up, but the Major refused to do either. He was horrified at the cruelty perpetrated upon Xoxo's family, and announced that he would protect Mawa and her people.

Fifty thousand strangers were wandering up and down Natal. Wherever the pasture suited them, or a locality took their fancy, there they settled for the time being. In terror many of the farmers abandoned their homes and sought safety in Maritzburg. They wanted a commando called out to clear the country, their view being that the fugitives should be compelled to return to Zululand, but should be located there in a district by themselves, and that Panda should be given clearly to understand that if he molested them in their new location the farmers would punish him severely. But Major Smith threatened to assist the fugitives if force was used against them, so that the farmers were prevented from taking any action.

When Mr. Cloete reached Maritzburg, the machinery of the Emigrant Government, with the exception of the Volksraad, was at a complete standstill. There was not a single sixpence in the Treasury. The salaries of the officials, petty as they were, were months in arrear, and there was no prospect of any of them ever being paid. Since the loss of the customs and port dues,¹ the receipts had been next to nothing. In all the country there was only one individual, an infirm halfbreed, doing duty as a policeman. The landdrosts gave judgments when cases were brought before them, but they had no means of enforcing their decisions, consequently their sentences were in most instances disregarded.

On the 9th of June the Commissioner had a meeting with

¹ The port dues had been raised by Sir George Napier from threepence to three shillings a ton, at which rate they remained until abolished altogether by a proclamation of Sir Peregrine Maitland, dated 6th of December 1845.

four or five hundred of the inhabitants of Maritzburg, and made them a long address explaining the object of his visit and enlarging upon the advantages to his hearers of a settled government under the English flag. When he had concluded, a farmer named Anthonie Fick rose up and read a resolution adopted at a mass meeting the day before, that the Emigrants should not communicate with the British Commissioner until they had seen Mr. Smellekamp. Immediately there was an uproar, which did not cease until the meeting dispersed. A little later in the day Mr. Cloete received a letter from Mr. Secretary Bodenstein, informing him that the Volksraad had adjourned until the first Monday in August, to allow of deputies and "the public" from beyond the Drakensberg being present.

The Commissioner had, however, by this time discovered that some of the best men in the country were prepared to accept the proposed government as offering the only alternative from anarchy and ruin. There was hardly one who had been in office but who candidly admitted that the Republic of Natal was a failure. Mr. Johan Philip Zietsman, then landdrost of Maritzburg, waxed eloquent when describing the utter impotency of its officials. Messrs. Joachim Prinsloo, Bernard Rudolph, A. W. Pretorius, J. N. Boshof, C. P. Landman, and L. Badenhorst all gave the Commissioner information to the same effect.

Mr. Cloete thereupon returned to Durban and requested Major Smith to occupy Maritzburg with two hundred and fifty soldiers, so as to support the well affected, before the meeting of the Volksraad. The Major considered that it would be imprudent to march inland with a smaller force than five hundred men, and as he had not so many under his command he could not comply. The Commissioner wrote to Sir George Napier, and two hundred rank and file of the 45th regiment, being all that could be spared, were sent from Cape Town in the *Thunderbolt*, which reached Natal on the 21st of July; but the Governor's opinion was against the proposed military movement, so that it did not take place.

In the meantime the Commissioner called upon the inhabi-

tants of Natal to send in their claims to land, with particulars of occupation, in order that the intentions of the Secretary of State might be carried out. The majority of the people ignored him, however, and very few returns were sent in. As an instance, he reported to Sir George Napier that there were four hundred and fifty erven in Maritzburg, most of them built upon or cultivated, but after ample time had elapsed claims to only one hundred and twenty had been made. Beyond the Umzinkulu he believed there were no farms occupied then or during the previous twelve months, though he ascertained that some situated there were registered in the Title Book kept by the Volksraad.

By the end of July armed bands of farmers from beyond the Drakensberg began to arrive at Maritzburg. Mr. Cloete ascertained that at this time there were no less than fourteen distinct parties, numbering altogether some ten thousand souls, who did not acknowledge the authority of either the Volksraad or the Adjunct Raad. The two largest of these independent parties were under Commandants Moeke and Greyling. On this occasion several of these communities claimed the right of taking part in the proceedings, on account of their South African blood. Commandant Moeke arrived at Maritzburg at the head of two hundred armed men, and was followed by eight or ten others, each with a small band of adherents.

On the 30th of July the Commandants who were most opposed to submission, believing that there would be perfect unanimity with their views and desiring that the Commissioner should see that the whole of the Emigrants were determined to stand or fall together, wrote to Mr. Cloete inviting him to be present at Maritzburg on the 7th of August and pledging themselves for his safety. This letter was signed by Commandant General Gerrit Rudolph, Commandants Jan Kock, F. G. Moeke, J. P. Delpont, and eighteen others. Mr. A. W. Pretorius wrote separately to Mr. Cloete, assuring him of personal safety.

On Saturday, the 5th of August, the Commissioner arrived at Maritzburg from Durban, and found six or seven hundred armed men in the town. The Volksraad was to meet on the

7th. At the close of 1842, twenty-four members had been elected as usual for the ensuing year, but eight of these had never taken their seats. Among these eight were Messrs J. N. Boshof and A. W. Pretorius. The sixteen members met on Monday the 7th, and were joined by two of those who had previously abstained from taking part in the proceedings. The Commandants from beyond the Drakensberg then demanded that an entirely new Volksraad of thirty-six members should be elected by the whole of the Emigrants. To this the eighteen members objected, and they refused to resign; but they passed a resolution to allow the Emigrants from beyond the mountains to fill up the number to thirty-six.

At this stage Commandant Moeke, finding that his party was not so powerful as he had expected it to be, withdrew from the deliberations, heaping abuse upon his opponents. The Commissioner feared every moment that blood would be shed, for several hundred armed men, violently agitated, were quarrelling with each other, some stamping their guns upon the ground amid an uproar of voices. The ferment was at length allayed by the expostulations and entreaties of Messrs. A. W. Pretorius and Joachim Prinsloo, and at a late hour of the night the crowd dispersed, after an arrangement by which the Volksraad was made up to thirty-two members, namely twenty-four for Natal and eight for Winburg and Potchefstroom.

On the morning of Tuesday the 8th the enlarged Volksraad met, and Mr. Stephanus Maritz was chosen President. At his instigation a discussion was brought on as to the extent in which the people beyond the mountains would be affected by any arrangement with the Commissioner, and it was observed that they had not been parties to the agreement with Colonel Cloete in the preceding year. A deputation was sent to the Commissioner's lodgings to ask him how far Her Majesty intended to assert her authority, to which he replied that he could not say, but that he intended to recommend the Drakensberg as the future boundary of Natal. The members for Winburg and Potchefstroom then determined to withdraw, as they said the settlement of the question would not affect them.

The deliberations were continued with incessant clamour.

At length a resolution was adopted offering to surrender absolutely and unconditionally a strip of country along the coast, if the Commissioner would receive it with defined limits; but when this offer was made he stated that he had no power to accept such a cession, and that Her Majesty's Government alone could decide finally upon the question of boundaries.

The proceedings were next interrupted by a mass meeting of the women of Maritzburg. The Commissioner good naturedly went into the court room where they were assembled, when he found every means of getting out closed against him. For two hours he was obliged to listen to an impassioned harangue from Mrs. Smit, the wife of the infirm clergyman, in which their grievances were enumerated, and which was followed by the unanimous declaration that rather than submit to English rule again they would march barefoot over the mountains to liberty or death.

After this interruption the Volksraad proceeded with its deliberations, and recognizing the fact that resistance was out of the question, resolved upon endeavouring to obtain the best terms possible. A deputation waited upon the Commissioner and informed him that the members were unanimous in their decision to submit to Her Majesty's authority, if only the first of the three conditions laid down as essential in the Secretary of State's despatch could be modified. They were quite prepared to agree to the second and third of those conditions, in letter and in spirit, but they saw insurmountable difficulties in the way of carrying the first into effect. If nature herself had not made a great constitutional difference between white men and black, the training of the two races during countless generations had been so unlike that it seemed to the Volksraad impossible that they should live harmoniously together under exactly the same laws. As well might one put the horse and the ox in the same yoke. Could not the first condition be modified and so expressed as to prevent any oppression or injustice to the natives, without putting them upon precisely the same political footing as the whites?

Mr. Cloete replied that it was beyond his power to make the slightest departure from the letter of the conditions.

The Volksraad then gave way to necessity, and with only one dissentient voice resolved upon submission. As evening was setting in the members signed the following declaration, which was at once forwarded to the Commissioner :—¹

“ Pietermaritzburg, 8th August, 1843.

“ We, the undersigned, Members and Representatives of the Council, having taken into consideration the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor, dated the 12th of May last, declare hereby to have agreed to accept the conditions therein contained.”

This document was signed by J. S. Maritz, President, M. G. Potgieter, P. F. R. Otto, P. H. Zietsman, B. Poortman, W. S. Pretorius, S. A. Cilliers, G. Z. Naude, G. R. van Rooyen, C. P. Botman, L. J. Meyer, E. F. Potgieter, P. R. Nel, A. F. Spies, P. G. Human, J. A. Kriel, W. A. van Aardt, G. C. Viljoen, Gerrit Snyman, H. S. van den Berg, A. L. Visagie, M. Prinsloo, C. A. Bothma, and N. J. S. Basson.

On the 9th the whole of the farmers from beyond the mountains left Maritzburg to return to their homes, denouncing in bitter language those who they said had betrayed the cause of liberty by their submission to the English Government. Many of the inhabitants of Natal were in the same frame of mind, and the subscribers to the declaration and those who thought with them were subjected to so many insults and annoyances that it became necessary to move troops to Maritzburg for their protection. On the 31st of August Major Smith with two hundred men and two guns arrived and took possession of a commanding hill at the west end of the town, where he formed a camp which in course of time de-

¹ This account differs in some slight respects from that given by Mr. (then Judge) Cloete in his “Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers.” The differences, which are of very little importance, arise from the fact that the Judge wrote his lectures after the lapse of several years from memory, aided only by such portions of his reports as had been printed by the Imperial Government. My account is compiled from the complete original reports of the Commissioner to Sir George Napier, written within a few hours after the occurrence of the events described. These reports I have compared with several letters of the same date from farmers and others who took part in the proceedings. I have also had the advantage of reading the whole of Major Smith’s reports, which Mr. Cloete never saw, as at this time they were not on friendly terms and had very little official intercourse.

veloped into Fort Napier. The most determined among the farmers now abandoned their homes once more, and moved over the Drakensberg, so that at the close of the year there were not more than five hundred Emigrant families left in Natal.¹

It was arranged that until the appointment of officials by the English Government, the Volksraad should continue to act as before, and that it should make known the wishes of the inhabitants as to the future administration of the country. On the 4th of September the discussion on this subject closed, and Mr. Cloete was requested by letter to recommend that Natal should be constituted a Colony distinct from that of the Cape of Good Hope, and that the machinery of government should be as simple and inexpensive as possible. The Volksraad desired that there should be a Legislative Council of twelve members, elected by the burghers for two years, six to form a quorum. That no one should be entitled to vote unless he was in possession of landed property to the value of £150, a resident in the country during six months, and able to read and write either the English or the Dutch language. That the Governor should have the right of sanctioning or rejecting the laws enacted by the Council, those approved of to have immediate effect. That the landdrosts should have jurisdiction without appeal in criminal cases to the extent of sentencing to a fine of thirty shillings or fourteen days' imprisonment and in civil cases of less value than thirty shillings. That the landdrosts with two heemraden or justices of the peace should have jurisdiction without appeal in criminal cases to the extent of sentencing to a fine of five pounds, a month's imprisonment, or twenty-five lashes, and in civil cases of less value than five pounds. That the courts of landdrost and heemraden should hold monthly sessions. That a circuit court, composed of two or more landdrosts and two or more heemraden, with a jury of nine persons, should sit once in six months to try more serious cases. That no sentence of death, transportation, or imprisonment for more than two years, should be executed

¹ This is the highest computation, and is that of the Rev. Abraham Faure, who made a pastoral tour through Natal at this time at the instance of the Cape Government. The Rev. Mr. Lindley's computation at the close of 1843 was three hundred and sixty-five families.

without the Governor's fiat. That the Governor should have a right of mitigation or remission of punishment. That the Governor with two or more members of the Executive Council should sit once in three months as a High Court of Appeal in civil cases. That with the exception of local enactments the laws should be those of the Cape Colony. That the language of the courts of law should be Dutch, except where the majority of the inhabitants of a district spoke English. That the inhabitants of each district should every two years nominate eight persons, of whom the Governor should select four as *heemraden*. That the *landdrosts* should be elected by the people of their districts, but that the election should be confirmed by the Governor, who should have power of rejection. That all inferior officers should be appointed by the Governor alone. That every town or village, at the request of the inhabitants, should be constituted a municipality. That religion should be free, that there should be no state church, but that all should be entitled to protection. That education should be provided for by the legislature. That all grants of land made by the Volksraad should remain undisturbed. That trade should be permitted with all nations, except the bordering tribes until the necessary laws could be made forbidding the sale of guns and ammunition. That paper money should not be forced into circulation. That there should be no compulsory military service. That the inland boundary of the Colony should be the Drakensberg until the people beyond were willing to come under Her Majesty's authority. And that the immigration of paupers should be prohibited.

The all-important subject of the recent influx of natives from Zululand came next under discussion. Every Emigrant in Natal felt that the question really was whether the country was to become a white or a black settlement. Its discussion occupied the Volksraad two days, and resulted in a request to the Commissioner to recommend that the refugees should be removed over the Tugela and the Umzimvubu, with the exception of such as should choose to take service, no farmer, however, being permitted to engage more than five families. The Volksraad then adjourned.

Mr. Cloete as his next proceeding resolved upon paying Panda a visit. On the 18th of September he left Durban with that object, accompanied by his clerk, Mr. C. J. Buisinne; an interpreter, Mr. Joseph Kirkman; a guide, Mr. D. C. Toohey; and Messrs. Gerrit Rudolph and Henry Ogle, who went out of curiosity. On the 1st of October he had an interview with Panda, and found him prepared to comply with everything proposed. The Zulu chief must have felt that his position at the time was similar to that of Dingan in the early days of 1840, and that it would be dangerous to refuse anything asked of him. The Commissioner proposed a new boundary between Zululand and Natal, namely the Umzinyati or Buffalo River from its source to its junction with the Tugela, and thence the Tugela to the sea, instead of the Tugela along its whole course. Panda consented without demur, and on the 5th of October an agreement to this effect was drawn up in writing, and was formally signed and witnessed.¹ The new boundary gave to Natal a large and valuable tract of country, but a portion of it was occupied by natives. In making this agreement, the independence of the Zulu tribe was assumed, and after this date the authorities of Natal never termed or treated Panda as a vassal.

On the same day and by another formal treaty, St. Lucia Bay was ceded to Her Majesty the Queen. The document runs as follows:—

I the undersigned, Panda, Chief and King of the Zoolah nation, do hereby declare to cede all right and title which I heretofore had to

¹ It was approved by the Secretary of State in a despatch of the 25th May 1844: "In the first place it may be desirable that I should signify to you Her Majesty's pleasure as to the limits which should for the present be assigned to that territory (Natal). On the north-west, many considerations combine in recommending that the great natural boundary of the Drakensberg or Quathlamba Mountains should be adhered to, and that communication with the interior beyond those mountains should be discouraged and as far as possible prevented. Her Majesty's Government cannot be held responsible either for the conduct or for the protection of such of her subjects as may think fit to migrate into the interior; but it will be the bounden duty of the authorities in the Natal Territory to prevent any such migration of an armed or predatory character. . . . On the north-east, I see no reason to dissent from the terms arranged between Mr. Cloete and Panda, Chief of the Zulus, whereby the Tugela from its mouth to its junction with the Umzinyati (or Buffalo River), and thence up the latter river to its source in the mountains, is constituted the boundary of the two States."

the mouth of the river Umvoloosi and to the Bay there situate, to and in favour of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, or the lawful Sovereign of Great Britain for the time being, for ever, with full liberty to visit, land upon, and occupy the shores along the said Bay and mouth of the said River Umvoloosi, the undersigned hereby agreeing and consenting to appoint, whenever he shall be thereto requested, two Indoonas or Commissioners for the purpose of defining and fixing the limits and extent of the sea-shore so ceded and given up to Her Majesty Queen Victoria or the Lawful Sovereign of Great Britain for the time being.

In witness hereof I have hereto affixed my mark at my chief town of Eslopeen on this the Fifth day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-three, in the presence of the undermentioned Witnesses, the contents of this Document having been fully explained to and fully understood by me.

This is the mark of the King

PANDA x made by himself.

This is the mark of the Indoona

UMVANKLANNA x made by him.

This is the mark of the Indoona

UMKONDANIE x made by him.

Witnesses: D. C. TOOHEY.

C. J. BUISINNE.

This document has been faithfully interpreted from word to word by me to the King Panda, who declared fully to understand and approve of the contents thereof.

J. KIRKMAN.

The Commissioner's object in obtaining this cession was to prevent any foreign Power from acquiring a harbour in the immediate neighbourhood of the new Colony, as well as to keep the farmers from renewing their efforts to obtain a sea-port, for after the loss of Port Natal many of them declared their intention of opening a communication with the outside world through St. Lucia Bay. On these grounds the treaty was subsequently confirmed by the Imperial Government, but Panda was informed that there was no intention of forming a settlement at the Bay.¹

¹ Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated 25th of May 1844: "I do not disapprove of the cession made by King Panda of the Bay of St. Lucia, for the purpose for which it was made, namely that of obviating the possibility of interference on the part of any European Power or body of Adventurers; but you will distinctly

After leaving Panda's kraal, Mr. Cloete inspected St. Lucia Bay, and then returned to Durban, where he arrived on the 21st October.

On the 28th of September Sir George Napier issued a proclamation placing Natal in the same relationship as any other British Possession to the Cape Colony. Its exports were to be free of duty. Its imports were to pay the same duties as in the Cape Colony. This proclamation was supplemented by another issued on the 3rd of October, fixing the duty on Cape wines at half that paid on wines from other countries, and on spirits at two shillings per gallon.

On the 21st of November the first civil servants of the new Colony of Natal were appointed by Sir George Napier. They were Mr. Samuel Woods, Collector of Customs, and Mr. George Prestwich, Tidewater.

The number of natives within the new boundaries, including the Zulu refugees, was estimated by Mr. Cloete at this time to be at least between eighty and one hundred thousand.¹ He recommended that they should be collected together in defined locations, and placed under the authority of superintendents.

The south-western boundary of the new Colony had not yet been decided upon. On the 25th of May 1844 Lord Stanley wrote to the Governor: "The documents in my possession do not enable me to define with accuracy the boundary which should be assigned to the new Colony on the south-west. One of the many rivers which appear to flow in a parallel direction from the mountains to the sea should obviously be selected, and care must be taken not to extend the frontier westward so as to include any district actually possessed and occupied by well established native tribes. Subject to this limitation, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to entrust to your discretion the definition of the south-west boundary of the Colony; and having decided this point with the advice of your Council and the aid of such local information as you can

state to Panda that it is not intended to form any Settlement there, and you will strictly prohibit any of Her Majesty's subjects from occupying any land or forming any establishment to the eastward of the Tugela."

¹ Report dated 10th of November 1843 from Mr. Henry Cloete to the Secretary of Government, Cape Town.

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obtain, you will signify the limits assigned to the new Colony by proclamation in the name of Her Majesty." And on the 26th of June he wrote: "In my despatch of the 25th ultimo I intimated that one of the many rivers which appear to flow in a parallel direction from the mountains to the sea should be selected; but you will not consider yourself as debarred by that despatch from the adoption of an intermediate line to be settled by negotiation, should such a course appear to you to afford the means of a more easy and satisfactory adjustment."

With this power Sir Peregrine Maitland, who on the 18th of March 1844 had succeeded Sir George Napier as Governor of the Cape Colony, entered into a treaty with Faku, wherein all the territory south of the Umzimkulu was surrendered to that chief, who could certainly not have claimed with any show of right an inch of ground north of the Umtentu.¹

On the 7th of October 1844 the treaty was prepared and signed by Sir Peregrine Maitland at Fort Beaufort, and Messrs Theophilus Shepstone and William Fynn were then sent to Faku with it. The Rev. Thomas Jenkins explained the different clauses of the document, which Faku unhesitatingly agreed to, and on the 23rd of November the marks of the Chief and his son Ndamasi were affixed to it in presence of Messrs Shepstone, Fynn, and Jenkins, and four of the leading Pondo councillors.

In this treaty Faku is acknowledged as paramount chief over the whole country between the Umtata and Umzimkulu rivers, from the Kathlamba mountains to the sea,² and this

¹ The following extract from a letter of Major Smith to Attorney-General Porter, dated at Maritzburg on the 12th of November 1844, will show the opinion of that officer:—"Immediately beyond (*i.e.*, on the southern side of) the Umzimkulu is a tribe under a chief called Fodo, which numbers many people; and it may therefore be a matter of consideration whether it is desirable to take so great a mass of the natives under British jurisdiction as will result from extending the boundary in that direction. . . . Pushing forward the limits to the Umzimvubu would be unjust to Faku, for that chief resides, and has his principal kraal, on this side of the river; independent of which it would spread the Colony over a long strip of country offering not a single port for the shipment of produce and therefore only available for the cattle farmer, a class already too numerous."

² That is the whole of what is now Pondoland, the Chief Magistracy of Griqualand East, and the Natal County of Alfred. Many years later Faku ceded Griqualand East to the Cape Colony and the County of Alfred to Natal, with a view of prevent-

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Treaty of Sir Peregrine Maitland with Faku. 187

territory is secured to him against all claims and pretensions on the part of British subjects. On the other hand it binds him to be the faithful friend of the Colony, to prevent his people from harassing or annoying British subjects passing through his country, to use his best exertions to seize and deliver up refugee criminals, to facilitate the production of evidence, to make restitution for stolen cattle traced to his country, to protect travellers and the post passing through and traders and missionaries residing in his country, to prevent the landing of goods from ships not provided with Colonial licences, to avoid as far as possible making war with neighbouring tribes, to submit to the mediation of the Colonial Government any disputes with other chiefs which he could not settle peaceably, and to aid the Colony with all his forces whenever called upon to do so.

Sir Peregrine Maitland's despatches at this time prove him to have been deplorably ignorant of native politics, but when the treaty was signed he was aware that there were other tribes within the boundaries assigned to Faku, that they were frequently fighting with the Pondos, and that Faku exercised no jurisdiction over them. Of their past history and their claims to independence he knew nothing. But for their protection the treaty contained a provision that "the rights of all petty chiefs and native tribes who have at any period heretofore resided upon any part of the said territory remain unaltered, and they will be at liberty to reside within the said territory in the same manner as they did before they were disturbed by the wars with the Zulu nation."

The objects of this treaty have often been misrepresented. It was one of a series which gave to native chiefs claims to vast tracts of land which were not then, and never had been in their possession. As such, it could not fail to give offence to all except the one favoured tribe. But speculation as to motives is set at rest upon reading Sir Peregrine Maitland's

ing molestations from the clans in those districts while he brought the various people in the remainder of the territory, or what is now Pondoland, under his authority. In this way the present Pondo tribe was created, a very large proportion of its clans not being of Pondo descent. For details see the historical papers in the Cape Colonial Blue Book on Native Affairs for 1885

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despatch to the Secretary of State, written immediately after the treaty was concluded. says

"My immediate object was to restrain them (the frontier Kaffirs) from rashly attempting any hostile operations against the Colony, by the knowledge that in the case of their doing so they would have in their rear an enemy more powerful than themselves, in alliance with the British Government, and ready to fall on them with an overwhelming force. But I had other objects in view, and principally three: to secure a friendly neighbour on the south-west boundary of Natal, whereby marauding incursions similar to those by which this Colony has been harassed may be prevented, to keep open an uninterrupted land communication with Natal through the territory of friendly tribes, and to hinder ships from discharging cargo along the coast between Natal and the Colony, without a licence, to the injury of the revenue."

The treaty with Faku determined the south-western boundary of the Colony of Natal. The form of government for the new Colony had already been decided upon. On the 25th of May 1844 Lord Stanley announced to Sir Peregrine Maitland that "Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that for the present it would not be advisable to constitute the Territory of Natal a separate and independent Government wholly unconnected with the Colony of the Cape. They are of opinion that it may be perfectly practicable to separate the Colony of Natal from that of the Cape, for all judicial, financial, and executive purposes, but, subject to certain important modifications which it will be my duty to state to you, they think that legislative powers must be for the present retained in the hands of the Governor and Council of the Cape, and that all communications from Natal to the Secretary of State should continue to be transmitted through you." The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal was to be aided by an Executive Council of not more than five members, who should have power to *recommend* laws to the Governor to be by him brought before the Legislative Council of the Cape.

On the 31st of May Letters Patent were issued under the Great Seal providing

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1. That Natal was to be a part of the Cape Colony.
2. That nevertheless no Colonial law or magistrate should, by virtue of the annexation, have operation or jurisdiction in Natal.
3. That the Governor and Council of the Cape, acting in the regular manner, should have authority to provide such laws as should be required.

The long delay in providing an effective Government was tending to inspire the Emigrants with hopes that perhaps after all Great Britain would leave them to themselves. In August 1844 a new Volksraad was elected, as the old one had then been in existence for a full year. When the members came together most of them refused to take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and declared that they did not consider themselves bound by the deed of submission of their predecessors. Thereupon Major Smith dissolved the assembly and announced that the old Volksraad should continue in office. But this body also now showed a refractory spirit. Some recent acts of atrocity by Panda had caused the flight of more blacks into Natal, and the Volksraad passed a resolution to eject them from all farms. Major Smith, however, notified that he would not permit the resolution to be carried out.¹

Nothing further was done by the Imperial Government until the 30th of April 1845, when a Commission under a Writ of the Privy Seal was issued providing that the Governor of the Cape Colony when in Natal should supersede the Lieutenant Governor, and empowering the Governor of the Cape Colony to appoint provisionally, and until Her Majesty's pleasure could be made known, a Lieutenant Governor for Natal under any of the following circumstances: (a) the death of the officer holding that appointment; (b) his absence from the territory; (c) his incapacity; (d) in the event of there being no one commissioned by Her Majesty. Under the last of these clauses, the Secretary of State desired the Gover-

¹ Reports of Major Smith to the Secretary to Government (Cape Colonial) of 13th August and 4th September, 1844.

nor to appoint provisionally some one with the requisite qualifications.

On the 21st of August Sir Peregrine Maitland issued two proclamations : one defining the boundaries of Natal to be the right banks of the Tugela and Umzinyati rivers, the south eastern base of the Drakensberg, and the principal western branch of the Umzinkulu to its junction with the main stream and thence that stream to the sea ; the other announcing that " Her Majesty the Queen, by graciously establishing in the District of Natal a settled form of Government, was not to be understood as in the least renouncing her rightful and sovereign authority over any of her subjects residing or being beyond the limits of the said District."

The appointment of a staff of officials followed. Up to this date the only civil officers there were the Collector of Customs and Tidewaiter already mentioned ; a postmaster at Durban—Mr. William Cowie—appointed on the 22nd of December 1844 ; a Harbour Master—Captain William Bell, previously master of the *Conch*, also appointed on the 22nd of December 1844 ; and a Surveyor General—Dr. William Stanger—with an office staff appointed on the 2nd of January 1845.

The American Board having decided to withdraw its agents from Natal, in April 1844 Dr. Adams and the Rev. Aldin Grout were appointed Government missionaries with salaries of £150 per annum each. Dr. Adams declined to accept the appointment. Mr. Grout acted as Government missionary for about a year, when both of them resumed connection with the American Board, which not only reversed its previous decision but increased the number of its agents.

On the 13th of November 1845 Mr. Martin West, previously Civil Commissioner of Albany, was appointed provisionally Lieutenant Governor of Natal, and was further provided with a commission as a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill. At the same time Advocate Henry Cloete was appointed Recorder ; Mr. Donald Moodie, Secretary to Government ; Mr. Walter Harding, Crown Prosecutor, and a few days later Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, Agent for Natives. On the 22nd of November Sir Peregrine Mait-

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land appointed an Executive Council, to consist of the Senior Military Officer, the Secretary to Government, the Surveyor General, the Collector of Customs, and the Crown Prosecutor. With the arrival of these officers, on the 4th of December 1845, the new administration may be said to have been established.

CHAPTER VI.

Cleverness of Moshesh.—Rapid Growth of the Basuto Tribe.—Settlement at Mekuatleng of the Bataung of Molitsane.—Growth of the Baphuti under Morosi.—Removal of some Barolong Clans to the Mooi River District.—Acts of Lawlessness along the Lower Caledon.—Missionary Project of Native States under British Protection.—Application of Moshesh to the Colonial Government Proclamation of Sir George Napier concerning the Emigrants and the Clans north of the Orange.—Views of the Imperial Government.—History of the Griquas.—Treaty with Andries Waterboer.—The Emigrant Farmers and the Griquas of Adam Kok.—Establishment of a Magistracy at Colesberg.—Proclamation of Judge Menzies.—Movement of Troops to Colesberg.—Application of Adam Kok to the Colonial Government.—Creation by Treaty of Griqua and Basuto States.—Contentions raised by the Treaties.—Violent Proceedings of Adam Kok.—Commandant Jan Kock.—War between the Emigrant Farmers and the Griquas of Adam Kok.—Troops sent to Kok's Assistance.—Skirmish at Zwart Kopjes.—Visit of Sir Peregrine Maitland to the Country north of the Orange.—New Treaty with Adam Kok.—Appointment of Captain H. D. Warden as British Resident in the Territory north of the Orange.—Pretensions of Moshesh.—Report of Commandant Gideon Jonbert.—Purchase of Land between the Modder and Vaal Rivers by David Fourie.—Expansion of the Basuto Tribe.—Removal of Poshuli to Vechtkop.—Meeting of Chiefs at Platberg.—Submission by the Chiefs of their Disputes to the Governor's Decision.—Foundation of Bloemfontein.—Progress of the French Mission.—Movements of the Emigrants north of the Vaal.—Foundation of the Villages of Ohrigstad and Lydenburg and of the District of Zoutpansberg.—Account of the Bapedi.—Proceedings at Winburg.—Mission of Messrs. A. W. Pretorius and J. Duplooy to Sir Henry Pottinger.—Attitude of the Governor.—Its Results.

AMONG the first to realise the great change effected in South African affairs by the expulsion of Moselekatse and the overthrow of Dingan was the Chief of the Mountain,

as Moshesh had come to be called, in reference to his stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. There was now a clear field to work in, and of all the men in the country he was the one most gifted with the talents necessary to take advantage of it. This is crediting him with powers of observation greater than those of all our officers of Government and of all the missionaries with the different tribes. But it is no more than his due. For ages the Bantu have been developing this peculiar kind of intelligence, and Moshesh was the cleverest man that the race has produced in modern times.

It was several years after the fall of Dingan before the stupendous consequences of that event to the natives are found recorded in official documents. One would suppose that the missionaries, at any rate, must have quickly appreciated a change which enabled the remnants of broken tribes to emerge from the mountains and the deserts, and which opened to them vast fields of labour from which they had before been excluded. Yet they were the very last to perceive it. Their documents for many years display an almost incredible want of power to realise the importance of events that had given life itself to the greater number of the tribes now existing. Who, for instance, would imagine that such a sentence as the following could be penned by a missionary more than five years after the expulsion of Moselekatse from the Betschuana country? "Since the Emigrant Boers commenced their aggressions upon the unoffending tribes beyond the Colonial Boundary, they have spilled more than twice as much human blood as was shed in the war which arose out of the Kaffir invasion of the Colony in the year 1835." Yet that sentence, just as it stands here, may be seen in a memorial to Lord Stanley from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, whose information was derived from its agents here, and is dated 2nd of February 1843. And heartless and outrageous as such language appears at the present day, it is mild when compared with expressions used by some of the London Society's agents.

Moshesh had observed more than this. When news was carried to Thaba Bosigo that the white men, like the natives, were divided into parties, and that they were fighting with

each other, the chief at once realised that he could turn our quarrels to account, and formed a decision, from which he never afterwards wavered: to take advantage of the divisions of the Europeans, and to profess attachment to whichever party was the stronger.

While the events which have been recorded were taking place in Natal, the power of the Basuto Chief was constantly increasing. Individuals, families, even small clans belonging to broken tribes, were streaming in and allying themselves with his people. In 1837 the strong Bataung clan under Molitsane, which has already been mentioned on several occasions and which has ever since taken a prominent part in the affairs of the country, placed itself under Moshesh, and was located at Mekuatleng. Its chief had been for years a noted warrior, and had taken a large share in the plunder of the several Barolong clans. By the missionaries he was known as a man capable of assuming the most varied characters, and of being equally insincere in all. He was then already in middle age, though he lived until October 1885. With this chief the Rev. Mr. Daumas, of the Paris Evangelical Society, took up his residence.

In the opposite direction from Thaba Bosigo, along the Orange, Morosi, Moshesh's vassal, was becoming formidable. To the original clan of the Baphuti were now added refugees of various tribes, among them being a strong body of Tembus, the same from which Stokwe's people, who were located by Sir Philip Wodehouse in Emigrant Tembuland in 1835, afterwards branched off. A large number of Bushmen also were taken under Morosi's protection. During the war with the Amaxosa in 1835 these people carried their depredations far into the Colony. Still the chief was shrewd enough to make it appear that he was neutral. On one occasion the Resident Magistrate of Somerset East with a commando followed the spoor of stolen cattle to his residence, Klein Tafelberg. Morosi was not at home at the time, being absent on a foray in another direction. The magistrate seized all the cattle at the kraal, and retired with them. On Morosi's return home, he was advised to appeal to the Governor, as among the cattle

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seized there were but few that could be proved to have been stolen from the Colony. The chief acted upon this advice, and soon afterwards proceeded to Grahamstown, where he had an interview with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, by whom his cattle were restored to him, 21st of October 1835. This was the first direct intercourse between the Baphuti Chief and the Colonial Government.

Early in 1836 a band of Kaffirs under the petty chief Jalusa migrated from the eastern colonial frontier to the neighbourhood of Beersheba, where they committed such ravages that most of the mission people were obliged to abandon the station. In May some of them returned to the Gaika country, but the greater number with the chief took up their residence near Morija. There, in August, the combined forces of Moshesh and Moroko attacked them, when Jalusa's band was almost exterminated and the whole of the spoil was recovered.

After this, Moshesh and Moroko attacked a band of Korana marauders whose fastness was on the Riet River, and succeeded in destroying some and dispersing the others.

And now for some years there was comparative tranquillity in the land. Petty disputes between the different branches of the community were indeed frequent, and occasionally a few lives were lost in an obscure brawl, but there was no invasion from outside, no devastation on a large scale. The gardens were tilled again and cattle increased, so that food became plentiful, and wherever this is the case African tribes speedily recover the numbers wasted by famine and war.

When referring to the Barolong in connection with the events here related, only the chief Moroko has been named. The reason is that Gontse, Tawane, and Matlabe had moved from Thaba Ntshu northward over the Vaal, and never again returned. The first Emigrant Farmers who recrossed the Drakensberg from Natal had been living along the Mooi River about three years,¹ when those chiefs went to Commandant

¹ Matlabe in his evidence before the Commissioners at Bloemhof says three years. Moroko, in his evidence on the same occasion, says that Gontse and Tawane ploughed eight seasons at Thaba Ntshu, which would fix their removal three years after Potgieter's return from Natal, or in 1841. In the "Historical Notices about the Barolong" (unpublished manuscript) supplied to Sir Henry Barkly by Messrs. Ludorf and

Potgieter and asked him to give them a piece of ground. To the end of his life he never forgot the services which Matlabe and Moroko had rendered, and many years after this, when he was far away in the north, he continued to send frequent complimentary messages and presents to these men who had helped him in his time of need. To be Barolong was to have a claim on Commandant Hendrik Potgieter which he never failed to recognise. Accordingly, with the utmost cordiality he acceded to their request, and ground was given to them in the Mooi River district, close to the farms occupied by the Emigrants.

Naturally these people had an affection for the land of their birth, and so they told the Commandant that they wished at some future time to remove to "the country of Tao," and he made no objection to their doing so. But there is nothing to show that he promised to recognise them as independent chiefs in the whole country which had once been Tao's, as has been recently asserted by Montsiwa's advocates. Everything is against such a supposition. They were at the time the pettiest of chiefs, without reputation, or wealth, or following to speak of. According to the universal practice of the Dutch in South Africa, there was no interference with their government of those who submitted to their rule, as long as white people were not affected; and to that extent they were independent when living at Mooi River.

Nevertheless they were regarded as subjects of the Emigrant Government, and in all matters in which Europeans were concerned they were under the Emigrants' laws. They were favoured above other natives who were allowed to settle within the territory. They were sometimes called allies, and they were not required to pay the labour tax.¹ But that was be-

Doms, then agents for Montsiwa, the date is given as 1841; but it is not safe to take anything from such a partisan paper without ample evidence in corroboration. It is not an easy matter to follow the movements of people so insignificant as these chiefs, who are not mentioned in official documents of the time, of whom no newspaper editor ever heard, and who are only casually referred to in missionary reports.

¹ The Emigrant Farmers permitted many refugee clans to settle upon territory under their Government, on condition of furnishing a certain number of labourers for a fixed term yearly, and at a fixed rate of payment. The Commandant or the Landdrost of each District apportioned the labourers among those who needed their

cause they had acted a friendly part in a time of need, and were therefore entitled to the most favourable consideration. The evidence of Matlabe at Bloemhof is that they were "under Potgieter's laws," and the position as here given explains all the seeming discrepancies in the other evidence on that occasion.

In 1845 Gontse moved to another part of the district without any notice being taken of his doings, or any importance being attached to his presence in one place or the other. We shall not meet with him again, and it is only necessary to say a few more words concerning him. At his new location he lived nearly four years. The thieving propensities of his followers got him into trouble there, and he was compelled to move away by a few exasperated farmers. He then went to the Setlagole River, where he died. As his heir was a child Masisi, his brother, became regent of the clan. He moved to Taung. In 1871 Masisi died, and Moshete, Gontse's son, became chief.

Tawane and Matlabe remained in the Mooi River District some years longer. Both will be met with again.

The great majority of the Emigrant Farmers moved either to Natal or to the country drained by the various tributaries of the Upper Vaal, but a few hundred families remained along the Lower Caledon. These did not acknowledge the authority of either of the governments established at Maritzburg and Potchefstroom, and were in point of fact free of all control whatever. They had neither a police nor a tribunal of justice. A few individuals of lawless habits, taking advantage of these circumstances, removed from the Colony and fixed their abode in a territory where they were at liberty to do as they pleased. In June 1837 two of these individuals, who were of a notori-

services, and was required to see that the conditions were faithfully carried out. The system unquestionably opened a door to serious abuses, especially in districts where the authority of law was feeble, but it is only fair to observe that while it has been condemned in the strongest terms by different missionaries as being of the nature of slavery, the farmers have as persistently maintained that in practice it is more humane than our system of requiring the natives to pay hut tax. In the one case, they assert, strong men are taught to work and are thus gradually civilised; in the other case an additional burden is imposed upon the females, who have to grow more grain for sale, or in some other way earn money to pay the tax.

ously bad character, perpetrated an outrage at the mission station of Beersheba, by forcibly carrying off some Bushmen children with a view of making servants of them. This matter was promptly brought to the notice of the Colonial and Home Governments, but nothing effectual was done to punish the criminals. Two years later other acts of violence were reported to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony, who replied that the criminals were in a position where the Colonial laws could not reach them, but that being in the country of Moshesh they were subject to his jurisdiction.

Moshesh in all probability thought very little of the matter. The crimes committed, outrageous as they appear to civilized Europeans, could not have been regarded as very serious by a chief whose favourite vassals almost weekly committed more heinous offences without a word of reproof from him. The victims of the outrages happened not to be his subjects either, and judging from the whole tenor of his after life he could not have been much interested in their fate. He affixed his mark to the letters written by the missionaries on the subject, and affected an air of indignation in their presence, but in reality was almost indifferent about it.

A matter, however, that really must have caused him much anxiety was the rapid occupation by white men of the vacant land beyond his outposts. How was the tribe of which he was the head to grow and expand as he wished it to, if it should be hemmed in by farmers? In 1842 the French missionaries computed that his people already numbered from thirty to forty thousand souls, and that estimate was certainly not too high. Accessions were constantly being made by the influx of refugees from broken tribes, so that Moshesh could not view with composure the increase of the Europeans on his borders.

At this time Dr. Philip had formed a project of the creation of a belt of native states under British protection along the border of the Cape Colony, and this idea had been generally adopted by the French missionaries as well as by the members of his own Society. The head of the London Mission in South Africa and a man of commanding intellect Dr. Philip practic-

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ally exercised the same power that the Secretary for Native Affairs does now under Responsible Government. He had the whole body in England usually known as the Exeter Hall party to support him. With that party in opposition, as more than one Secretary of State was careful to intimate, no ministry could retain office long, and therefore the Governor was obliged not only to consult him on all questions affecting the natives, but to act upon his advice.

The feasibility of forming a chain of protected native states was under discussion in missionary circles from 1840 onwards, and a mode of action was soon agreed upon. The chiefs who were apparently the most powerful within certain areas were to be recognized as the paramount rulers of those territories, all the others were to be regarded as subordinate to them, and they were to be aided in repelling white people except missionaries and those whom the missionaries favoured.

When this scheme was laid by Dr. Philip before Moshesh that astute chief at once comprehended its importance and gave his assent to it. Native messengers had just conveyed to Thaba Bosigo the intelligence that British troops were marching from the Umgazi to Natal. His missionaries had told him of the enormous strength and vast resources of the British nation. He had determined to be on the side that was safest. And so on the 30th of May 1842, he approved of a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Casalis to Lieutenant-Governor Hare, asking that he might be taken into treaty relationship with the Colonial Government, as he was convinced that the existence and independence of his tribe could only be preserved by the protection of the Sovereign of England.

Compliance with this request was pressed upon the Governor by Dr. Philip. Sir George Napier was not prepared to take such a step without first making inquiries for himself and ascertaining the views of the Home Government, but on the 7th of September 1842 he issued a proclamation announcing that "Her Majesty would regard with the liveliest indignation any attempt upon the part of any of her subjects to molest or injure any of the native tribes, or to take or maintain unlawful possession of any of the lands to those tribes belonging." "By

any such attempt," he added, "the offending parties would forfeit all claim to Her Majesty's protection and regard, and be held by her to have placed themselves in an attitude of resistance to her will and authority." The native tribes upon whose territories the Emigrants were represented as having evinced a disposition to encroach are stated in the proclamation to be the Basuto of Moshesh, the Barolong of Moroko, the Batlapin of Lepui, the halfbreeds of Carolus Baatje, and the Griquas of Barend Barends and Adam Kok.

With the next mail that left for England the Governor made the Secretary of State acquainted with the matter as it had been represented to him, and stated that there were two modes of overcoming the difficulties of the case: one being the extension of protection by means of treaties with the native chiefs and the promise of armed support in giving effect to those treaties, the other the subjection of both the natives and the Emigrants to British law and authority. The last course was rejected by the Home Government, who feared additional responsibility, but the first was approved of.

Attention must now be directed to the Griquas, and the history of that people must be briefly sketched. Shortly after the arrival of agents of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, their attention was drawn towards a petty horde of hunters leading a nomadic life on the great plain south of the Orange River. Many of these people had European blood in their veins, as they were the remote offspring of Colonists and Hottentot women. Their language was the broken Dutch of the Colony, though their habits and dispositions were those of Hottentots. They acknowledged a man named Barend Barends as their chief or captain, though their subjection to his authority was only nominal. The Rev. Messrs. Anderson and Kramer, who were appointed to labour among them, found them living without the slightest attempt to cultivate the ground, and without other clothing than karosses of skin. For nearly four years the missionaries accompanied them in their wanderings, but in 1803 the horde was induced to settle in a well-watered valley, a short distance north of the Orange River. There a mission station was formed, which received

the name of Klaarwater. Messrs. Anderson and Kramer instructed the people in the principles of the Christian religion, and induced a few of them to cultivate the ground and to erect more substantial dwellings than mat huts.¹

The nucleus of a village being thus formed, some of the surrounding savages were drawn towards it. It became also a place of attraction for free blacks and Hottentot refugees from the Colony. Among others a party of mixed breeds moved up from Little Namaqualand under two brothers named Adam and Cornelis Kok. These leaders were the sons of Cornelis Kok, a noted elephant-hunter and a man of good reputation in that part of the Colony. Some years later Cornelis Kok joined his sons in their new home, and brought with him from the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand another band of half-breeds. The clan, if such a word can be used to signify a body of people so loosely bound together, originated with Adam Kok, Cornelis Kok's father. This man was a half-breed, who, a generation earlier, had been permitted by the Cape Government to collect a party of people of his own kind about him, and had been commissioned to maintain order among them.

As the population increased, outstations were formed wherever sufficient water could be found. There was a vast extent of arid country on every side, inhabited only by wandering Bushmen, with a few Koranas along the banks of the rivers and a few Batlapin at watering places in the north.

The settlement was still in its infancy when the Colonial Government looked upon it with a suspicious eye. It was feared that it might become a refuge for runaway slaves and

¹ The reader who desires to be acquainted with all the particulars of the early history of these people can consult the "Transactions of the London Missionary Society;" "Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806," by Henry Lichtenstein (English translation), in 2 quarto volumes, London, 1812; "Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the Request of the London Missionary Society," by the Rev. John Campbell (First Journey), London, 1815; and "Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa," by the Rev. Robert Moffat, London, 1842. With these he can compare the accounts given in "Adamantia, or the Truth about the South African Diamond Fields," by Augustus F. Lindley, London, 1873; and "The Land Question of Griqualand West," by David Arnot and Francis H. S. Orpen, Cape Town, 1875. A short account will be found in "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa," by George Thompson, London, 1827.

criminals, and that a hostile community might grow up there. In 1805 a commission, consisting of the Landdrost of Tulbagh and Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, was sent to inspect and report upon it. The commissioners found six villages already established, with a population numbering in all about a thousand souls. Their report was to the effect that no danger was to be apprehended, and the Government acting upon this opinion permitted matters to take their course.

The community now enjoyed several years of prosperity. The people profited by the labour of the missionaries, and adopted some of the customs of civilised life. They did not acquire habits of industry, as neither precept nor example could rouse them from indolence; but the chase, of which they were excessively fond, was a mine of wealth. They became mighty hunters, and with the ivory, ostrich feathers, and peltries which they procured, they carried on trade with the colonists. They found means to purchase waggons, ammunition, guns, English clothing, coffee, sugar, and many other articles, the value of which they were capable of appreciating. Their flocks and herds increased rapidly, as they obtained from the chase nearly all the animal food they needed.

The missionaries led out water, and irrigated several acres of land which they placed under cultivation. They also planted willows along the watercourse and fruit trees in their garden, and when these grew up, the village of Klaarwater was considered the most attractive in appearance of the London Society's stations in the interior of South Africa, though it was the most remote of them all. In 1811 and 1812 the traveller Burchell visited the country, and resided for some months at Klaarwater. From his account it appears that the people were then in comfortable circumstances and, taking their former habits into consideration, might be regarded as fairly moral.

In 1812 the Rev. John Campbell was sent out by the London Society to make a tour of inspection through South Africa. In 1813 he proceeded into the interior as far as Lithako, passing through Klaarwater both in going and returning. He drew up a constitution and a code of laws for

the settlement, and directed the appointment of numerous officials. The two leading men, Adam Kok and Barend Barends, were to be military commanders with the title of Captain, and were also with the two missionaries to form a Supreme Court of Justice. Mr. Campbell even proposed to have money specially coined by the Society for the State which it had created.

Upon his return to England, he published a volume which gave its readers the impression that he had left a missionary settlement with an organised government at the junction of the Vaal and the Orange. A simple, honest, credulous man, he was himself deceived. Not one of his regulations was ever enforced, nor did his courts ever exist except in his book. It was he that gave the name of Griquas to the people, and of Griquatown to the station at Klaarwater, names which were readily adopted, and which were the only permanent memorials of his visit to the country. He states the inhabitants of the settlement to have been one thousand two hundred and sixty-six Griquas, and one thousand three hundred and forty-one Koranas. There were also a few Bushmen and Batlapin in the country, but no estimate of their number is given.

In 1821 the Colonial authorities appointed a Government Agent to reside with the Griquas. Mr. Melvill, the gentleman selected for the office, on his arrival at Griquatown found that great dissensions existed among the people. The Koks and Barend Barends declined to submit to his control in even the slightest degree, and removed with their adherents to other parts of the country.

Barend Barends went to a place called Daniel's Kuil, where he set up an independent government of his own. From Daniel's Kuil this horde afterwards removed to Boetsap. The subsequent history of Barend Barends' branch of the Griquas to the date of its settlement at Lishuane has been given in preceding chapters.

The adherents of the Koks removed to Campbell, where they settled down under the brothers Adam and Cornelis Kok. There Mr. George Thompson visited them in 1823, of which

visit he has given an account in his "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa."

Those who remained in and about Griquatown at Mr. Melvill's instigation elected a man named Andries Waterboer to be their chief. Waterboer was one of the most promising pupils of the missionaries, and under their guidance and that of Mr. Melvill he established a tolerably efficient government. The defeat on the 26th of June 1823 of the Mantati horde at Lithako brought him to the notice of the Colonial Authorities. The Griquas had been induced by Mr. Melvill and the Rev. Mr. Moffat to go to the assistance of the Batlapin, and through Mr. Melvill's influence Waterboer was appointed Chief Commandant.

The credit of having saved the Colony from invasion was thenceforth given to him by the missionaries, and as his character and abilities were constantly extolled, he was regarded by the Government with great favour. A friendly intercourse by letter was kept up for several years, and at length the chief and his missionary, the Rev. Peter Wright, paid a visit to Cape Town.

There, on the 11th of December 1834, a formal treaty was entered into, in which Waterboer engaged to be the friend and ally of the Colony, to preserve order in his territory, to surrender refugee criminals, to prevent enemies and marauders from passing through his country to the Colony, and generally to aid in recovering stolen property, apprehending banditti, and preserving peace. On the part of the Colonial Government Sir Benjamin D'Urban acknowledged Waterboer's territory to extend along the Orange River from Kheis to Ramah, and undertook to pay the chief a yearly subsidy of £100, to supply him with two hundred muskets and a quantity of ammunition, to pay to the mission £50 a year in aid of a school, and to appoint the Rev. Mr. Wright confidential agent at Griquatown.

It 1824 Adam Kok left Campbell and commenced a wandering life in the country between the Vaal and Modder rivers. The worst characters in his horde left the main body and retired to the Long Mountains, from the fastnesses of which they were in the habit of making raids to distant parts of the

country. Under the name of Bergenaars these bandits acquired the reputation of being the most ruthless ruffians in South Africa. They were at length nearly all exterminated.

In 1823 Landdrost (afterwards Sir Andries) Stockenström and the Rev. Abraham Faure, clergyman of the Dutch Reformed church at Graaff-Reinet, caused a school to be established a couple of hours ride north of the Orange River, at a place which they named Philippolis, in honour of Dr. Philip. They were in hopes of collecting together there a number of Koranas and Bushmen who were wandering about on both sides of the river, but they were disappointed, for these people could not be induced to settle permanently. In 1826 Adam Kok and his clan of the Griquas on the invitation of the head of the London Missionary Society took up their residence in the district between the Riet and Orange rivers, and made Philippolis their head quarters. Cornelis Kok continued to reside at Campbell with several families who acknowledged him as their chief. Many years later, when his brother was dead, Cornelis Kok resigned his chieftainship in favour of his nephew Adam, under whom the whole of this branch of the Griquas became then again united.

When the Griquas settled at Philippolis there were no other people than Bushmen and Koranas within several days' journey, except when a few farmers from the Colony went over the Great River with their herds and remained while the grass was good. Dr. Philip's benevolence towards South African natives was unbounded, and the Bushmen especially occupied a high position in his affections. He held a theory regarding them that they were descendants of Hottentots who had been despoiled of their possessions by rapacious Europeans, and that they were compelled by sheer want to lead the life of robbers. In giving¹ the district of Philippolis

¹ This is his own expression. The Griquas always claimed that their right to the district was derived from him. Here, for instance, is a letter from Adam Kok to Dr. Philip, dated 31st May 1842, and preserved in the Colonial Records: "My wish is that the lands of Philippolis should remain as the possession of the present people and their descendants, who stand in connection with the Institution of Philippolis under the protection of the London Missionary Society. When my father was permitted by you in 1826 to come and reside at Philippolis, the land of Philippolis was

to Adam Kok he stipulated therefore that the Griquas should protect the Bushmen against the Boers.

As well might a hyena be put into a fold to protect the sheep. Bushmen and Hottentots are of one stock just as Englishmen and Italians are, these last being both Aryans, but they are no nearer related to each other than Celts and Teutons. The late Dr. Bleek, the highest authority on the subject, after long and careful research into their languages and myths, established this fact. The records of the first European settlers in South Africa prove the enmity between the Hottentots and Bushmen to have been as deep seated in the middle of the seventeenth century as it has been ever since.¹ Bushmen are found over an extent of country at least five times as great as that occupied by Hottentots. But nothing of this was known to Dr. Philip. He had formed a theory, and he acted upon it. The result was the disappearance of Bushmen from the district of Philippolis. Whether the sickening tales that are found scattered about in South African literature, of the throats of some being cut after they were hunted down by the Griquas, of others being roasted alive, and so forth, are wholly or only partially true, can never be positively known. That the Bushmen were exterminated remains in any case, and the process is of secondary importance.

After a time Adam Kok the elder died. His sons Abraham and Adam the younger then fought over the chieftainship. Adam was the successful combatant, and became the head of the Philippolis Griquas.

The Boers who have been mentioned as occasional residents in the territory around Philippolis were owners of farms in the northern districts of the Colony, who only moved across the Orange in seasons of drought or when the grass was destroyed by locusts. They were less affected than any other class of considered as a Bushman country, and he was merely allowed the use of the land, only for himself and his people, which the Bushmen did not require, on the condition that he and his heirs were to protect the Bushmen against the Boers."

¹ For details see my "Chronicles of Cape Commanders: an Abstract of Original Manuscripts in the Archives of the Cape Colony, dating from 1651 to 1691, compared with Printed Accounts of the Settlement by various visitors during that time." An octavo volume of 428 pages, Cape Town, 1882.

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The Emigrant Farmers and the Griquas. 207

Colonists by the events that led to the great emigration, for they were far away from the Kaffir frontier, they were not slaveholders, and they were ignorant of the statements made concerning them in Europe. Their lives were passed in seclusion from the rest of the world, and the care of their cattle was almost their only occupation. Periodically they attended religious services at the nearest church, from which many of them were hundreds of miles distant, and once a year they presented themselves at the court-house of the civil commissioner in whose district their lands were situated, and paid their taxes. Government was to them only a shadow. There was nothing to make them disloyal, and they had no ideal grievances. For a century their ancestors had been living in exactly the same manner: paying rent for farms within the Colonial border, but moving beyond it at will. Then the Government would annex the ground so occupied, and thus the process of enlarging the settlement was continually going on.

These cattle farmers believed they had a right to graze their stock in the country along the Riet and Modder rivers by virtue of agreements which they had made with certain individuals who claimed to be chiefs of the wandering savages there. To these chiefs they had paid a few cattle as a matter of form, but it is open to question whether that gave them any rights in the country which their beneficial occupation of it would not equally have conferred.

After Adam Kok took possession of the territory, the farmers, on crossing the Great River, found the choicest pasturage in possession of the Griquas, each individual of whom claimed a tract of land of enormous extent. But the presence of these people was regarded at first as advantageous, for in their neighbourhood there were no Bushmen cattle lifters. The Griquas were quite ready to turn their claims to account by selling or leasing the ground at a very low rate and moving to other places themselves, and so all parties were satisfied. After a while, one farmer after another settled permanently in the territory, and from about 1839 onward they formed a tolerably strong community. At this time they had as their

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head a sensible, well-disposed man, named Michael Oberholster.

The increase of population in the northern part of the Cape Colony had in the meantime necessitated the establishment of a new magisterial office, and on the 6th of February 1837 an Ordinance was issued creating the Division of Colesberg. By a proclamation of two days later date its area was defined. It included the whole of the present Divisions of Colesberg, Hanover, and Middelburg and the greater part of Hope Town, Richmond, and Albert. On the 11th of the preceding month, Mr. Fleetwood Rawstone had assumed duty as magistrate and civil commissioner, in anticipation of the Ordinance being issued. The village of Colesberg, previously a church place, was selected as the residence of the magistrate and the seat of his court.

After Natal was taken by the British forces under Colonel Cloete in June 1842, a great number of the Emigrant Farmers recrossed the Drakensberg. Some moved over the Vaal, others joined their friends along the Riet, Modder, and Caledon rivers. In the neighbourhood of Philippolis there were henceforth two strong parties: one under Michael Oberholster well disposed towards the British Government; the other under J. G. Mocke, bitterly opposed to it. On the 3rd of October 1842 Mr. Oberholster wrote to the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg that Mocke's party intended, on the 24th of that month to hold a meeting at Alleman's Drift, the ford of the Orange nearest to Colesberg, to erect a beacon and to proclaim the whole country north of the great river a republic. The Emigrants were in a state of excitement, owing partly to the occurrences in Natal, and partly to the arrest of two of their number, named Hugo and Pretorius, and their committal to prison at Colesberg on a charge of murder.

Some days later Mr. Justice Menzies arrived at Colesberg for the purpose of holding a circuit court. Hugo and Pretorius were brought before him for trial, but the evidence for the prosecution showed their act to have been justifiable homicide, and without hearing the defence the judge directed their discharge. Adam Kok was then at Colesberg. He had gone

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there to complain that the Emigrants were acting independ-
 dently of him in the District of Philippolis, and to ask for
 protection according to the letter of Sir George Napier's pro-
 clamations of the 7th of the preceding month, which had just
 reached him. The evidence given before his court, Adam
 Kok's statement, and the reports which he heard convinced
 the judge that a considerable section of the people was dis-
 posed to submit to Her Majesty's authority, and that it was
 his duty to forestall Mocke.

On the 22nd of October he proceeded from Colesberg to
 Alleman's Drift, crossed the river, and on its northern bank, in
 presence of Mr. Rawstone, Captain Eardley Wilmot, R.A.,
 Advocate Hemming, Mr. Cock, J.P., Commandant Van der
 Walt, Fieldcornets Joubert, Visser, and Duplessis, a number of
 farmers from both sides of the river, Adam Kok, and about
 twenty Griquas, he hoisted the Union Jack and proclaimed
 the whole country from the 22nd degree of longitude eastward
 to the sea, north to the 25th parallel of latitude, British
 territory, excepting only such portions of it as were in pos-
 session of the Portuguese or of native tribes. A willow tree
 was cut down, and to its trunk, which was placed in a cairn
 of stones, was nailed a board with the inscription upon it:
 "Baken van Koningin van England."

On the 24th Mocke with three hundred armed followers
 arrived at Alleman's Drift, and found Judge Menzies with
 about a hundred supporters there. An interview took place,
 at which one Diederikse was the chief speaker on Mocke's
 side. He disputed the legality of the judge's proclamation,
 stated that the Emigrants would not respect it, and claimed
 the whole country north of the Orange and down to the military
 lines around Durban as a Republic. Mocke's adherents did not,
 however, disturb the beacon or the flag as long as the judge was
 there, though it was evident that any interference with their
 movements by the judge's party would have been resisted.

Sir George Napier disapproved of Judge Menzies' proclama-
 tion, on the ground that sovereignty carried with it respon-
 sibility for the maintenance of order, and without more troops
 he had no means either of protecting the well-disposed or of

punishing criminals. He therefore issued a notice repudiating the whole proceeding, but he still claimed the Emigrants as British subjects, so that the question might be kept open until the Imperial Government could come to a decision as to the course to be pursued.

He considered it advisable, however, to make a display of force, and in December of this year two columns of troops under command of the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Hare, marched from the Kaffir frontier to Colesberg. Together they comprised 361 men of the 91st regiment, 198 of the 27th, 262 Cape Mounted Riflemen, 22 of the Royal Artillery with two six-pounders, and 5 staff officers. Upon their arrival the excitement beyond the river was found to have subsided, and after a short stay the main body of the troops returned to the eastern outposts, leaving two companies of infantry under Major Campbell and a company of the Cape Mounted Riflemen under Captain Donovan in camp at Colesberg.

On the 26th of August 1843 Adam Kok signed a letter written by his missionary to the Governor, asking that a treaty of alliance might be entered into between them. To this letter a reply was written on the 6th of October in the following terms: "Prior to the receipt of your memorial I had been in communication with His Honour the Lieutenant Governor and the Rev. Dr. Philip in regard to the present state of the country inhabited by your people, and I am happy to be able to meet your wishes by transmitting for your signature a treaty which appears to me to embrace all the provisions suited to your wants and calculated to ensure the prosperity of your people."

At this time Adam Kok's clan consisted of from fifteen hundred to two thousand souls, all told. The land which he claimed was bounded on the north by the Modder River, on the south by the Orange, on the east by the districts occupied by the people of Moroko and Lepui, and on the west by Waterboer's district from Ramah upwards, that is territory fully eleven or twelve thousand square miles in extent. Within the borders as described by him to the Governor there were at the time more white people than Griquas.

On the 5th of October 1843 two treaties, one with Moshesh, the other with Adam Kok, were signed by Sir George Napier in Cape Town and witnessed by Mr. John Montagu, Secretary to Government, and the Rev. Dr. Philip. They were both drawn up on the model of the one entered into by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Andries Waterboer in 1834, most of the clauses being identical in them all. There were, however, one or two important differences. In Moshesh's treaty the limits on all sides of the country acknowledged to be his were defined, while in Adam Kok's only the southern boundary, from the neighbourhood of Ramah to that of Bethulie, was mentioned. Adam Kok was promised a subsidy of £100 in money per annum, the use of one hundred stand of arms with a reasonable quantity of ammunition, and a grant of £50 a year to the London Society for the maintenance of a school. Moshesh was promised £75 annually, either in money or in arms and ammunition, as he might choose.

Mr. Rawstone, Civil Commissioner of Colesberg, proceeded to Philippolis with one treaty, and his clerk, Mr. James Walker, was sent to Thaba Bosigo with the other. Adam Kok signed his on the 29th of November, with his secretary and his missionary as witnesses, and Moshesh affixed his mark to his on the 13th of December, in presence of his brother Moperi, his chief warrior, Makoniane, and the Rev. Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset, and Dyke.

In the treaty with Moshesh the territory acknowledged to be his was bounded by the Orange River from its source to its junction with the Caledon and by a line about twenty-five to thirty miles north-west of the Caledon from the district of Bethulie to the country occupied by Sikonyela's Batlokua.

A glance at a map of South Africa will show how completely the Colony was enclosed by the Native States thus created on paper and the one similarly created by the treaty with Faku in the following year. If they could have been maintained, the white man and the civilisation which he carries with him would have been effectually excluded from the regions beyond the Orange. But they satisfied no one

except Adam Kok and his Griquas, and they were respected by no one, least of all by the Emigrant Farmers.

Moshesh through his missionaries complained that the whole of the territory occupied by the clans of Moroko and Gert Taaibosch was not included in his dominions, and he wanted the treaty amended so that his boundaries should embrace their entire districts. He said not one word about the land between the Lower Caledon and the Orange which was given to him, though he had no more right to it than to the Isle of Man.¹

Moroko, Peter Davids, Carolus Baatje, and Gert Taaibosch, on the other hand, complained that the treaty gave either the whole or portions of their districts to Moshesh, and "inflicted a far more ruinous stroke of injustice upon them than any they were ever likely to suffer from the Emigrant Farmers." Through the Rev. Mr. Shaw, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in South Eastern Africa, they asked that it should be rectified by excluding their ground from it, and that a similar arrangement should be entered into with them.

The treaties exasperated the Emigrant Farmers more than anything which had occurred since they left the Colony. Adam Kok's Griquas were as much British subjects, they said, as themselves, most of them having been born under the British flag; yet the independence of these semi-savages was acknowledged, and they were admitted to the position of allies and furnished with arms, while white men with exactly the same claims to freedom were told that go where they would they could not throw off their allegiance, except that while living in the territories of native chiefs they were under the jurisdiction of such chiefs. One and all they refused to subject themselves to the puppet sovereigns set up by the treaties.

¹ Moshesh's early ideas of government were tribal more than territorial, and he had only of recent years come to comprehend our system. In an interview with Major Warden at Bloemfontein on the 30th of April 1847, he claimed all the land up to the junction of Kaal Spruit with the Modder River, on account of some Basuto having once resided there. On another occasion when asked to define his territory, he replied that it was wherever his foot had pressed the ground or one of his people had ever lived. His son Letsie still held the old views. Several years later he described the Bushmen in the Lesuto as being Moshesh's subjects in the same way that the jackals were, that is, they lived in the country but were not under its laws.

There were at the time more than a thousand Emigrants along the Riet River, in the very heart of the territory claimed by Adam Kok, who would gladly have seen a Government established there under the British flag, if they could be allowed equal rights with the blacks. Two hundred and fifty-eight heads of families among them signed a document in duplicate, and deputed two of their number, William Johannes Oberholster and Lukas van den Heever, to convey it to Maritzburg and deliver it to Advocate Cloete, then Commissioner in Natal. In this memorial they stated their willingness to submit to Her Majesty's authority on the same terms as those offered to the Emigrants there. After recounting the history of their settlement north of the Orange, the memorialists said: "We would remind you that it is not our intention to drive the coloured people, either Griquas or Bastards, from their possessions or dwellings; but it is our wish that measures should be adopted to give us also rights." In passing through Winburg the deputation was stopped by some of Mocke's party, and one copy of the memorial was seized, but as it was not suspected that it was in duplicate, Messrs. Oberholster and Van den Heever were able to carry out their mission. No action, however, was taken by the British authorities upon it.

With everything in turmoil beyond the Orange, with passion running higher there than ever it had run before, with the French and Wesleyan missionaries contending on opposite sides, with jealousies raised among the chiefs and an opportunity given to Moshesh to increase his power—the immediate effects of treaties which Englishmen at home, so sadly misinformed, were led to believe had been entered into to prevent the aborigines from being despoiled of their possessions by slave-hunting colonists, Sir George Napier left South Africa and Sir Peregrine Maitland became Governor of the Cape Colony.

The new Governor found awaiting his consideration a letter from Adam Kok soliciting military aid. His first act of interference with the Emigrants had got him into trouble, and he believed they were about to attack him. In January 1844 there was a quarrel between two white men, named George Mills and Hermanus van Staden, not far from Philippolis, and

shortly afterwards Mills died, as was reported from injuries received from Van Staden. Thereupon Adam Kok caused Van Staden to be arrested and sent to Colesberg for trial, and he took possession of the property of Mills, ostensibly to secure it for the heirs. As soon as Van Staden's arrest became known, Diederikse, who was Mocke's secretary, wrote from Modder River to Adam Kok, demanding that he should be given up to the Emigrant Farmers to be tried by their courts. Kok's reply was a stinging taunt. He wrote to Diederikse that "his request had been complied with in one sense, for as all Emigrants from the Colony were looked upon as British subjects, they were amenable to the laws administered in the Colony." Mocke's party then threatened war, upon which Kok sent to Colesberg and obtained from the Government store two hundred pounds of powder and four hundred pounds of lead. For a week or two there was considerable excitement on both sides, but at length, on Van Staden's release, the affair was allowed to sink into oblivion, with a warning, however, to Adam Kok not to repeat the provocation.

In the first week of June there was a large meeting of Farmers and Griquas at Philippolis, convened by Michael Oberholster with the object of discussing matters affecting them all and trying to come to a common understanding. Mr Gideon Joubert, who was present during the discussions, reported to the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg that the dissensions among the Emigrants prevented anything like common action. Oberholster's party repudiated their subjection to Adam Kok by the treaty, but they and the Griquas resolved that no one who disavowed allegiance to the British Government should be permitted to reside in the territory. Upon this a Commandant named Jan Kock declared that he would resist any such resolution being put in force, and he had a strong body of adherents. The meeting was therefore dissolved.

Commandant Jan Kock, here mentioned, had shortly before this moved from the present Colonial Division of Hanover to the bank of the Modder River. He had received rather more education from books than the generality of the Emigrants

and was as genial and hospitable a man as could be found anywhere in South Africa. His chief failing was, perhaps, too much confidence in his own ability to do anything and everything. A great many of the Emigrants, however, thought as much of him as he thought of himself, and so he soon became a leader among them. His aim at this time was to bring all the Europeans north of the Orange under the Government established at Potchefstroom, of which Mr. Hendrik Potgieter was Chief Commandant. The position taken up by the party of which he was a leading member is seen in the following document:

Potchefstroom, 10th April, 1844.

Gentlemen—We, the undersigned, representatives of the Burgher Council at Potchefstroom, hereby declare that we do not consider ourselves under a certain treaty concluded with Colonel Cloete, by reason of its having been made without our knowledge. Neither are we willing to enter into any negotiations whatever with Her Majesty. We consider ourselves free and independent, and will proceed with our own Government, trusting that no one will interfere with us. And our burgher Society (Maatschappij) extends to the fall of the Great River.

By order of the Honourable the Council of Potchefstroom and Winburg.

J. D. VAN COLLER, President.

A. H. POTGIETER.

And twenty-two others.

To the Volksraad of Natal.

During the year 1844 great efforts were made by this party to compel those who disagreed with them either to return to the Colony or to fall in with their views. Oberholster's adherents in particular complained that they were subject to incessant persecution. Sir Peregrine Maitland was wearied with communications, all of the same nature, showing that without a strong force north of the Orange the treaties could not be maintained. Adam Kok wrote asking for troops to expel the Emigrants from his territory. Lukas van den Heever wrote (24th October) on behalf of the parties under himself, Michael Oberholster, and Jacobus Snyman (the last named being head of a body of farmers in the valley of the Lower Caledon), ask-

ing whether they could rely on obtaining protection. He added "if the Government did not assist them they would in the end be obliged against their will to submit to the Maatschappij."

On the 13th of December of this year, Commandant Jan Kock, in the name of Chief Commandant Potgieter, wrote to Adam Kok inviting him to a conference with a view to establishing peace and friendship between them. The Griqua captain replied through his missionary, the Rev. W. Y. Thompson, "that he did not feel himself at liberty to meet officially or to make a treaty with any one who assumed to himself a supremacy over Her Majesty's subjects." A few days later Mr. Potgieter arrived at Philippolis and met Adam Kok. He proposed that as the farmers and the Griquas were alike emigrants from the Colony, they should not interfere with each other in any way, but should live in peace, each party under its own government. Adam Kok answered that he would abide by the terms of his treaty with the British Government, and could only consider the white Emigrants British subjects. They came therefore to no terms.

It was almost impossible under the circumstances that they should long continue at peace. The Civil Commissioner of Colesberg reported that Jan Kock's adherents constantly went about armed. On the 13th of January, 1845, Adam Kok wrote asking that a military post might be established in his country. The Secretary to Government replied on the 19th of February that "if any general movement of the Emigrants should take place for the purpose of attacking him, there would be marched from the Colony with all possible despatch such a force as should seem calculated to ensure his protection against an unprovoked aggression." After a promise like this it might be certain that the Griqua captain would abate none of his pretensions, and that in the state of irritation in which both parties were, a pretext for a quarrel would not long be wanting.

The following event brought matters to a climax :

Two blacks from beyond the Vaal, who were in the service of an Emigrant named Jan Krynauw, quarrelled with a European residing on the same farm, and menaced him with their assagais, but did not go so far as to wound him. Krynauw

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secured the offenders and took them to Commandant Jan Kock, who sentenced them to a sound flogging. Adam Kok thereupon inquired of Mr. Rawstorne whether he would receive Krynauw if delivered at Colesberg for trial. Mr. Rawstorne advised him to be cautious, but neglecting counsel that did not coincide with his own views, the Griqua captain sent a band of a hundred armed men to arrest Krynauw. When the Griquas reached the farm, Krynauw was not at home, so they poured a storm of abuse upon his wife, broke into his house, and carried away with them three guns and a quantity of ammunition.

Thereupon the burghers, fearing a general attack, assembled under arms, and the Griquas did the same. A party of farmers from the district between the Orange and the Lower Caledon, under Commandant Jacobus Duplooy, came to the aid of their countrymen. The burghers then formed a lager or camp at Touwfontein, a farm occupied by one Adrian van Wyk, about thirty miles from Philippolis. There they left their families, under protection of a guard, and the two parties then commenced seizing each other's cattle. Whenever they met shots were exchanged, each invariably accusing the other of being the first to fire. Mr. Rawstorne, as a Special Magistrate under the Act 6 and 7 of William IV., Cap. 57, issued a circular calling upon the farmers to keep the peace; but it had no effect. He then supplied Adam Kok with a hundred muskets and a quantity of ammunition, and desired Major Campbell to move the military force under his command from Colesberg to Alleman's Drift to protect fugitives and prevent anyone from crossing the river to the assistance of the farmers.

As the seizure of cattle and skirmishing on both sides continued, on the 22nd of April (1845) Major Campbell with his brigade of two hundred men crossed the Orange, and, marching at night, reached Philippolis next morning without molestation. Mr. Rawstorne accompanied the troops. A conference with the Emigrant leaders was then arranged, which took place at Alwyn's Kop on the 25th of April. Among the deputies from the Emigrant camp were J. G. Mocke, Jan Kock, Hermanus Steyn, and Michael Oberholster.

Mr Rawstorne informed them that as British subjects they

could not be permitted to make war on Adam Kok, who was an ally of Government. Messrs. Mocke and Kock replied that they were independent of the British Government, and subject only to the Raad of Potchefstroom and Winburg. They affirmed that the Griquas began the war, but they stated their willingness to restore the cattle they had captured if the Griquas would do the same. They were also willing to engage not to renew hostilities, if the Griques would refrain from doing so. They desired, however, as indispensable to any agreement, that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the Griquas and themselves, and that they should be placed upon an equality with the Griquas, that is, that they should be recognised as a free people. Mr. Rawstorne could not concede this, so the meeting was unsuccessful in bringing about peace. To this date four or five farmers had been wounded, but they had killed one Griqua, made six prisoners, and captured two hundred and eighty horses and three thousand six hundred head of horned cattle.

The 7th Dragoon Guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, with some Artillery under Captain Shepherd, and a troop of Cape Mounted Riflemen under Captain H. D. Warden, had meantime been ordered to proceed as rapidly as possible from the eastern frontier to the assistance of the Griquas. On the morning of the 26th of April this force crossed the Orange and on the same day reached Philippolis. There Colonel Richardson issued a proclamation calling upon the "Emigrant British subjects unlawfully assembled in arms to surrender themselves unconditionally to Her Majesty's troops." The proclamation had no effect.

On the night of the 1st of May Colonel Richardson left Philippolis with one hundred and eighteen cavalry, one hundred and sixty infantry, and the bulk of Adam Kok's Griquas, and made a forced march towards Touwfontein with a view of surprising the Emigrant camp. A body of Griquas was sent in advance to draw out the farmers. They succeeded in doing this, and then pretended to run away. Some two hundred and fifty farmers under Commandants J. G. Mocke, Jan Kock, Hermanus Steyn, and J. Duplooy, pursued them to a patch of

broken ground called the Zwart Kopjes, about five miles from Touwfontein. The cavalry then under cover of some hills got unobserved in the rear of the farmers, who suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves in front of British troops. The action that followed is not deserving of the name of a battle, for the farmers did not even attempt to make a stand. On the English side only one Griqua was killed. On the side of the Emigrants one farmer and a French adventurer were killed, and another farmer was mortally wounded. Fifteen prisoners were taken, among whom were two deserters from the British army. These men were subsequently brought to trial before a court martial, when one was sentenced to death and the other to fourteen years' imprisonment with hard labour.

After the skirmish at Zwart Kopjes, Colonel Richardson sent out the infantry to Touwfontein to take possession of the Emigrant camp. The great majority of the occupants of the lager were women and children. Only about one hundred men were there, who surrendered without any resistance whatever. All the arms and ammunition were seized, but other property was left undisturbed.

Commandants Mocke, Kock, and Duplooy, with their adherents, now retired to Winburg. Oberholster's party had tried from the first to keep as much as possible out of the strife, and they now came in to Colonel Richardson's camp at Zwart Kopjes and took the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty. Hermanus Steyn's adherents did the same. By the 17th of May, three hundred and sixteen Emigrants had subscribed to the oath. About two thousand of the cattle taken from the Griquas were restored through the exertions of Hermanus Steyn.

There was another large party of farmers at no great distance, who acknowledged as their head Mr. Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, but they took no part in these disturbances. They were mostly living along the Lower Caledon, and professed to hold their lands from Moshesh. The great chief therefore favoured them greatly, and was always pleased to allot a farm to any of their friends, as by so doing he established his title to the district in which they were living. He appointed agents to give out land in his name, and in after years constantly

brought this forward as an admission by the Emigrants of his right to that part of the country. The adherents of Snyman were for this reason regarded with little affection by the remainder of their countrymen.

On the 22nd of May Colonel Richardson broke up his camp at Zwart Kopjes, and moved on to Touwfontein, where Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland had convened a meeting of all the chiefs between the Orange and the Vaal. His Excellency was trying to devise a plan by which matters could be settled and the future peace of the country be assured, and he was on his way to Touwfontein to introduce a new order of affairs.

Before Sir Peregrine Maitland's arrival, Commandants Mocke, Kock, and Duplooy sent a letter to Mr. Rawstorne, offering to restore everything they had taken from the Griquas on condition that everything taken from them by the Griquas and British troops should likewise be returned. In reply, Mr. Rawstorne was directed to write that "His Excellency could not entertain any proposals or terms whatever on the part of Her Majesty's Emigrant subjects who had been in arms against the Government, and could accept only of an unconditional restoration of the cattle in question."

Towards the close of June, His Excellency, attended by Mr. Porter, Attorney-General of the Cape Colony, and several other gentlemen, arrived at Touwfontein. The chiefs Moshesh, Moroko, Molitsane, Lepui, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, Peter Davids, Adam Kok, and Andries Waterboer, with a large number of missionaries, were there to meet him. Sikonyela, the head of the Botlokua, was the only chief of any note in the country between the Vaal and the Orange who was absent. With Waterboer there was nothing to settle, for the district that was his under the treaty of 1834 was beyond the disturbed area. Lepui, Carolus Baatje, and Peter Davids had no quarrels on hand and asked for nothing, so there was no need of any special negotiations with them. Molitsane desired that he might be considered a dependent of Moshesh, and therefore included in any arrangement made with his superior. Moroko and Gert Taaibosch would not admit that they were vassals of Moshesh, and Moshesh would not renounce his claim to sover-

eignty over them, so that only a provisional arrangement could be made with these chiefs.

Adam Kok remained. In the first conference with the Governor this petty captain of a rabble horde put forth pretensions which would have been extravagant if made by Peter the Great of Russia. He claimed that every one within his territory who did not implicitly obey his orders was a rebel, and forfeited thereby all his property. He affirmed that all leases of land within his territory which had been granted by any person whatever without his approval were invalid. And he requested that all who had been in arms against him should be driven out by Her Majesty's troops. Subsequently, however, he moderated his tone.

The Governor proposed that the territory which Adam Kok claimed should be divided into two districts. In one of these districts no white men except missionaries and traders—and these only with the consent of the Colonial Government—should thereafter be permitted to purchase or lease ground, and those who were then resident within it should be compelled to leave upon the expiration of their leases. In the other district land could be freely leased to white men either by the Griqua Government or individual Griqua claimants. The absolute dominion of the Griqua Government over the whole was to be maintained, but practically the administration of the European district was to be entrusted to a European officer with the title of British Resident. This officer was to hold a commission under the Imperial Act 5 and 6 of William IV., cap. 57, and Kok was to confer upon him the same power as exercised by magistrates in the Cape Colony. He was to have jurisdiction over all Europeans in any part of the Griqua territory. He was to collect the rents and other revenues, and to pay over half to the Griqua Government, the remaining half being retained to defray the cost of administration. All persons of European birth or descent in the Griqua territory were to be considered British subjects. Adam Kok was to place a force of three hundred men at the control of the British Resident to maintain order, whenever called upon by that officer to do so.

The Griqua captain at once fell in with these proposals, for they gave him the advantage of a revenue, preserved his territorial claims intact, and relieved him of anxiety with regard to European settlers.

It was agreed that the inalienable district, or Griqua Reserve, as it may be termed, should comprise all the land between the Riet and Orange rivers, from a straight line drawn between Ramah on the Orange and David's Graf at the confluence of the Riet and Modder rivers eastward to Kromme Elleboog Spruit, Van Zyl's Spruit, and Lepui's district of Bethulie. At the time this arrangement was made there were upwards of eighty farms held by Europeans in this Reserve. Some of these had been purchased from individual Grikwas, but it was arranged that as such purchases had not received the sanction of the Griqua Government they should be regarded only as leases for forty years.

An agreement embracing these provisions was made between Sir Peregrine Maitland and Adam Kok at Touwfontein in June 1845, and was immediately acted upon, though it was not until February of the following year that a formal treaty to that effect was signed. On the 1st of July the Governor left to return to the Colony. Before quitting Touwfontein he issued instructions to Mr. Rawstorne to take up his residence at Philippolis and act there as Special Magistrate. He was to visit Colesberg once a fortnight to hold a court. All the troops were ordered back to the eastern colonial frontier, except the company of Cape Mounted Riflemen under Captain Warden, who were to proceed to Philippolis and remain there to support the Special Magistrate.

The situation of British Resident was offered by Sir Peregrine Maitland to Major Smith, who had recently been relieved of the command of the troops in Natal, but that officer declined it. It was then offered to Captain Sutton, of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, who accepted it provisionally, and took over the duties on the 8th of December. Finding, however, that its retention would prevent his promotion in the army, Captain Sutton resigned in January 1846, and was succeeded by Captain Henry Douglas Warden, who has been already mentioned on several occasions.

At Touwfontein the disputes between the chiefs and the conflicting views of the French and Wesleyan missionaries prevented an arrangement being concluded with Moshesh similar to that with Adam Kok. When spoken to on the subject, the Basuto chief professed to be very willing to fall in with the Governor's views. A minute of the conditions proposed by Sir Peregrine Maitland was drawn up, to which Moshesh, through his missionaries, replied in writing that he was ready to accept a treaty framed according to its principles and provisions. He then proposed to give up for the use of Europeans a small triangular piece of ground between the Caledon and the Orange, stretching upwards from the junction of those rivers to a line drawn from Commissie Drift to Buffels Vlei. From the remainder of the territory acknowledged to be his by the Napier treaty, he desired that His Excellency should enforce the removal of the Europeans, who numbered then four hundred and forty-seven families.

The pretensions of Moshesh were surely hardly less extravagant than those of Adam Kok. There never had been any Basuto residents in or near the little plot of ground which he expressed himself willing to give up for the use of Europeans, and he wanted a Reserve capable of accommodating a tribe six or eight times as great as the one which he was then at the head of. According to a return drawn up by his missionaries and forwarded to the Governor in his name, his people numbered then between forty and fifty thousand souls.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, though expressing himself "gratified by the readiness with which the chief acceded to the proposals made," deferred proceeding any further with the negotiations until he could obtain a report upon the condition of affairs throughout the country from some able and impartial person. For this purpose he selected Commandant Gideon Joubert, a loyal, intelligent, and trustworthy man, who had previously been employed on several occasions as a Special Commissioner, and had always performed the duties entrusted to him in a satisfactory manner.

In July and August 1845 Mr. Joubert made a tour of inspection through the country. His first interview of any im-

portance was with a farmer named David Stephanus Fourie, who informed him that in the year 1839 he had purchased a large tract of land from a Korana captain named David Danser. The land is described in his report as extending "from the Vaal River at the Platberg, above the Hart River which runs in on the north side, in a right line south to the Modder River, along the Modder River upwards to Doorn Spruit, along Doorn Spruit up due north to the Vet River, and thence to where the Vet River runs into the Vaal." The price paid was three hundred sheep and a waggon.¹ Fourie's statement was afterwards confirmed by several farmers whom Mr. Joubert met, and also by the Bataung chief Tulu, son and successor of Makwana. This purchase of Fourie's was then occupied by twelve Emigrant families.

In a tract of reserved land at the head of Coal Spruit, Mr. Joubert found Tulu, or Tholo as he calls him in his report, the highest chief in rank of the Bataung tribe. Tulu informed him that his father, Makwana, was dead, and that he was then the principal chief. He stated that his father had sold the country, except the reserve in which he lived, to the farmers, and he gave a correct account of the destruction of his tribe by the Zulu invasions. Besides the few people with him he said that there was another remnant of the Bataung in existence, namely the clan under Molitsane, then living under Moshesh's paramount chieftainship. Molitsane, he stated, was a son of Maputu, who was a brother of Makwana's father. Tulu had no complaints to make.

Along the route Mr. Joubert ascertained that the farmers were greatly divided in opinion. A few were desirous of remaining under the English Government, but most of them were opposed to it. On his arrival at Winburg, he found himself in a Republican centre. Commandant Jan Kock was

¹ It would be curious to compare the present value of that tract of land with the price given for it to its native claimant by Fourie. The waggon is stated by Mr. Joubert to have been valued at £37 10s. Supposing the sheep to have been worth £75, the whole purchase amount of the South African diamond fields and an immense area to the eastward was £142 10s. Mr. Joubert describes the district as badly supplied with water, and says Fourie estimated that it would suffice for fifty farms, most of which would be on branches of rivers, but without springs.

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there. Immediately after the skirmish at Zwart Kopjes, Commandant Mocke had moved over the Vaal, and Commandant Kock's party followed as far as Winburg. Where they were nothing but denunciation of the British Government was heard. At Winburg Mr. Joubert found a court of landdrost and heemraden. The landdrost, Mr. J. Meyer, was a feeble and timid old man, who was afraid to be seen conversing with a Commissioner of the British Government, and therefore visited him at dead of night.

From Winburg Mr. Joubert proceeded to visit the chiefs along the Caledon. He found the missionaries of the French and the Wesleyan Societies holding opposite opinions as to the right of Moshesh to the sovereignty of the country occupied by Moroko, Gert Taaibosch, Peter Davids, and Carolus Baatje. The Commissioner heard the statements of both parties. Though he was indignant at some of the preposterous claims advanced on behalf of Taaibosch, he was inclined on the whole to favour the view of the Wesleyan missionaries because it was better supported by evidence. He thought it advisable to prevent Moshesh from becoming too powerful, and he correctly forecasted what the result must be if the Basuto tribe should be permitted to absorb its neighbours.

Moroko and Taaibosch offered large tracts of unoccupied ground for the use of Europeans, but Moshesh declined to relinquish more than the little slip which he proposed at Touwfontein, namely from the junction of the Caledon and Orange up between these rivers to a line from Commissie Drift to Buffels Vlei (now Aliwal North). Mr. Joubert reported that he found no Basuto south of the Koestberg, but between that mountain and the line proposed by Moshesh there were seventy-two farms occupied by two hundred and eighty-nine Emigrant families.

Mr. Joubert estimated Moshesh's people at fifty or sixty thousand, Moroko's at ten thousand, Molitsane's at one thousand, Gert Taaibosch's at three hundred, Carolus Baatje's at two hundred, and Peter David's at two hundred, of all ages.

The Commissioner's report showed such difficulties in the

way of making any arrangement with Moshesh, without violating the Napier treaty, that no immediate action was taken.

During the summer of 1845-6 a great expansion of the Basuto tribe took place. Moshesh pushed his outposts far forward, on the one side towards the Batlokua border, and on the other, deep into the district occupied by the farmers. His brother Poshuli, who had up to this time lived at Thaba Tsheu, was sent some thirty-five or forty miles further south-west to take up his residence on Vechtkop,¹ a mountain of great natural strength as a fortress. This Poshuli, though Moshesh's full brother, had none of the abilities of the great chief. He was a barbarian pure and simple, with no ambition to be anything higher than the head of a robber band, and no qualifications for anything else. He was already notorious as an expert cattle lifter, and in that capacity he soon attracted a large following. Robbers from the Colony and from Kaffirland, among whom were many Tembus and Fingos, found at Vechtkop a secure retreat for themselves and their booty. The object of sending Poshuli among the Europeans can only have been to compel them to abandon their farms. It is noteworthy that an experiment like this was never made by Moshesh until he was convinced that such a proceeding towards one body of white men would be viewed with complacency by other white men in South Africa.

His advance in the other direction may have been a feint to divert attention, or it may have been a true forward movement. For several years there had been no serious fighting between the Batlokua of Sikonyela and the Basuto of Moshesh, though the feud between them was as strong as ever. The Batlokua occupied the country on both sides of the Caledon down to the confluence of the Putiatsana. Between them and Moshesh's people there was no defined boundary, and the border land was thinly inhabited. A body of fresh immigrants was placed under one of Moshesh's sons, who was directed to occupy

¹ Not to be confounded with the Vechtkop where Potgieter's party repelled the Matabele, from which it is distant some two hundred miles as the crow flies. It is unfortunate that the Emigrants were in the habit of giving the same name to various places.

it, and when Sikonyela threatened an attack, a strong Basuto army was sent to the front.

At this stage Moshesh reported the matter to the Colonial Government. Professing to stand in awe of the Great Power of which he had heard so much, and to believe in its friendly disposition towards him and his people, he announced that he would not enter upon a war without its sanction, unless compelled to do so in self-defence. The British Resident considered it his duty to endeavour to prevent hostilities, and Sir Peregrine Maitland approved of his offering to mediate between the chiefs in the capacity of an arbiter selected by themselves to preserve the peace of the country.

With the object of trying to settle this matter and the complicated land questions previously referred to, the British Resident invited all the disputants to a conference, which took place at Platberg in March 1846. There were present Captain Warden and his clerk, two French missionaries, a Wesleyan missionary, the chief Moshesh with his sons Letsie and Molapo, the chief Sikonyela with his brother Mota, the chief Molitsane with his sons Moiketsi and Mokhele, the chief Moroko, the captains Adam Kok, Peter Davids, and Carolus Baatje, a representative of Gert Taaibosch, and a number of Councillors and leading men of all parties.

The conference lasted nearly two days, at the end of which the British Resident, finding it impossible to bring the various chiefs to consent to any arrangement, proposed that they should submit their respective claims to a Commission to be appointed by the Governor, and engage to keep peace with each other until His Excellency's pleasure should be known. The chiefs agreed to the proposal, and a document to this effect was drawn up and received the marks of them all.

A Commission, however, was not then appointed. The Governor favoured the proposal, but while the preliminary arrangements were in progress the Kaffir war of 1846-7 broke out on the eastern colonial frontier, and occupied the attention of Sir Peregrine Maitland and of his successor Sir Henry Pottinger, to the exclusion of less pressing matters.

The British Resident, whose title of Captain was about this

time changed into that of Major, selected as the seat of his court and the station of the troops under his command a place between Kaal Spruit and Modder River, and obtained its cession from Adam Kok. The place so selected was Bloemfontein, the present capital of the Orange Free State, which thus dates its origin in 1846.

In June of this year some farmers who had been expelled from ground claimed by Griquas placed themselves under the leadership of Commandant Jan Kock at Winburg, and sent messages to Adam Kok threatening to attack him. Thereupon Major Warden called upon Moroko, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, and Peter Davids for assistance, and with his troops and a few men furnished by these chiefs he marched to Winburg and dispersed Commandant Kock's followers. On this occasion the Major disarmed all the farmers he could get hold of. It was afterwards made a subject of complaint that among those so disarmed were several who had never taken part in any disturbances and who were so poor as to depend principally upon game for subsistence.

Towards the close of 1846 Sir Peregrine Maitland endeavoured to eliminate one element of discord from the question of territorial ownership, by offering to Carolus Baatje and Peter Davids, the two captains of the mixed breeds, tracts of land in the valley of the Buffalo River, in the present Division of King William's Town, if they would remove from Platberg and Lishuane; but the negotiations fell through. Not long after this, some of Peter David's people moved away beyond the Lower Vaal, others dispersed in different directions, and the little clan was broken up, and dropped entirely out of sight.

During the progress of the war with the Xosas and Tembus, Moshesh expressed the most friendly feelings towards the British Government. He offered his assistance against the enemy, but the Colonial authorities considered it advisable not to encourage his active co-operation. Some strangers, at first believed to be fugitive Kaffirs, having crossed his boundaries, he placed a strong armed party on the frontier professedly to prevent any enemies of the Colony from entering his country. It was subsequently ascertained that the strangers who had

caused the alarm had not been implicated in the war. The Baphuti of Morosi were robbed of a few hundred head of cattle by a petty Xosa chief, who took advantage of a time of disturbance to fall upon this clan, between whom and himself there was an ancient feud. This circumstance, however, can hardly be connected with the Kaffir war, though Moshesh wished it to be regarded as a loss sustained by his people in consequence of his alliance with the Colony. A few months later both Moshesh and Morosi gave assistance to the British Resident in an attack upon some Tembus in the Wittebergen District south of the Orange River. These people were known to be secreting great herds of cattle swept off from the Colony by the Amaxosa. This movement of Major Warden was severely censured by Sir Henry Pottinger, who was endeavouring to patch up a peace, and who was anxious not to disturb the Tembus.

Now and again the feud between the Batlokua and the Basuto showed itself. Sikonyela adhered but a very short time to the agreement to keep the peace made at Platberg, and with hardly any pretence attacked a petty Basuto chief named Letsela, killed several of his people, and carried off some herds of his cattle. The affair was investigated by the British Resident, whose decision was that the Batlokua chief should restore the booty, but though he promised to do so, he failed to keep his word.

Fourteen years had now elapsed since the arrival of the pioneer French missionaries in the Lesuto, during which time the Society had scattered its agents over a large extent of country. In 1837 a station at Thaba Bosigo was founded by M. Gosselin, and in the following year Mr. Casalis took up his residence there, leaving Mr. Arbousset at Morija. In 1843 a station at Berea was founded by Mr. Maitin. A station was in the same year formed by Mr. Schrupf at the principal village of the Baphuti chief Morosi on the north bank of the Orange, and was named Bethesda. Three years later Morosi abandoned that side of the Orange, and occupied the district on the southern bank now called Quthing, but the country around the station was taken possession of by other

individuals of the tribe. In 1846 Mr. Keck commenced a mission at Cana among the people along the Putiatsana, who had only recently been cannibals. Molapo and his followers now removed from Morija, and took up their residence near Mr. Keck. In 1847 a station was formed at the Koesberg by Mr. Cochet, and was named by him Hebron. The country all about was occupied by Europeans, but the chief Lebenya with a few followers lived on the mountain. One of the avowed objects of Mr. Cochet in founding this station was to attract a Basuto community to it, and thus extend the tribe in that direction. In 1847 also the station of Hermon was founded by Mr. Dyke. A little later the station of Carmel, which, however, had but a brief existence, was established by Mr. Lemue, who removed from Motito.¹

Moshesh, without embracing Christianity himself, was a firm friend of the missionaries, giving them ample protection, making the necessary grants of land whenever and wherever they desired, and requiring his subjects to reside in the neighbourhood of the churches and schools. He even took part in public services, and frequently acted as an exhorter. On all important occasions he sought counsel from the Christian teachers, and seldom neglected to do as they advised.

But if the missionaries owed much to Moshesh, he certainly owed more to them. The English Government contributed to make Moshesh great by its countenance and its protection. The Emigrant Farmers, by acting as a wall of defence against external enemies, preserved the people from extermination. But to the French missionaries must be attributed, more than to all other foreign agencies combined, the existence of the Basuto as a powerful tribe. Disintegration would have followed the return of prosperity, the various elements which had not yet had time to blend must have fallen asunder, but for them. They saw the danger of anarchy, and directed every effort to support the influence and power of the great chief, who was not only the friend of missions, but the sole individual capable of preserving order in the land.

¹ Motito was retained by the French missionaries until 1867, when it was transferred to the London Society and became an outstation of Kuruman.

Movements of the Emigrants north of the Vaal. 231

His communications with the Colonial Government were now conducted in the manner of a civilized power, letters being written to his dictation by one or other of the missionaries residing with him, and read by his sons who had been educated in Cape Town. His people had advanced greatly in knowledge under the teaching of the French clergymen. Hundreds of his subjects went every year to take service with farmers in the Colony, and other hundreds returned, bringing with them the heifers or the guns which they had earned. Large quantities of millet, maize, and even wheat, were exchanged after every harvest for articles of English manufacture.

After the skirmish at Zwart Kopjes most of those farmers who were opposed to the British Government moved from the Riet, Modder, and Lower Caledon, either to Winburg or over the Vaal. To this time the districts of Potchefstroom and Winburg had been united under one Council and one Chief Commandant, Hendrik Potgieter. Mr. Potgieter resided at Magalisberg, but occasionally he visited the southern portion of the Republic. In January 1843 he convened a meeting at Thaba Ntshu of the chiefs along the Caledon, and renewed with them the old agreements of peace and friendship. From the first appearance of the English troops in Natal, however, his attention was directed to the far North, where alone he believed the Emigrants would be left to themselves. With the country in that direction as far as the Limpopo he was already well acquainted. Besides the journeys which have been mentioned, in May 1843 he had conducted another unsuccessful expedition against Moselekatse, for the purpose, as he wrote to Commandant Mocke, "of endeavouring to recover the three captive Christian children whose relatives would not be comforted, but insisted upon an effort being made for their release."

When Natal was lost to the Emigrants, Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham found means to communicate with Commandant Potgieter from Delagoa Bay. In December 1843 a party of fifty farmers left Winburg with sixteen waggons to convey these gentlemen inland, but their cattle were destroyed by the tsetse, and they were obliged to turn back before reaching their destination. In June of the following year, Commandant

Mocke with eighty farmers made another attempt to reach Delagoa Bay, but again met with failure.

Mr. Smellekamp then advised the Emigrants to make a general move to the north-east, and this fell in with Commandant Potgieter's own views. Towards the close of 1844 a few families were on the march, and in 1845 there was a large migration from Potchefstroom and Winburg. The object was to get within easy reach of Delagoa Bay and to be beyond fear of collision with the British Government. A little north of the 25th parallel of latitude and near the 31st degree of longitude this party of Emigrants founded a village which they named Andries-Ohrigstad, after the first given name of the Commandant and the surname of Mr. G. G. Ohrig of Amsterdam. There they were smitten with fever, and were reduced to extreme distress. Some then moved to a better site a short distance away, and founded the village of Lydenburg, which was so called from their recent suffering. This party was speedily reinforced by fresh arrivals from the South.

Another detachment with the Commandant himself moved in the opposite direction, and settled at Zoutpansberg. Ohrigstad was, however, for some time considered the seat of government of the whole, and Potchefstroom and Winburg were hereafter termed "adjuncts" to it.

The district along the Mooi River which was thus abandoned by Commandant Potgieter's party was taken possession of by those Emigrants who would not submit to the British Authorities after the establishment of the Colonial Government in Natal and after the skirmish at Zwart Kopjes.

In the rugged district of the Lulu Mountains, east of the Olifants River, there was then living a tribe called the Bapedi. The people composing it were of the same section of the Bantu as the retainers of Moshesh, and their recent history was almost identical. Some twenty-eight years earlier, just after the death of Tulare, the great chief of the country, a Zulu army led by Moselekatse laid waste the land, destroyed most of its inhabitants, and compelled the remainder to disperse. After a time Moselekatse withdrew, and then Sekwati, son of Tulare, returned from beyond the Limpopø, where he had taken refuge.

In the land of his fathers he collected together not only the remnant of the original Bapedi, but refugees from numerous other broken tribes who now took the Bapedi name.¹

In the winter of 1846 a quarrel arose between the Bapedi and the Emigrant Farmers. Thereupon Commandant Potgieter, with one hundred and fifty burghers, Matlabe's Barolong, and a party of natives under a half-breed son of a notorious outlaw named Coenraad Buys, attacked the Bapedi, and took from them eight thousand head of horned cattle and six thousand sheep. The spoil was equally divided between the Europeans and the blacks belonging to the commando. Peace was restored by the submission of the Bapedi chief to the Emigrant Government.²

In the following winter (1847) Commandant Potgieter led

¹ Letter on the history of the Bapedi from the Rev. A. Merensky, dated 18th August 1876, published in the *Natal Mercury* and in Imperial Bluebook on Native Affairs in South Africa issued in April 1877.

² I am unable to find in Cape Town the material for a full relation of the war of 1846 between the Emigrant Farmers and the Bapedi. I have gathered the brief account which is here given from (a) the history of the Bapedi by the Rev. Mr. Merensky, already referred to, and (b) the following two reports from Major Warden to the Rev. B. Maitland, private secretary to the Governor. The correspondence between the High Commissioner and the President of the South African Republic during the controversy concerning Sekukuni (Sekwati's son) in 1876 throws no light upon this matter.

“Bloemfontein, 13th September, 1846.

“I beg to acquaint you that I have received a communication from a Mr. Van Zyl to the effect that 150 Emigrants under their leader Potgieter had attacked Maquati's kraals and carried off about 8,000 head of cattle and 6,000 sheep. This chief resides near the Zoutpansberg, being distant from this place 300 miles and to the westward of the Baraputal. The cause of quarrel between the Boers and Maquati is variously stated. One account says that a small party of Emigrants, among whom was Potgieter's son, being out on a hunting expedition, received ill treatment from Maquati's people, and that the elephants shot by the farmers were taken from them by Maquati's orders. It also appears that the Emigrant Potgieter has been endeavouring to strengthen himself by forming treaties with some remnants of tribes living beyond Megahlis Berg, that the chief Maquati declined entering into any compact with him, and this is said to be the real cause of offence to the Emigrant leader. The Bastard Buys and Kaffirs under him, together with Matlabe, formerly a chief subject to Moroko, took part with the Emigrants, and were rewarded with half the booty taken from Maquati. The great distance of Andries-Ohrigstad prevents our interference with Mr. Potgieter and his adherents just now, but I trust the time is approaching when some restraint will be imposed on such British subjects. I have, &c.—H. D. Warden.”

“Bloemfontein, 30th October, 1846.

“I have to acquaint you that on the 25th instant three men of the tribe called Bahpeli, and whose country is situated a little beyond the tropic, appeared at this

another expedition against Moselekatse. After a long and weary march the Matabele were found, and sixteen hundred head of cattle were seized at an outpost. But during the same day Moselekatse's warriors appeared in such force that the commando was compelled to retire. Their horses were nearly worn out, so that they were unable to bring away the captured cattle.

In June 1846 the court of landdrost and heemraden, which had existed at Winburg ever since the foundation of that village, ceased to exist, owing to the attack by Major Warden which has been related. This court had acted not only in a judicial capacity for the trial of civil and criminal cases, but as an orphan chamber, and before it marriages had been contracted. Its want was therefore greatly felt. On the 5th of August 1847 those Emigrants who were well affected towards the British Government met at Winburg, and elected Mr. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer landdrost. Mr. Meyer stated that he would not accept the office without the sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner; and a memorial asking Sir Henry Pottinger's approval of their proceedings was therefore drawn up and signed by seventy individuals. In order that this might become generally known, it was resolved not to forward the memorial until the 17th of September.

On the 27th of October a much larger meeting was held at

residency to complain of the Boers under Potgieter having taken possession of their country, and that their chief Sequati with the greater part of his people are now obliged to bend under the iron rule of these white strangers. The three messengers state as follows:—That the Boers with Potgieter as their leader first came among the Bahpilli as peaceable men, and Sequati allowed them to occupy certain portions of his country; but as the white men became numerous, encroachments were made upon his people's lands from all points, and that the chiefs' complaints to Potgieter on the subject were treated with contempt. Some months ago Potgieter quarrelled with Molechi, a chief under and brother of Sequati. Molechi was rich in cattle and sheep, and always against the white people's settling in the Bahpilli country. Potgieter threatens Sequati that unless he joins the Boers against his brother, he, Sequati, would be treated as an enemy and his cattle taken from him. He was therefore compelled to coalesce with the Boers and attack his brother's kraals. In this attack many of the Bahpilli were killed, and great plunder in cattle and sheep carried off by the Boers. Sequati has heard that the Boers do not molest Moroko, Moshes, and other chiefs, because they are in alliance with Government. Sequati therefore wishes to be placed on the same footing with those chiefs. . . . I have, &c.—H. D. Warden."

Winburg, when Mr. Meyer was deposed, those who had elected him were denounced as enemies of the republic, and Mr. Willem Jacobs was chosen as landdrost.

At this time, there were some two thousand Emigrant families between the Vaal and Orange rivers, and of these fully fifteen hundred were opposed to British rule. Jan Kock's party was scattered along both sides of the Vaal as far down as Mooi River. The Commandant himself was occupying a farm near Potchefstroom.

Only one other event remains to be mentioned in connection with the Emigrant Farmers before the close of 1847. After the establishment of the Colonial Government in Natal, those of them who remained below the Drakensberg were called upon to prove their actual occupation of the land claimed by them for the twelve months preceding the arrival of Commissioner Cloete. This was, of course, in many cases impossible, as during that period the farmers had been compelled to retire to lagers, owing to the enormous influx of refugees from Zululand. In these instances, their claims were not allowed. The immigration of blacks was continuous, and locations were assigned to them all over the Colony, thus mixing them up with the whites in such a way that the latter could feel no security for life or property. In despair, the farmers prepared to abandon the country in a body, and with what remained of the wreck of their property to seek a new home elsewhere. But before taking the final step, they resolved to send one of their number to the Cape Colony to lay their case before Her Majesty's High Commissioner and implore relief.

The one upon whom their choice fell to be their delegate was Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, who had just been obliged to abandon his farm Welverdiend about six miles from Maritzburg. Mr. Pretorius came from Natal by the way of Winburg, where he was joined by Mr. Jacobus Duplooy, who was chosen by the Emigrants in that district to accompany him and represent their grievance in the matter of Major Warden's attack.

Upon arriving in Grahamstown, where Sir Henry Pottinger was then residing, Messrs. Pretorius and Duplooy repeatedly tried to obtain an interview with the High Commissioner, but

without success. His Excellency declined to see them or to take any notice whatever of their complaints. Mr. Pretorius then, on the 16th of October, wrote a long letter which he addressed to the Governor, but caused to be published in the newspapers.

In this letter he described in moderate language the distress to which the Emigrant Farmers in Natal were reduced by reason of the land which they claimed not having been given to them, and by the partiality displayed towards the black immigrants, whom he estimated to be then not less than one hundred thousand in number. He gave as instances of the manner in which the blacks were favoured two cases in which he was personally interested. A location had been formed between his farms, Welverdiend and Riet Vallei, respectively about six and twelve miles from Maritzburg, and thus these places, upon which there were improvements to the value of £3000, were made worthless. Two farms to which two of his sons had established their claims, and which had been allotted to them, had been subsequently taken from them because they were convenient for the extension of a location. The Government had in these last cases repeatedly promised compensation in the form of land somewhere else, but it had not yet been given. And what had happened to his family had happened to others. Locations had been established on many farms claimed by Emigrants, but taken from them on the plea of their not having been occupied during the twelve months preceding June 1843. An enormous tract of country had been practically abandoned by the Government to Bushmen marauders, and in the whole district of Maritzburg there were only twenty-two or twenty-three occupied farms.

On the 21st of October Sir Henry Pottinger issued a Government Notice, giving as reasons for not granting Mr. Pretorius an interview, the great pressure of other work, the length of time that would be needed for an investigation of the complaints, and his anticipated early departure from South Africa. A copy of the notice was sent to the delegates, which was the only recognition they received from the High Commissioner.

Mr. Pretorius was thus obliged to return to his constituents disappointed and despairing of any opening for relief other than a fresh migration. As he passed through the Colony, on his way to the Orange River, he was everywhere received with the warmest sympathy. People flocked from great distances to see him and to invoke God's blessing upon him and his fellow sufferers. Their treatment was compared, in Bible language, to that of Israel under the heartless despotism of Egypt. In their enthusiasm, numbers of people, men and women, resolved to throw in their lot with the Emigrants, in consequence of which the stream of refugees from the Colony was greater during the next few months than at any period after 1838.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of Governor Sir Harry Smith—Enlargement of the Cape Colony—Creation of the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria—Proclamation of Her Majesty's Sovereignty over the Territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers—Armed Resistance of the Emigrant Farmers—Battle of Boomplaats—Confiscation of the Property of the Insurgents—Constitution of the Orange River Sovereignty—Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church—The Synodical Commission—Regulations for the Government of the Sovereignty—Feuds of the Basuto and Batlokua—Definition of Native Reserves—Movements of the Barolong.

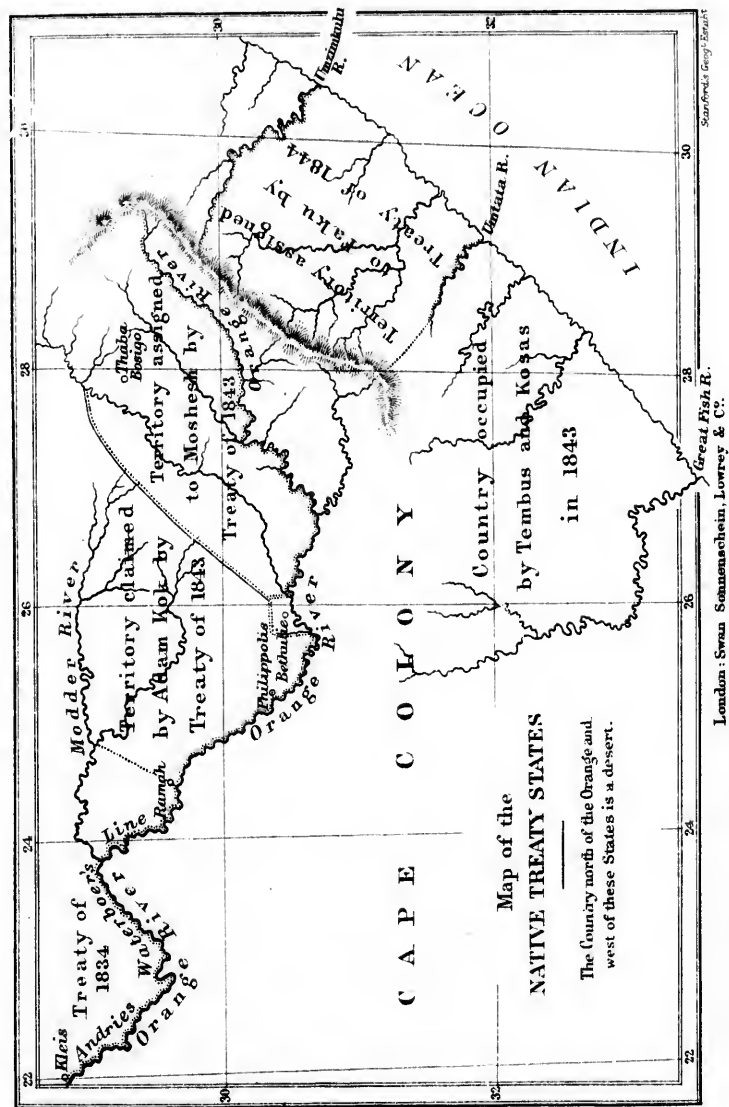
ON the 1st of December 1847 Sir Harry Smith arrived in Cape Town from England, and took the oaths of office as Governor of the Cape Colony and Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa. From one end of the land to the other the rejoicing was universal, for his appointment was taken to mean an abandonment of the policy of giving up the country to the barbarous section of its inhabitants. The new Governor had been associated with Sir Benjamin D'Urban twelve years before, and had since won high renown in India. His popularity during, and subsequent to, the Kaffir war of 1834-5 had been very great, so that it seemed to the Colonists as if an old and tried friend of South Africa was now at the head of affairs.

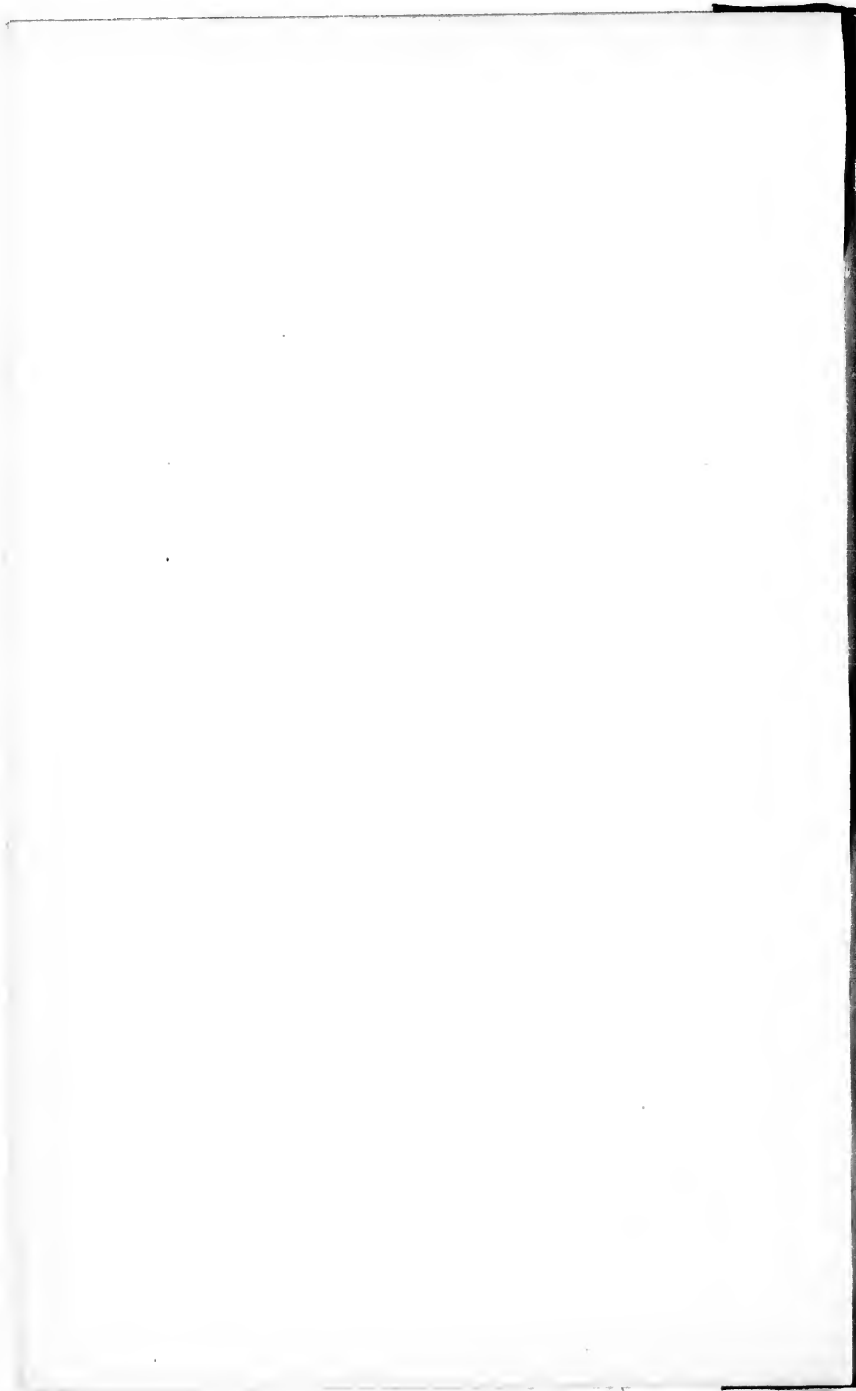
The Governor hastened to the eastern frontier, and on the 17th of December issued at Grahamstown a proclamation extending the Colony to the Orange River on the north and to the Kraai, Klaas Smit's, Zwart Kei, Klipplaats, Tyumie, and Keiskama rivers on the east. Within these limits, all treaties with native chiefs were declared abrogated by reason of the existing war. On the 23rd of the same month, at King William's Town, he proclaimed the territory between the Great Kei river and the new colonial boundary as far north as the junction of the Klipplaats with the Zwart Kei, a Crown Colony under the name of British Kaffraria. The Kaffirs residing

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therein were declared to be British subjects, and peace was announced; though, as subsequent events proved, the subjection of the Tembus and Xosas, who had been fighting against us for twenty-one months, was by no means so thorough as was then generally supposed.

As soon as this was completed, the Governor proceeded to the country beyond the Orange. He went in the firm belief that his popularity would be sufficient to bring back the Emigrant Farmers to allegiance to the British Crown, and that he would easily be able to establish a Government that would satisfy them. In this he was mistaken. Twelve years of wandering and suffering had produced such a change in these people that they could no longer be dealt with like the men he had formerly known and respected.

Attributing their losses and hardships to the action of the Imperial Government and the London Missionary Society, their antipathy to English rule had become so deep that willingly but few of them could ever be brought to submit to it again. In those twelve years many hundreds of children had grown into men and women. Education from books they had almost none, but they had been taught self-reliance as few people have ever learned the lesson.

Their idea of England was that it was a country of enormous power, which its Government used to oppress weak communities such as theirs. Of its history, and even its geographical position, they were utterly ignorant. They believed that the English Ministry and the Directors of the London Missionary Society, whom they confounded with the Government, never inquired whether an act was in itself wrong or right, but whether its perpetrators were civilized men or savages, and always gave judgment in favour of the last. They scouted the very notion that absolute justice between man and man was the guiding principle of English rule. Emphatically, positively, they denied that it was, or could be, as long as such prejudices as those they had experienced remained in existence. "All for the black, nothing for the white," was the principle which they affirmed guided English legislation.

The young men were as familiar with the use of firearms as

any Kentucky backwoodsmen could have been, and were ready with their weapons in hand to plunge further into the interior. There was another element of the population still more hostile and much less worthy. A considerable number of Europeans of a low type of character had of late years been resorting to the country north of the Orange. Some of these men were fugitives from their creditors, others were deserters from the army, a few were even escaped criminals. The influence of such persons upon a simple and credulous people like the Emigrant Farmers was all for evil. They were ready for any deed, however desperate or wicked, or any enterprize, however daring. They were under little or no restraint, for there were no police. Assuming various characters, they fostered the prejudices of the farmers, and traded upon their antipathies. Twelve years earlier, a man like the new Governor might have secured the allegiance of the Emigrants to the British Crown, and by enlisting the sympathy of the great majority in favour of order, have been able to curb the turbulent; but it was now too late.

Sir Harry Smith came to South Africa with a fully matured plan for the settlement of affairs north of the Orange. He would take no land from natives that they needed for their maintenance, but there were no longer to be Native States covering vast areas of ground either unoccupied or in possession of white men. Such ground he would form into a new Colony, and he would exercise a general control over the chiefs themselves in the interests of peace and civilization. A system antagonistic to that of the Napier treaties was to be introduced. Those treaties attempted to subject civilized men to barbarians. He would place an enlightened and benevolent Government over all. But to enable him to do so, the consent of Adam Kok and Moshesh must be obtained to new agreements, for he could not take the high-handed course of setting the treaties aside.

The Governor therefore proceeded first to Bloemfontein, where Adam Kok was invited to meet him. On the 24th of January 1848 he persuaded the Griqua captain to agree to an arrangement that in lieu of half the quitrents due to him under the treaty of the 5th of February 1846 he should be paid a

fixed sum of £200 a year; that his people should be paid £100 a year for the lands they had let; that the Griqua Reserve should be cleared of all British subjects as their leases expired, upon payment to them of the cost of any improvements they had made, at a valuation by the British Resident, Adam Kok's Secretary, and one Emigrant; and that the above sum of £300 a year should be paid in perpetuity for the farms leased in the alienable territory, which leases should also be in perpetuity for this consideration.

On the day following, 25th of January 1848, a treaty to this effect was signed, which was subsequently construed to mean that Adam Kok, in consideration of £200 a year for himself and £100 for a school, ceded his claim to jurisdiction over all the land outside of the Griqua Reserve. Individual Grikas retained their property wherever it was, and were entitled to make use of ground held by them anywhere. They could sell or lease farms in their possession anywhere except in the Reserve, and they had a right to the rent in perpetuity of all farms leased before the 24th of January 1848, which rent they might commute if they so chose.

Under this treaty, the only right which individuals lost was that of reclaiming farms already leased outside of the Griqua Reserve. The British Resident estimated that at that time the Reserve was large enough for twenty times the whole Griqua people.

At Bloemfontein the Governor received addresses of welcome from the farmers of Oberholster's party along the Riet and Modder rivers and from Snyman's party along the Lower Caledon. As many heads of families as could do so repaired to the village to meet him. Among them were some who had served under him in the Kaffir war of 1834-5. At a public meeting, speeches were made in which old times were recalled, and enthusiastic language was used concerning the future of South Africa, now that a true friend of the country was at the head of affairs. At this meeting the Governor observed an aged grey-headed man standing in the crowd. He instantly rose, handed his chair to the old man, and pressed him to be seated, a kindly act that was long remembered by the simple

farmers, and which formed the subject of one of the transparencies when Cape Town was illuminated on his return to the seat of government.

From Bloemfontein, the Governor, attended only by his nephew Major Garvoek, Commandant Gideon Joubert, and Mr. Richard Southey, went on to Winburg, where, on the 27th of January, he had a conference with Moshesh. The chief, with his sons and Mr. Casalis, who had reached the village the evening before, rode out to meet him as he approached. An hour after his arrival the formal conference took place. There were present, Sir Harry Smith, his private secretary, the chief Moshesh with some of his sons, brothers, and councillors, and Mr. Casalis, who interpreted.

His Excellency hastily explained that the object he wished to secure was a permanent condition of peace, harmony, and tranquillity. He intended therefore to proclaim the sovereignty of the Queen over all the country in which the Emigrant Farmers were residing, and to establish magistracies, churches, and schools wherever they were settled. With the internal government of the native tribes or their laws and customs, he had no intention of interfering; but, on the contrary, desired to preserve the hereditary rights of the chiefs, and to prevent encroachment upon their lands. The quit-rents would be required to meet the expenses of government, therefore Sir Peregrine Maitland's arrangement to pay half the amount to the chief could not be carried out, but this loss would be made good by annual presents.

Moshesh admitted the advantage of a paramount power in the country, and approved of the establishment of governmental machinery among the European immigrants. As to the quit-rents, he would say nothing, as he did not wish money questions to stand in the way of an arrangement. But he desired that no portion of the country which he claimed should be entirely cut off from his people, so that no one should be able to say to him thereafter "this land is no longer yours." He asked what arrangement would be made where a farmer was found living in or near a native town.

The Governor replied that they must continue to live together.

But he was in such haste that he was unwilling to enter into details of his plan, nor would he discuss the disputed questions between Moshesh and the other chiefs.

At this conference Sir Harry Smith professed the warmest regard for Moshesh, and used the most complimentary and flattering language in addressing him. In the afternoon of the same day the Governor, holding the Basuto chief by the hand, introduced him to the farmers assembled at Winburg as the man to whom they were indebted for the peace they had hitherto enjoyed.

Moshesh readily affixed his mark to a document in agreement with the Governor's proposals. That he comprehended what these proposals would lead to is, however, doubtful, as he could hardly have grasped the import of all he heard that morning. Sir Harry Smith's eccentricities were displayed in such a way that the chief's attention must have been a good deal distracted. At one moment he was pretending to snore to indicate the state of peace that would follow the adoption of his measures, at another he was illustrating the conditions to which the Amaxosa were reduced by browbeating a Kaffir from the Eastern Colonial Frontier, and again he was bathed in tears and speechless with emotion when laying the foundation stone of a church. While cantering into the village with the chief at his side, he ordered presents to be made to him of two new saddles, a marquee tent, and a gold watch.

At Winburg twenty-seven heads of families and twenty-two others presented an address in which they requested the Governor to extend British jurisdiction over the country. The great majority of the inhabitants of the district had no opportunity of seeing his Excellency, or of making known their opinions, as he passed through in such haste. He had been informed that the entire Dutch population of Natal was moving out of that Colony, and he was anxious to reach them before they could carry their purpose into effect. He therefore sent an express to Mr. Pretorius, asking him to delay the emigration, and at daybreak on the morning of the 28th of January he was in the saddle, hastening towards Natal.

The report that had reached him was correct. When Mr.

Pretorius returned after his unsuccessful attempt to see Sir Henry Pottinger, he met a number of people in flight from their homes, among whom was his own family. His wife was lying ill in a waggon, his youngest daughter had been compelled to lead the oxen and had been severely hurt by one of them, and his milch cows had all been stolen by the blacks. This, he repeated afterwards with bitterness, was what British rule in Natal meant to him. The tidings which he brought destroyed the last hope of those who still wavered, and now there was a general exodus. On the left bank of the Tugela, near the foot of the Drakensberg, the Governor found them waiting for him. In a despatch to the Secretary of State written a few days later, he stated that "They were exposed to a state of misery which he had never before seen equalled except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled. The scene was truly heartrending."

Nothing could exceed the respect which the Emigrants paid to His Excellency personally, or the kindness and confidence with which he addressed them. Sir Harry asked the cause of their leaving Natal, and received for answer. "The allowing such an influx of blacks that there was neither protection nor safety for the farmers." His Excellency promised if they would return he would place things on a better footing, but the Emigrants answered that "It was not possible to live among so many thousand blacks, as there was no protection under British authority at Natal."

The Governor remained several days in the Emigrant camp, as the Tugela was flooded and he could not proceed to Maritzburg. On one occasion, when speaking with Mr. Pretorius, he took out of his pocket a draft of a proclamation declaring Her Majesty's sovereignty over the whole of the country occupied by the Emigrants, which had been drawn up before he left the Cape. Mr. Pretorius remonstrated against its publication, and said if it was issued it would necessitate the Emigrant Farmers either fighting for freedom or retiring far into the interior, for under British rule they could not live. The Governor replied that he believed the majority of the farmers

were in his favour. Mr. Pretorius said His Excellency was deceived in that respect. It was then arranged that Mr. Pretorius should proceed across the mountains, attend public meetings at every centre of population, and ascertain the views of the people. With this object he started without any delay, leaving the Governor in the camp.

To this point all the relations of these conferences agree, but now comes a great discrepancy. Mr. Pretorius, in an account of events some time before and after this date which he drew up on the 5th of February 1852 for the Assistant Commissioners Hogge and Owen,¹ affirmed that the Governor promised him before he left that the proclamation would not be issued if a majority of the Emigrants should be found opposed to it. His correspondence during 1848, including that with the Governor himself, contains frequent references to such a promise. Sir Harry Smith, in his despatches and memoranda, states that Mr. Pretorius was quite willing that the country south of the Vaal should be proclaimed under British Sovereignty, but it was agreed between them that the territory north of that river was not to be so proclaimed unless a majority of the Emigrants should be found to favour the measure.² And in accordance with this arrangement the wording of the proclamation as originally drawn up was altered, so as to leave the Transvaal Emigrants undisturbed. There must have been a misunderstanding by Mr. Pretorius, as there is no other way of accounting for the discrepancy in the statements.

On the 3rd of February 1848 Sir Harry Smith issued from the Emigrant camp on the bank of the Tugela a proclamation in which the Sovereignty of Her Majesty the Queen of England was declared over the whole country between the Orange and the Vaal eastward to the Kathlamba Mountains.

In this proclamation the objects are stated to be the protec-

¹ This account remained in the original manuscript in the Sovereignty Records until 1886, when at my instance it was published in the *Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*.

² In his "Warning to the Rebel Boers," dated 17th of August 1848, Sir Harry Smith says explicitly: "Pretorius requested me not to extend the Sovereignty beyond the Vaal River and to leave the Mooi River for those who disapproved of the order of things proposed. I did so."

tion and preservation of the just and hereditary rights of the native chiefs and the rule and welfare of the European settlers. Under it, disputes as to territory between the chiefs and all matters affecting the peace and harmony of South Africa were to be settled by the Paramount Authority, but there was to be no interference with the internal government of the tribes. The Europeans and such natives as chose to live with them were to be brought under the jurisdiction of magistrates, and they alone were to provide the means of carrying on the government.

In issuing this proclamation, Sir Harry Smith was full of confidence in his personal influence with the Emigrants. When Major Warden, the British Resident, expressed an opinion that if the Queen's authority were proclaimed north of the Orange River, additional troops would be requisite. His Excellency replied, "My dear fellow, pray bear in mind that the Boers are my children, and I will have none other here for my soldiers; your detachment will march for the Colony immediately." And in this confidence a garrison of only fifty or sixty Cape Mounted Riflemen was left to defend a territory more than fifty thousand square miles in extent.

Mr. Pretorius proceeded to Winburg and thence to Orligstad, holding meetings, and ascertaining that the majority of the people were opposed to British rule. He then returned and found that the proclamation had been issued some time. But as it extended Her Majesty's sovereignty only to the Vaal, by crossing that river the farmers could still escape its operation. Large numbers were moving northward. Mr. Pretorius joined them, and fixed his residence at Magalisberg. The Governor appointed him a member of the Land Commission of Natal, but he declined to accept the appointment. From this date Major Warden's reports contain frequent charges against him of endeavouring to keep up the agitation of the Emigrants.

Sir Harry Smith, in the meantime, by liberal offers of land and promises of protection, not only induced many of those who were moving out of Natal to return, but also drew a considerable stream of immigrants into that Colony from those

parties north of the Orange who were well affected towards the British Government.

On the 8th of March Sir Harry Smith proclaimed a form of government for the Orange River Sovereignty, as the country between the Vaal and Orange rivers and the Drakensberg was henceforth termed. The British Resident, in the absence of the High Commissioner, was to be the highest authority and President of all Boards or Commissions. Bloemfontein was to be the seat of government. A Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate was to be stationed at Winburg, and one in the neighbourhood of the Lower Caledon. Persons charged with the commission of crimes of magnitude were to be sent to Colesberg for trial before a judge of the Cape Colony. There was to be a Land Commission for each district, consisting of the Civil Commissioner, two surveyors, and one burgher elected by the people. The first duty of the Land Commissions was to be the division of the Sovereignty into three districts, to be called Bloemfontein, Caledon River, and Winburg. Commandants and fieldcornets were to be elected by the people. The Land Commissions were to inspect and register each farm, fix quitrents from £2 to £8 per annum, and then to issue certificates, which were to be valid as titles. The Land Commissions were to have the final decision of complaints by natives concerning land outside the Reserves. The farms were to be held under military tenure. Every able-bodied man was to turn out in defence of Her Majesty and her allies whenever called upon to do so. The natives in the Reserves were to be dealt with only through the chiefs.

The Governor estimated that the revenue from quitrents and licences would be from £5000 to £10,000 per annum. The cost of government be put down at £4,464. The balance he proposed to apply to the maintenance of churches and schools.

These proclamations were reluctantly approved of by the Imperial Authorities. They gave their consent to the addition of the country between the Orange and the Vaal to the British dominions, not in any grasping or selfish spirit, but with the benevolent design of preventing disorder and bloodshed. The step was approved of in the sincere belief that the

natives required protection from the Europeans and would therefore welcome English rule, and that the better disposed farmers, being in a condition of anarchy and extreme poverty, would gladly submit to a settled government, which was not intended to prevent them from regulating most of their affairs in any manner that suited them.

On the 8th of March Mr Thomas Jervis Biddulph was appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Winburg, and on the 22nd of the same month Mr. James O'Reilly received a similar appointment to the district of Caledon River. The British Resident, in addition to his other duties, was required to act as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of the district of Bloemfontein.

The annunciation of British authority over the district of Winburg, which for ten years had been part of an independent republic, was immediately followed by such excitement among the farmers that Sir Harry Smith deemed it necessary to issue a manifesto against agitators. On the 29th of March he published a long and strangely worded notice, partly historical, partly descriptive, remonstrating, advising, appealing, and threatening by turns, and ending by proposing a common prayer to God. The issue of this manifesto drew forth several addresses from the farmers in the Sovereignty. In one with 369 signatures, and another with 189, a desire to be independent was expressed. In a third, Commandant J. T. Synman and 181 others assured His Excellency of their unfeigned allegiance and attachment to Her Majesty the Queen. Subsequent events showed that these numbers correctly represented the proportion of those who were opposed to or in favour of British rule.

Beyond the Vaal there was much sympathy with the disaffected party in the Sovereignty, and particularly with the burghers of Winburg, who were regarded as fellow citizens of a common republic. On the 15th of May a meeting was held at Potchefstroom, when resolutions were passed deprecating the threatening language in the High Commissioner's manifesto. These resolutions were communicated to His Excellency in a letter signed by Messrs. Hendrik Potgieter,

A. W. Pretorius, G. J. Kruger, J. H. L. Kock, L. R. Botha, J. P. Delpont, A. F. Spies, H. Stryn, and seven others of less note.

On the 22nd of May Mr. Biddulph arrived at Winburg with Major Warden, by whom he was installed as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate. A few days later a meeting of the republican party took place at a farm in the neighbourhood, when it was resolved not to submit without a struggle. Landdrost Willem Jacobs, the leemraden, the fieldcornet, and Commandants Bester and Bezuidenhout, then notified in writing that they would not acknowledge Mr. Biddulph. The disaffected inhabitants of the district sent to Mr. Pretorius to inform him that they were resolved to take up arms in vindication of their right to independence, and besought him to come and assist them. He had already been appointed Commandant General by the burghers along both banks of the Vaal. Willem Jacobs, who went to Magalisberg on this mission, found Pretorius in trouble, for his wife, of whom he was tenderly fond, was lying so ill that recovery was hopeless. Dying as she was, this noble-minded South African woman advised her husband to do what she held to be his duty. "By staying here," she said, "you cannot save my life; your countrymen need your services, go and help them." He went, and never saw her again, for she died before his return.

On the 21st of June Mr. Biddulph, having been informed that if he remained longer at Winburg he would be arrested, retired to Bloemfontein, but was immediately sent back by Major Warden. Two surveyors, Messrs. Frederick Rex and Robert Moffat, had in the meantime been appointed to the Winburg Land Commission, but on the 11th of July, Mr. Biddulph reported that the condition of the district was such that the Commission could not proceed with its duties. He had just received intimation that Pretorius with an armed party was encamped on False River. This intimation had been written in pencil by a deserter from the 45th Regiment named Michael Quigley, on the back of a free pardon which had been sent to him; and it was brought to Winburg by one of his comrades. Quigley had intended to proceed to Mooi River to inform a party of deserters there that the Governor offered

them pardon on condition of their return to their colours, but on the way he was pressed into the Emigrant commando.

On the 12th of July Commandant General Pretorius arrived at Winburg. There he published a notice that no person would be allowed to remain neutral, and that all who would not join in the "war of freedom" must cross the Orange before the 20th of the month. The small party at Winburg who were well affected towards the British Government, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Johannes I. J. Fick, the members of the Wessels family, and a few others, went into lager and defied Pretorius. Commandant J. T. Snyman and his party on the Lower Caledon, and Michael Oberholster and his party on the Modder River, did the same.

Mr. Biddulph made his escape from Winburg just before the commando entered the village. He rode as fast as he could towards Bloemfontein, and on the morning of the 13th met Major Warden about six miles from the Residency engaged in giving out land certificates. The Major had an escort of twelve Mounted Riflemen with him. It was resolved at once to proceed to Bloemfontein to send a report to the Governor, and then to commence throwing up earthworks for defence. The Major and Mr. Biddulph were riding a few hundred yards ahead of the escort when they encountered a burgher patrol of twenty-five men, who endeavoured to make prisoners of them. It was only the speed of their horses and the firm stand made by the escort that saved them. The burghers came within talking distance, and informed Major Warden that their object was to take him to Commandant General Pretorius's camp that he might see the strength of the Emigrants and report to the Governor that they were united and determined not to submit to British rule. The Major promised to send Mr. Frederick Rex to see and report.

The clerk Mr. Isaac Dyason, some relatives of Mr. Biddulph who lived with him, and the two constables were in Winburg when the Emigrant commando entered the village. Most of their property was seized and confiscated, but they were allowed to leave in safety, and reached Bloemfontein early on the morning of the 16th.

On the 17th of July Commandant General Pretorius formed a camp within two miles of Bloemfontein, and with four hundred men rode to the outskirts of the village. He then sent a letter to Major Warden giving him one hour to consider whether he would surrender the country or have it taken from him by force. For the previous three days the troops had been employed endeavouring to make their camp defensible, but the work was not yet half completed. The Major had two cannon, and the force under his command consisted of forty-five trained Hottentot soldiers of the Cape Mounted Rifles and twelve raw recruits. There were also in Bloemfontein forty-two civilians capable of bearing arms and about two hundred women and children. Mr. Rex, who had been two days with the Emigrant commando, reported that it consisted of a thousand men.

Under these circumstances, Major Warden requested an interview with Mr. Pretorius half way between his camp and Bloemfontein. This was conceded, and after a brief parley conditions of capitulation were agreed to. They were:

1. That the troops and inhabitants of Bloemfontein should evacuate the village in two days from that date, viz. on the 20th instant, carrying with them all movable property of every description, public and private, and proceed to Colesberg; five or six waggons (or as many more as might be procurable) being furnished for that purpose by Mr. Pretorius.
2. That the British Resident should inform the native tribes of the arrangement entered into between himself and the Emigrant farmers, with the hope of preventing a collision between them.
3. That the Civil Commissioner of Caledon River, Mr. O'Reilly, should be guaranteed a free exit to the Colony on the same terms as the British Resident.
4. That Mr. Pretorius should in the mean time withdraw his force from the immediate neighbourhood of Bloemfontein.
5. That in the event of sufficient transport not being obtainable for the removal of all the property of shopkeepers or others within the time above specified, Mr. Pretorius should guarantee their being allowed to remove it at their convenience, and without molestation.
6. That such coloured people as were then at Bloemfontein, although not soldiers, should be at liberty to return to their homes.

A. W. J. PRETORIUS, Commandant General.
H. D. WARDEN, Major C. M. Rifles, British Resident.

As witnesses:—

A. J. FRASER, M. B., Assistant Staff Surgeon
 T. J. BIDDULPH, Magistrate
 L. R. BOTHA, Commandant
 P. M. BESTER, Commandant

On the 20th the commando entered Bloemfontein. Next day a long manifesto was drawn up and signed by the Commandants, Fieldcornets, and about nine hundred others. It was addressed to Sir Harry Smith. Its burden was British partiality for the blacks, which caused life and property to be insecure in a British Colony. To barbarians, it declared freedom, and the right to live under their own laws were conceded, but for white men there was nothing but coercion and oppression. As the High Commissioner had stated that if a majority of the inhabitants were averse to Her Majesty's sovereignty he would not proclaim it, it was hoped that the events which had taken place would prove to him what the opinions of the people were.

From Bloemfontein the burgher commando marched to Middel Vlei, on the north bank of the Orange, and within easy communication from Colesberg. There a temporary camp was formed. The British Resident, with the troops and civilians from Bloemfontein, was on the colonial bank of the river, as he had not cared to go on to the village.

On the 22nd of July Major Warden's report of the 13th reached Cape Town. The energetic Governor immediately issued orders for all the available troops in the Colony to march to Colesberg. That afternoon he published a proclamation offering a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of Pretorius or for such information as would lead to his apprehension. This was shortly followed by the offer of £500 for the apprehension of Willem Jacobs or for information that would lead to his apprehension. The Governor then hurriedly made the necessary arrangements, and left for Colesberg to take command of the troops in person.

On the 10th of August Messrs. A. W. Pretorius, G. J. Kruger, A. F. Spies, L. R. Botha, P. M. Bester, and four other Commandants, from the camp at Middel Vlei wrote to Major

Warden on the opposite bank of the Orange that as it must now be evident that the Emigrants were united in opposition to British authority, Sir Harry Smith ought not to trouble them further. They inquired whether the Governor was there, and if so, whether they could see and speak to him. This letter was referred to His Excellency, who had arrived at Colesberg on the preceding day, and who replied on the 14th, terming the Emigrants rebels, but stating that Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester could cross on the following day to Major Warden's camp, where he would speak to them. Commandant General Pretorius answered the same evening that as the Governor persisted in calling them rebels they would not cross the river. On the 16th he again wrote to Sir Harry Smith, "requesting for the last time that the Governor would withdraw the proclamation of sovereignty," but to this letter he received no reply.

During the early part of the month heavy rains had been falling in the mountains of the Lesuto, and consequently the Orange was at this time in flood. The Governor, however, was provided with two india-rubber pontoons, which were put upon the river, and on the 22nd of August the troops began to cross. The farmers did not attempt to dispute the passage. Five days were occupied in the transit, and on the afternoon of the 26th, the soldiers, horses, guns, waggons, and stores were on the northern bank. Forty men of the 91st and twenty Cape Mounted Riflemen were left at the ford on the colonial side of the river to keep the communication open.

Sir Harry Smith then found himself at the head of an effective force of about eight hundred men, consisting of the late garrison of Bloemfontein and four fresh companies of the Cape Mounted Rifles minus the twenty men left at the ford, two companies each of the Rifle Brigade and 45th Regiment, two companies of the 91st Regiment minus forty men, a few Engineers, and some Artillery-men with three six-pounders. He had with him a considerable commissariat train, under direction of Mr. Henry Green, who was destined in later years to fill the office of British Resident. Within two days after crossing the river the column was joined by a few farmers

under Commandants Pieter Erasmus and J. T. Snyman, and by about two hundred and fifty Griquas under Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok. The farmers were those whose lands had been confiscated and who had been driven from their homes for refusing to join the commando under Pretorius. The Griquas were mounted and provided with firearms, and varied in appearance from the pure savage in a sheepskin kaross to the half-breed in plumed hat and European costume.

Before the troops crossed the river, the Emigrant commando fell back towards Bloemfontein. A rumour had reached the farmers that another army was coming up from Natal to place them between two fires, and they were undecided how to act. There was much discord in the camp. Many professed that they had no intention to fight. They had joined the commando, they said, merely as a demonstration to convince the Governor that the great majority of the people were opposed to English rule. Others were determined to hazard everything on the issue of an engagement, and had chosen a strong position on the road to Bloemfontein as a fitting place to make a stand.

Sir Harry Smith, who believed that the rising was entirely due to Mr. Pretorius, addressed letters of remonstrance and warning to the different Commandants, and sent them to the Emigrant camp, hoping thereby to break it up. Mr. Halse, who was His Excellency's messenger, was received with respect and was treated in a friendly manner. But Mr. Pretorius had the tact to put the question to the whole of the burghers whether letters from the Governor, not addressed to himself, ought to be received by any one in the camp. The burghers decided that they should not, and Mr. Halse was obliged to take them back unopened. The Emigrant commando was then already some distance from the Orange. Mr. Halse computed its strength to be between six hundred and eight hundred men.

On the 27th the troops marched from the Orange River to Philippolis, and on the 28th from Philippolis to Visser's Hoek. The country they passed through was completely abandoned by its inhabitants. That evening some of the farmers with

T. Snyman, and Andries Waterhouse whose lands were given from their hands under Pretorius. With firearms, and in a sheepskin European costume. The commando had reached the Orange River in Natal to place a position. He decided how to act. He professed that he had joined the commando to convince the farmers that the burghers were opposed to the commando. He hazarded everything on a strong position to make a

positioning was entirely a remonstrance and he sent them to the Orange River. Mr. Halse, who arrived with respect for Mr. Pretorius had been of the burghers and pressed to himself, the burghers. He was obliged to the commando was Mr. Halse commanded and eight hun-

Orange River to the Orange River to Visser's Hoek. He had completely abandoned the farmers with

Battle of Boomplaats.

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Sir Harry Smith were sent out as scouts. A little after midnight they returned and reported that they had examined the country as far as Boomplaats, some fifteen miles ahead without meeting any one.

At dawn on the morning of the 29th the column moved forward. At this season the sun at mid-day is still low in the heavens, and the temperature on the highlands of South Africa is such as Europeans most enjoy. That day there was not a cloud in the sky, but the dry rarefied air until nearly noon was cool and bracing, and had its ordinary effect of giving vigour and buoyancy of spirits to those who breathed it.

The troops halted at Touwfontein, the old camping place of Sir Peregrine Maitland, to rest and take their morning meal. This over, they resumed the march. In front rode the Cape Corps, European officers and Hottentot soldiers, in dark green uniforms, with carbines slung at their sides. Following these were the men of the Rifle Brigade. Next came the Sappers and Miners and the Artillery-men with their three guns, then the 45th, and last the 91st. Behind was a long train of waggons laden with baggage, stores, and ammunition, and guarded by the farmers and the Griquas, who rode in the rear and on the flanks. In this order the column moved at infantry pace over the open plain which stretches to within a few hundred yards of the Kromme Elleboog River.

There the features of the country changed. Close to the right side of the road, and parallel with it, was a chain of hills scantily covered with vegetation, but thickly strewn with boulders. Some distance in front this chain turned off almost at a right angle, and ran away to the left. Beyond it was the Kromme Elleboog River, a succession of deep pools with reedy banks and here and there a ford. Then came another chain of hills between the river just named and a feeder called Middel Water, which joined it further down. In a valley in the fork thus formed, and just below the road, was the farmhouse of Boomplaats. On the far side rose a third chain of hills, higher than the others, through a neck or pass in which the road opened upon a plain beyond.

In the morning march a solitary native shepherd was met,

who informed Sir Harry that the burgher commando had passed the night at Boomplaats. As the column drew near His Excellency directed Lieutenant Warren of the Cape Corps to take a couple of men with him and ride up the first hill to reconnoitre. In a few moments the officer came galloping back, and reported that he had seen the Boers in considerable force beyond the nearest range.

Lieutenant Salis, with a troop of the Cape Corps, was then instructed to ride on some distance in front of the main column. A minute or two later the Governor put spurs to his horse, and, followed by his staff, joined the advance guard. His Excellency was the most conspicuous individual in the group. Up to this moment he was confident that no European in South Africa would point a weapon against his person. In this confidence he had dressed himself that morning in blue jacket, white cord trousers, and drab felt hat, the same clothing which he had worn when he met Mr. Pretorius in the Emigrant camp on the Tugela seven months before. He was exceedingly anxious to avoid a collision, for the Home Government had sanctioned his proclamation of sovereignty on the strength of his assurances that nearly the whole of the people were in favour of it, and a conflict would prove that he had been too hasty in forming a judgment. His wish was to have a parley with the Emigrant leaders. The soldiers, on the other hand, were full of ardour, and freely expressed a hope that they were not to undergo such a long and wearisome march without a chance of showing their fighting qualities.

It wanted an hour to noon when Lieutenant Salis' troop of Cape Corps, with Sir Harry and his staff, came abreast of the second hill on their right, which was not further than sixty yards from the road. By the Governor's order the soldiers had taken the caps from the nipples of their carbines, so that they could not be the first to fire. Some one exclaimed: "There they are!" and, as if by magic, the crest appeared covered with men. While the Cape Corps had been advancing along the road, the farmers on the extreme left of the Emigrant line had crept up the back of the hill, leaving their horses saddled at the foot. For an instant there was a flash of fire, and then a

shower of bullets fell among and around the little party. The smoke had not cleared away when another volley followed, but by this time the soldiers were galloping back to their comrades, and the Governor was hastening to the head of the column. A rifle ball had grazed the face of his horse, and one of his stirrup leathers was half out through by another.

Three Hottentot soldiers were lying motionless in the road. On the ground beside his dead horse sat Lieutenant Salis, with his left arm shattered and a wound in his body. Two farmers came near, and he heard one say in Dutch, "Shoot him!" He called out quickly, "You must not, for I have a wife and children." The voice came again, "Are you wounded?" "Yes," was his reply. He was then allowed without molestation to crawl back, and was carried to a hospital tent in the rear.

The Governor, after relieving his feelings by a few hearty oaths, gave orders with as much coolness as if at a review. The guns were brought up and placed in position, and, under direction of Lieutenant Dynely of the Royal Artillery, a heavy fire was opened from them. The farmers dispersed behind the boulders, and then the Rifle Brigade and the 45th were ordered to charge. Captain Murray of the Rifles was leading on his men when he received three severe wounds. He was carried to the rear, and all that was possible was done to save him, but he died that night. Under a storm of bullets the soldiers made their way to the top of the hill, leaving many of their comrades dead and wounded on the slope. Before the summit was gained the farmers retired. They fell back towards the centre of their line, and prepared to make another stand at the next hill.

Meantime the right wing of the Emigrant force, under Commandant Jan Kock, emerged from behind a ridge on the left of the English front, and dashed into the plain. The object was to get possession of the waggons and supplies. Against this division of the farmers, which was not very strong, the Cape Corps was sent, and after some sharp fighting, Kock was forced to retire. His men were compelled to cross the range of the artillery in order to rejoin the main body of the burgher com-

mando, and in doing so they suffered some loss. The exact number it is impossible to give.

The 91st, previously kept as a reserve with the guns, were now sent to assist the Rifle Brigade and 45th in dislodging the farmers from the remaining fastnesses along the road. The artillery was moved forward, and the Governor himself, as Commander-in-Chief, selected the positions from which its fire could be best directed. Colonel Buller, the second in command, had been wounded. The Emigrants had only one field-piece, a brass three-pounder, which was so placed as to throw its shot along the line of road. But it was badly served, and did little or no execution. In the same manner as the first hill had been carried, each successive position was stormed, the farmers, when driven from one, retiring to the next. At the river the resistance was not very obstinate, but a stone cattle kraal belonging to the farmstead of Boomplaats was taken with difficulty.

Driven from this, the farmers made a last stand on the slopes commanding the neck in the high ridge beyond. There they were attacked first by the Cape Corps and the Griquas, who, being mounted, could follow rapidly. These were beaten back with ease. The infantry was then brought up, and the whole force stormed the heights, when the farmers were dislodged, and immediately fled over the plain to the eastward.

Sir Harry Smith, who had grown old fighting in the Peninsula, in Kaffirland, and in India, in his next despatch to the Secretary of State described the battle of Boomplaats as "one of the most severe skirmishes that had ever, he believed, been witnessed." There were no cowards on either side in that engagement.

It was two in the afternoon when the neck was gained by the troops. The men and horses required rest, for they had been marching and fighting with but one short interval since early dawn. Towards evening they followed up the line of the Emigrants' retreat some seven or eight miles, and halted at Kalver Fontein for the night.

Mr. Pretorius and the Commandants who were engaged at Boomplaats afterwards asserted that their plans were frus-

trated by the action of the party on their extreme left who fired upon the Governor's advance guard. Their intention was to wait until the whole column of troops was under rifle range from the steep hills beside the road, and the first shots were fired against positive orders. After that they did the best they could at every defensible position. But there was no discipline observable anywhere, except in the right wing under Commandant Jan Kock, who attempted to seize the commissariat train.

The number of Emigrants engaged is variously estimated. Commandant General Pretorius, in letters written a few weeks before the battle, claimed to have a thousand men under his orders. But from the time they left the Orange their numbers were constantly dwindling away. Mr. Halse and those who were with him computed their strength a few days later at eight hundred at the very highest. When it was decided to make a stand at Boomplaats some of these withdrew, but exactly how many is an open question. At the time of the battle a portion of the commando was in a camp several miles distant. There was no muster roll, and the statements of those who were engaged along a line a mile in length vary greatly, as might be supposed. There were probably over five hundred Emigrants in the engagement, and it may be taken for certain that there were not seven hundred and fifty.

The loss on the English side was, in killed, two officers—Captain Arthur Stormont Murray of the Rifle Brigade and Ensign M. Babbington Steele of the Cape Mounted Rifles, six men of the Rifle Brigade, five of the Cape Mounted Rifles, three of the 45th Regiment, and six Griquas.¹ Besides these, five officers and thirty-three rank and file were wounded so severely as to necessitate their remaining in hospital. A considerable number also were wounded lightly, but were able to move on with the column.

Among these last was Mr. Biddulph, magistrate of Winburg, one of whose arms was badly hurt as he was climbing a hill with the Rifle Brigade. Several other civilians were con-

¹ I have counted among the killed those who died soon after of their wounds, though in the military reports these are returned as wounded.

spicuous by their bravery in the action. The farmers who joined the troops at the Orange were not called upon to fight against their countrymen, but remained with the waggons.

The Governor reported that forty-nine bodies of burghers were counted on the field of battle, twelve having been killed by one cannon shot. But this was never admitted by the farmers, who gave their casualties as nine killed and five wounded.¹ They were all sharpshooters, and were not exposed as the soldiers were, which accounts for the disparity in loss.

¹ Mr. H. J. Hofstede, in his "Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrij Staat," says seven burghers were killed, and gives their names. But I shall not be accused of being a harsh critic by any one acquainted with Mr. Hofstede's work, when I assert that there is very little original matter in it of any value whatever. Not to mention other authorities, Commandant General Pretorius himself, in a letter to the Assistant Commissioners Hogge and Owen, says his loss was nine killed and four or five wounded. I have inquired from several individuals who were present at Boomplaats, and all maintain that the number given in the Governor's report is a mistake. It is certain, however, that it was believed in the English camp at the time to be correct, as may be seen on reference to the letters of numerous correspondents to colonial newspapers.

In the copies of correspondence between Commandant General Pretorius and Sir Harry Smith, furnished by Mr. Pretorius to the Assistant Commissioners Hogge and Owen in 1852, there is a letter dated on the day of the battle of Boomplaats, which is not among the original documents of the time. The copy, as well as the covering letter, is signed by Mr. Pretorius, but nothing is said as to how or when the original was delivered. I suppose it to have been intended as a manifesto. As a specimen of the correspondence one is obliged to wade through in making researches into events of that period, I give this letter *verbatim et literatim*:

29 Augustus, 1848.

"Den Commandant Generaal der vereenigde Emigrante Burgher Magt, heeft alle moeite gedaan om den Gouverneur van de Kaap Sir Harry Smith, te Spreken om zoo mogelyk alle bloetvergieting voor te komen, en te horen welke Schikkingen Zyn Excellie met ons wilde maken, doch dat konde wy niet verkrygen, alleswat wy verwagten was vernietiging, door een versamelde horde van troepen, van verscheidene soorten Basterds, en Griekwas, en ook boeren, welk ook onverhoord op ons aanvallen. Wy vermenen dat die onschuldige bloed weduwen en wizen, welk er gemaakt is door UExill en diegeenen welke UExcell hiertoe gedwongen heeft, tot UExcell verantwoording is, want zy hebben op UExcell bevel op ons geschoten, Schoon wy hun daartoe geen reden hebben gegeven.

"Ik acht het verder myn plicht UExello te zeggen, dat wy liever ons in den wildernis van Zuid Africa zal begeeven en liever dood zullen vechten als om ons hier onder Haare Majesteit gezag te begeeven, en Zoo gy met ons geen billyke schikking wilde maken, dat dan alle verdere onheil tot uw Excell verantwoording zal zyn, daarom zyn wy terug gegaan om te zien wat gy verder wilde doen, en van ons kan geen menschen bloed verder te vergieten, want de gantsch land staan nu in beweging.

"A. W. J. Pretorius, Com. Gen.

"Aan Zyn Excell Sir Harry Smith."

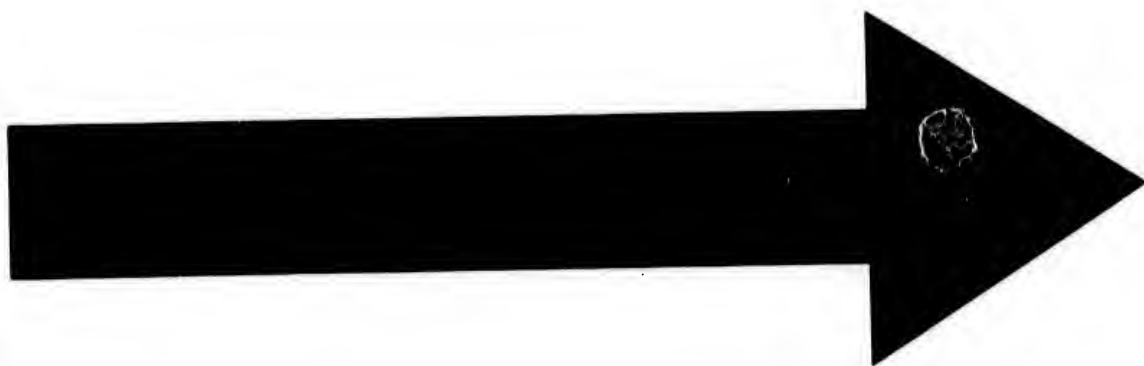
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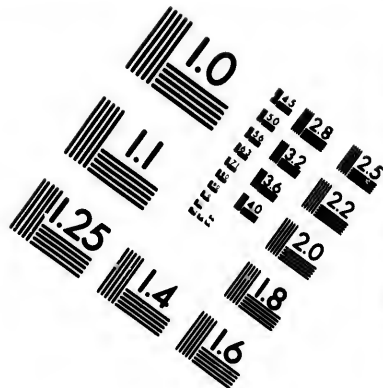
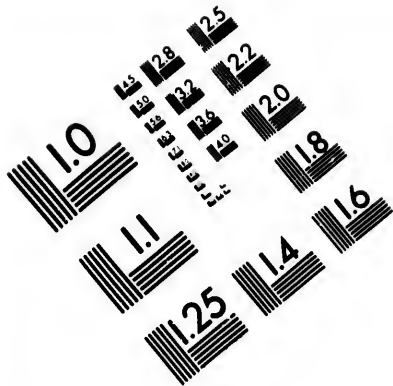
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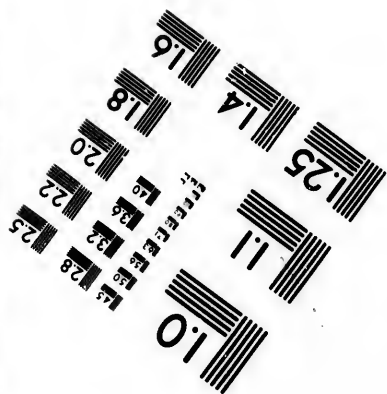
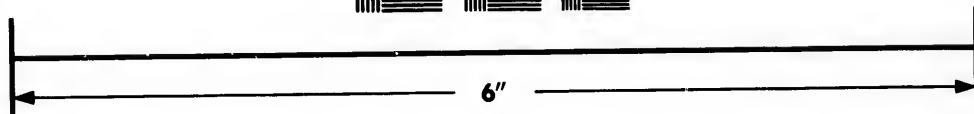
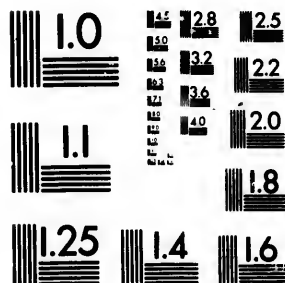
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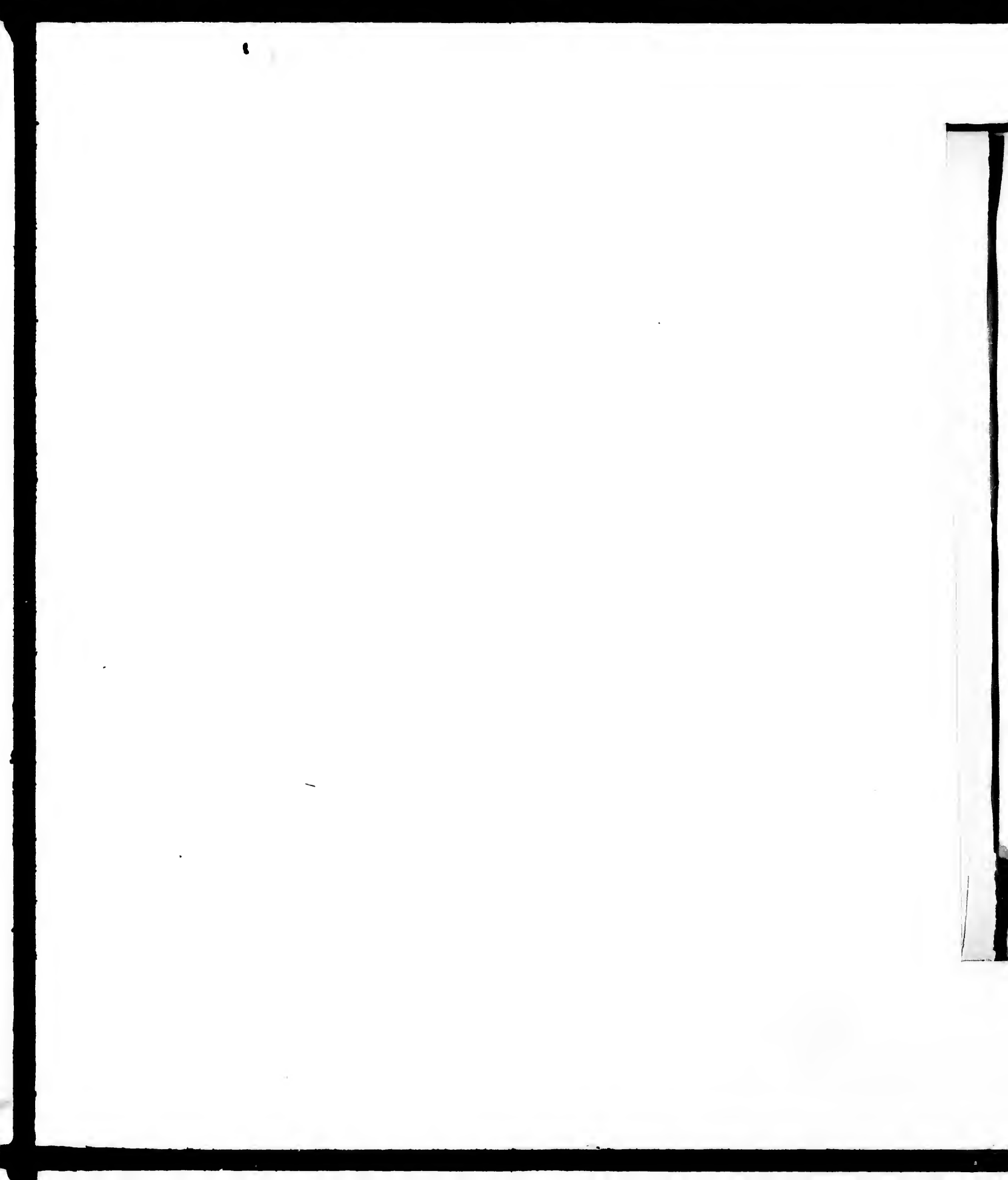
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The day following the engagement, the Governor and the troops pushed on to the German mission station of Bethany.¹ During the march, the Griqua scouts captured two stragglers who had taken part at Boomplaats on the Emigrant side. One of these was the deserter Michael Quigley, who has been mentioned as having sent to Mr. Biddulph intelligence of Mr. Pretorius's movements. The other was a young man named Thomas Dreyer, a member of an Emigrant family. On the 2nd of September the column reached Bloemfontein. There Dreyer and Quigley were brought before a court martial, and were sentenced to death, which sentence was carried out on the morning of the 4th.

The execution of young Dreyer was probably regretted by the Governor himself in calmer moments, though he stated that he believed it struck such terror into the republicans as to prevent them making another stand at Winburg. By the Emigrants it has always been regarded as more unjustifiable than the execution of Tambusa in January 1840. In their estimation, one was a Christian patriot, the other a blood-stained assassin. Mr. Pretorius was blamed by many for not having kept Major Warden and some of the inhabitants of Bloemfontein as hostages, so as to prevent an act of this kind; but he affirmed that he made no provision for such an event, because he had not believed it possible.

Just after reaching Bloemfontein on the 2nd, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation confiscating the property of those who had been in arms. All who had aided them were to be fined by Commissions which he announced that it was his intention to appoint. A reward of £2,000 was offered for the apprehension of Commandant General Pretorius, and £500 each for the apprehension of Andries Spies, Jan Krynauw, and Louw Pretorius. The farms of Jan Krynauw, Louw Pretorius, Frederick Otto, Jan Jacobs, Philip van Coller, Jan

¹ Founded for the benefit of the Riet River Koranas in December 1835 by agents of the Berlin Missionary Society, on a tract of land given to them by Adam Kok. It is situated on the Riet River, but some distance within the territory over which Adam Kok resigned his authority in the treaty with Sir Harry Smith. The missionaries claimed a tract of land nearly one hundred and fifty square miles in extent, but their boundaries were at this time disputed, and remained so until fixed by Sir George Clerk on the 11th of February 1854.

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Viljoen, and Adrian Stander were declared forfeited. And the following fines were announced: Ocker Jacobus van Schalkwyk £200, Pieter Louw and Jan Botes each £150, Christoffel Snyman £100, and Roelof Grobbelaar £50.

From Bloemfontein the High Commissioner and the troops moved on to Winburg, and reached that village on the 7th of September. It was anticipated that the republican party would have made another stand at this place, but no opposition whatever was encountered. Here the first act was to proclaim Her Majesty's sovereignty over the whole country between the Orange and the Vaal, which was accompanied by a salute of twenty-one guns. This was followed by another proclamation, dividing the Sovereignty into the four districts of Bloemfontein, Caledon River, Winburg, and the Vaal River. The new district of Vaal River was to comprise the country between the Sand and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg, previously part of Winburg. A strong fort, His Excellency announced, would be built at Bloemfontein, and a large garrison would be stationed there.

At Winburg one of the Commandants, named Paul Bester, who had taken part with Pretorius, surrendered and expressed contrition for what he had done. Upon this he was merely required to pay £22 10s. towards the war expenses, and was then received into the High Commissioner's favour. It was announced that all who had taken up arms against the British Government were banished from the district of Winburg except Paul Bester and Gerrit Kruger. A reward of £1,000 each was offered for the apprehension of Willem Jacobs and Andries Spies, and £500 each for the apprehension of Adrian Stander and Frederik Bezuidenhout.

The following appointments were then made:

Thomas Whalley Vowe to be Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of the district of Caledon River, in place of Mr. O'Reilly, who, at his own request, was restored to his former office of Clerk of the Peace at Somerset.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, who had taken no part in the armed opposition to Her Majesty's authority and who was highly applauded by Sir Harry Smith, to be landdrost of the

district of Vaal River. Mr. Potgieter was then at Potchefstroom, and until he could arrive, Messrs. Pieter Venter and Paul Bester were appointed a Commission to act as landdrost.

Mr. Biddulph, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Winburg, having been wounded, Mr. Frederick Rex was appointed to act for him until his recovery.

Mr. Richard Southey, Secretary to the High Commissioner, who was to remain in the Sovereignty for a time on confidential duty, to be President of the Commissions for fining those who had been in arms against the Government and those who had aided them.

War Tribute Commissions. For Bloemfontein: Major Warden, Mr. Joseph Allison, Commandant Pieter Erasmus, and Mr. A. J. Erwee. For Caledon River: Mr. T. W. Vowe, Mr. Anthony O'Reilly, Commandant J. T. Snyman, and Mr. Hermanus Wessels. For Winburg: Messrs. Frederick Rex, Isaac Dyason, M. Wessels, and G. H. Meyer. For Vaal River: Mr. Pieter Venter, Mr. Paul Bester, Commandant Botha, and the secretary to the landdrost.

At the Governor's invitation, Moshesh and most of the petty chiefs in the Sovereignty went to Winburg to meet him. The Basuto chief was accompanied by some hundreds of his people, all mounted on horses,—animals which were unknown in the country only twenty years before. Reviews of the English troops and native war dances followed, and occupied the attention of all parties. The intercourse of the chiefs with His Excellency during several days was of the most friendly nature, but no further arrangements were made regarding the position of the native tribes towards each other or towards the Europeans.

Sir Harry Smith left Winburg on the 16th of September, and arrived at Smithfield¹ on the 18th, where he was welcomed

¹ That is the farm Waterfall, the property of Mr. C. S. Halse, where it was first intended that the seat of magistracy of the Caledon River district should be. The farm was then called Smithfield, in honour of Sir Harry Smith. The seat of magistracy was subsequently removed to the farm Riit Poort, where on the 1st of November 1849 the first erven of the present village of Smithfield were sold. The district, though officially known as Caledon River, soon came to be commonly called after the village the District of Smithfield.

by a large number of the inhabitants of the district. A loyal address was presented to him, and at a meeting which was held, satisfaction was expressed with the turn that affairs had taken. On the morning of the 19th, His Excellency left on his return to the Colony. He crossed the Orange at Buffels Vlei, where he was met by a number of the inhabitants of the Division of Albert.¹ At their request he promised to have a town laid out at the place of meeting, and to give it the name of Aliwal.

The War Tribute Commissions proceeded by inquiring into the conduct of nearly all the farmers in the Sovereignty. They levied fines, varying in amount according to the ability of the individual to pay, upon all who were found to have been implicated in resistance to Her Majesty's authority. The total sum realised by the sale of confiscated property and by the fines levied was rather over £10,000.

A fort was built at Bloemfontein, and four iron nine-pounders were mounted upon it. A garrison was stationed there, consisting of two companies of the 45th Regiment, one company of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and twenty-five Artillerymen with three six-pounders. Major Blenkinsopp of the 45th was placed in command. The structure was named the Queen's Fort.

After the battle of Boomplaats the most violent opponents of British authority moved over the Vaal. The places which they vacated were filled by fresh Emigrants from the Cape Colony, many of whom, unfortunately for the country, were mere land speculators.

In October 1847, the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, then in session in Cape Town, resolved to send a Commission to visit the Emigrants north of the Orange. For this purpose the Rev. Mr. Murray, minister of Graaff-Reinet, and the Rev. Mr. Albertyn, minister of Prince Albert, with Messrs. Pienaar

¹ By a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith, dated 5th of July 1848, the north-eastern boundary of the Colony had been extended from the line of the 17th December 1847 to the Wilge Spruit from its junction with the Orange to the Wittebergen, the Wittebergen to the Kraai River, the Kraai River to its source in the Stormbergen, the Stormbergen to the source of the White Kei, and the White Kei to its junction with the Zwart Kei. The present district of Herschel was not then included in the Colony, but was added by a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith dated 31st of July 1850, which made the river Tees the boundary.

and De Wit, elders of Richmond and Victoria West, were appointed.

The Rev. Daniel Lindley of Maritzburg had formerly held occasional services at Potchefstroom and Winburg, otherwise the Emigrants had been without clerical guidance for twelve years, though lay services had constantly been kept up. Marriages had been performed before the civil courts. Baptisms had been deferred since Mr. Lindley's last tour, when over five hundred children were brought to him to be admitted by that sacrament into the Christian community.

During these years it had not been possible to have schools, and the most that parents could do for their children was to teach them to spell out with difficulty the easier passages of the Bible. That was the one sole volume from which all the history, the geography, and the science known to the generation that grew up in the wandering was derived. And the simple language of the Old Testament, much of it applying to a people leading a similar life to their own, wandering in a wilderness, depending upon flocks and herds, fighting with heathen tribes for existence, had a meaning for them which it cannot have for dwellers in the towns of Europe. The very skies and the landscapes, the animals and the plants, of the ancient Scriptures were the same that they were familiar with in daily life. Thus they came to regard themselves as God's peculiar people and to consider all education beyond that of the Bible as superfluous, and all that was not in accord with its science dangerous and sinful. These views did not indeed originate with the Emigrants. Such opinions had been gathering strength among their ancestors for five or six generations, but they reached their highest point of development with those who grew up in the wandering.

The Commission proceeded without delay to perform the duties entrusted to it. Everywhere throughout a lengthened tour it was received with the greatest satisfaction, and at every centre of population religious services were held and the sacraments were administered. Within the Sovereignty there was prior to this date only one consistory, that of Winburg. The Commission organised another, for the farmers within the

Griqua Reserve, termed the Consistory of Riet River. In November, 1848, this consistory petitioned Sir Harry Smith to grant them permission to establish a church and village at Zuurfontein, about fifteen miles within the Griqua boundary. The place belonged to a Griqua named Piet Hendriks, who made no use whatever of it, and was willing to dispose of it for £900, which they were prepared to give. Adam Kok, however, objected so firmly to the alienation of this or any other ground within the Reserve to Europeans, that the project of establishing a church at Zuurfontein had to be abandoned.

The Synodical Commission, a committee which regulates matters connected with the Dutch Reformed Church when the Synod is not in session,¹ towards the close of 1848, sent a second deputation to the Emigrant Farmers. Its members were Dr. William Robertson of Swellendam and the Rev. Philip Edward Faure of Wynberg. These clergymen organized consistories at Smithfield, at Vaal River (later Harrismith), and at Bloemfontein where, on the 6th of January 1849, the foundation stone of a church was laid in their presence by Major Warden.

At Commandant Kruger's residence at Magalisberg, Messrs. Robertson and Faure were visited by the great explorer of modern times, the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, then a missionary with the Bakwena chief Setyeli. It would be hardly possible to find a man not born in South Africa more closely resembling a Boer in character than Dr. Livingstone. He had all the indomitable perseverance, the disregard of difficulties, the coolness in time of peril, the hatred of restraint of any kind, which characterized the Emigrants. But he had been educated in the school of modern English ideas, and consequently he and the farmers bore little love to each other.

Dr. Livingstone's object in going to see the deputation was to request them to use their influence to obtain permission for him to station a native teacher with one of the Betschuana clans. Dr. Robertson was, like himself, a Scotch clergyman, and the Rev. Mr. Faure was a zealous promoter of missions, so

¹ See "The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, a Historical Sketch." By the Rev. John M'Carter. A small volume of 147 pages, Edinburgh, 1869.

that he probably looked for sympathy as well as aid. The deputation gave the following account of what transpired on the occasion, which throws a good deal of light upon an event to be mentioned at a later date :

" We promised to speak with the Commandants on the subject, and accordingly did so, representing to them that they ought never to stand in the way of the dissemination of the gospel ; the more so, as we hoped it might yet appear that their emigration had been the means, under the direction of an all-wise Providence, of preparing the way for the gospel into those regions of darkness and of the shadow of death. They declared themselves not opposed to the spread of the gospel, but, on the contrary, willing to assist in promoting it, especially if Moravian or Dutch missionaries came to labour among the natives. At the time, however, they stated that they could not comply with Dr. Livingstone's request, because he provided the natives with firearms and ammunition ; adding that shortly before the inhabitants of one kraal had destroyed those of another by means of firearms obtained from him.

On our putting the question to the Commandants, they declared themselves ready to maintain this statement in presence of Dr. Livingstone. This we communicated to him, on which he mentioned to us that he had given some guns and ammunition to a certain party who pretended that they were going out on an elephant hunt, but who, instead of doing so, had gone to attack a neighbouring kraal. We therefore proposed to Dr. Livingstone to meet the Commandants, when the question between him and them might be explained, and the matter respecting the stationing of native teachers be satisfactorily settled. To this proposal, Dr. Livingstone gave his consent ; and it was agreed that the proposed interview should take place immediately after the religious service, which was soon to commence.

When the Commandants, however, at our request, came to our apartment for the purpose of meeting Dr. Livingstone, he was not to be found, and we were informed that it would be in vain to wait for him, as he had left the place during the time of divine service. We were afterwards informed that he had been warmly disputing with some of the farmers, telling them among other things that they were British subjects. Whether Dr. Livingstone knew that by these disputings he had excited an angry feeling against him, which was certainly the case, and on that account thought it more prudent to depart previous to the proposed interview, we are unable to determine.

On the 12th of March 1849, the Rev. Andrew Murray (now of Wellington) was appointed minister of Bloemfontein,

and consulent of the other congregations. Already schools had been established at Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Smithfield. Through the medium of the Synod, the Governor was endeavouring to obtain from Holland clergymen and teachers for the still vacant places.

On the same date the British Resident was relieved of the duties of Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bloemfontein, and Mr. Charles Urquhart Stuart was appointed to perform them.

On the 14th of March 1849, Regulations for the Government of the Sovereignty were proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, to come in force on the last of that month.

A Legislative Council was created, to consist of the British Resident, the four magistrates, and two unofficial members for each district, who were to be nominated by the High Commissioner from among the landowners of the district. The members so nominated were to retain their seats for three years. The Council was to meet once a year at Bloemfontein. It had power to frame laws binding upon all persons in those parts of the Sovereignty which were not Native Reserves and all persons in the Reserves who were not subjects of the native chiefs. The High Commissioner was to have a veto on all laws. The native chiefs were left in full exercise of power over their people within the Reserves.

Hitherto persons charged with serious offences had been sent to Colesberg for trial. A high criminal court was now created for the Sovereignty, to consist of three of the magistrates sitting together. Commandant Hendrik Potgieter had not accepted the office tendered to him by Sir Harry Smith. The Commission which had acted as landdrost of the district of Vaal River was therefore replaced by Mr. Paul Bester, who was appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate. The seat of his court was fixed at a place then called Vrededorp, but which received the name of Harrismith a few weeks later when building lots for a village were first sold (16th of May 1849).

On the 27th of June the names of the unofficial members of the first Council were gazetted. They were Messrs. Andries

Jacobus Erwee, Willem Daniel Jacobs, J. T. Snyman, Hermanus Wessels, G. H. Meyer, Abraham Smit, Pieter Slabbert, and Cornelis Engelbrecht. The first meeting of the new legislative body took place on the 18th of July. The proceedings were unimportant, and closed on the 21st.

While these events were taking place, the animosity between the Basuto and Batlokua tribes was exhibiting itself in deeds of spoliation. One such case occurred in February 1848, in which a party of Bataung carried off some five hundred cattle belonging to Sikonyela. Complaint was thereupon made to the British Resident by the aggrieved party, but before Major Warden could communicate with Moshesh, that chief had settled the matter by requiring the stolen cattle to be sent back to their owner.

In September of the same year, a much more serious disturbance took place. A son of Sikonyela drove away the people of two Basuto villages, and set fire to the huts. Upon this Molapo, Moshesh's son, came down upon the Batlokua villages in the neighbourhood, set fire to them, drove off their cattle, and killed two men. The Batlokua made reprisals on other Basuto villages, and the area of disturbance was widening fast when, by Moshesh's orders, a strong Basuto army, under command of Letsie, went to Molapo's assistance. In one of the skirmishes that followed, a wife of Sikonyela's brother Mota and seventeen Batlokua were killed. Large herds of cattle were also seized by the Basuto.

The British Resident invited the contending chiefs to meet the Land Commission which was then engaged in settling claims to farms in the Winburg district. Moshesh appeared with sixteen hundred warriors at his back, all mounted and carrying firearms. Sikonyela had a similar escort a thousand strong. With difficulty they were persuaded to agree to a suspension of hostilities for four weeks to enable the High Commissioner to form a decision, and the cause and events of the quarrel were then investigated. Sikonyela desired that a boundary line should be fixed between him and Moshesh. He asserted that they, the two chiefs, had agreed in 1833 that their territories should be separated by the Putiatsana and a

line drawn from the junction of that stream with the Caledon to Lishuane mission station. Moshesh objected at first to any boundary, but ultimately was induced to consent to one. That his people would not observe it was, however, pointed out by one of the French missionaries present, who gave it as his opinion that a force of five hundred soldiers would be required to protect such a boundary.

A report of the whole proceedings was then sent to the High Commissioner, who on the 7th of December 1848 gave his decision. His Excellency confirmed the proposed boundary between the two tribes, giving Sikonyela a small tract of land south of the Caledon, and adjudged that all cattle seized by either party should be restored to their respective owners.

While the northern border of the Lesuto was in the condition just described, events of much greater importance, because their effects were to be permanent, were transpiring in the south. As soon as it was known that a boundary was about to be fixed which would cut off for ever a portion of the territory claimed by Moshesh under the Napier treaty, the Basuto became very uneasy. An order issued by the Civil Commissioner of Caledon River, requiring a census to be taken, occasioned a slight tumult. The disturbance itself was a trivial matter, but it indicated that trouble was in store.

A few weeks later, Mr. Southey, who had been entrusted by the High Commissioner with this duty, requested Moshesh to meet him at Smithfield, for the purpose of laying down a line between the Europeans and the Basuto. Moshesh professed to be unable to travel, owing to sickness, and expressed his disinclination to the proposal; but he requested Mr. Rolland, the missionary at Beersheba, to proceed to Smithfield with his son Nehemiah and his most trusted councillor to meet Mr. Southey and explain his views.

Moshesh desired that the country of his people should be held by the British Government to be that defined by the Napier treaty, with the addition of a considerable tract beyond. Within those limits, he maintained that the natives, wherever residing, should be subject to his rule. But as regarded the Europeans who had settled on farms in the southern portion

of this territory, he was willing that they should be placed under the jurisdiction of the English Authorities, and what he understood by a boundary was a line beyond which they should not be allowed to occupy any land. Under this plan the northern part of his country would be reserved entirely for the Basuto, and the southern part be inhabited by a mixed population of Europeans and Basuto, each nationality under its own government.

Sir Harry Smith's intention was that a boundary should be drawn between the Europeans and the Basuto wherever it could be laid down so as to disturb the smallest number of actual occupants on the 3rd of February 1848, and that all on one side should be under the government of the English Authorities; that on the other side what may be termed foreign affairs should be under the control of Her Majesty's High Commissioner, but domestic affairs should be left to the government of Moshesh.

It would have been impossible to lay down a line that would satisfy all the parties interested. In the extensive district stretching from the Long Mountain to the junction of the Caledon and Orange, which only a few years before was almost uninhabited, there had been recently, and there was still, a struggle between whites and blacks for the possession of land. Europeans from the south and natives from all sides had been pouring into it, each selecting the most fertile spots and immediately thereafter asserting the rights of occupation. In some parts they were all mixed together, a native kraal in the centre of a group of farms or a farm in the centre of a group of kraals. Any line whatever must have left Europeans under Moshesh and cut natives off from him, unless both were required to remove. And none were willing to remove, and there was no physical force at hand to compel them to. Such were the difficulties under which an attempt was made to lay down a boundary between the Europeans and the Basuto.

Mr. Southey proposed a line almost identical with the present one between the Orange and the Caledon continued to the source of the Modder River, and wrote to Moshesh that he should submit it to the High Commissioner. He promised,

however, to request that it should not be confirmed until the chief had time to write to His Excellency on the subject, if in his opinion it required any alteration.

The line was not confirmed. Mr. Casalis wrote to Sir Harry Smith that its adoption would necessitate the removal of *at least* forty villages of Basuto, upon which the British Resident was instructed to ascertain whether another could not be fixed upon that would interfere less with actual occupants. In the winter of 1849, Major Warden, taking with him a land surveyor, visited Smithfield, where he invited Moshesh to meet him, but the chief did not receive the letter in time. Mr. Rex, the surveyor, was then directed to examine the country carefully, and make a map of the boundary that would best meet the intentions of the Governor.

It is necessary now to revert to Sikonyela. Two days after the conference between the chiefs and the Land Commission, the Basuto captain Letsela fell upon a Batlokua kraal, killed a Motlokua, and drove off one hundred and forty head of cattle, assigning as a reason for doing so that the old award in his favour against Sikonyela had not been complied with. For more than a month after this there was no attempt at retaliation, but on the 2nd of January 1849, after the announcement of the High Commissioner's decision, a Batlokua army in three divisions, under Sikonyela himself, his brother Mota, and his son David, attacked the kraals of two petty Basuto captains, killed twenty-three men, and carried off some women and children as well as a large booty in cattle.

Moshesh then appealed to the British Resident. Major Warden met Sikonyela, who tried to throw the blame upon his adversary, but could not clear himself. He seemed bent upon war, and said that nothing but the blood of a daughter of Moshesh could atone for the death of Mota's wife. After this Major Warden had an interview with the Basuto chief, who professed to be most anxious for peace, though he asserted that he wanted no help to fight his battles, if the British Authorities would let him alone to deal with the Batlokua.

The British Resident recommended that the High Commissioner's award should be carried out by each party bring-

ing to Mekuatleng and there delivering to the Bataung chief Molitsane all cattle seized. Both chiefs professedly consented, but neither did anything else. Sikonyela continued his attacks, and Moshesh returned them. Major Warden thought it would be difficult to say who was most in fault, because, in his opinion, Moshesh should have withdrawn his people from the territory of Sikonyela as soon as possible after the boundary between them had been confirmed by the High Commissioner, and that he had not done.

Next the Batlokua fell upon the Bataung, and then the Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and a swarm of vagabonds of a similar stamp from the Lower Vaal, under Jan Bloem, scenting plunder, joined Sikonyela. The cattle of the Batlokua were nearly all seized by the Basuto and the Bataung, and the confusion was daily becoming greater.

In June the British Resident had a conference with the contending chiefs, at which terms of peace were arranged, by all parties agreeing to restore their plunder. Moshesh kept his promise fairly well, by giving up about twelve hundred head of cattle, but Molitsane only surrendered three hundred out of four thousand head, and Sikonyela delivered nothing.

The cattle were hardly out of Moshesh's hands when Sikonyela, who in the meantime had received further reinforcements of Koranas and had been joined by a few Fingos, swooped down upon some Bataung and Basuto kraals, killed thirty-four individuals, and drove off the stock. Following up his success, he attacked and burned Molitsane's own village, seized the grain, and turned the women and children off in a destitute condition. It was midwinter, and the weather was stormy and so bitterly cold that numbers of the wretched creatures perished before shelter could be reached.

The Basuto chief immediately called upon the British Resident to restore order. Without a strong military force no man could have done this, and Major Warden's only expedient was to call another meeting of the chiefs. In his notice to this effect he guaranteed to them all safe conduct to and from the meeting, and promised that any one causing a breach of

the peace during their absence should be visited with certain and most severe punishment.

A few days later the British Resident received a letter from the High Commissioner, in which Sir Harry Smith stated that it was evident Moshesh was acting dishonestly, that he must be humbled, and that a coalition of all the other chiefs should be formed against him. Should hostile measures be necessary, a body of troops should also be employed, and a strong commando of farmers should be called out.

With these instructions—which he had himself suggested—as his guide, the British Resident presided over a meeting of chiefs at Bloemfontein on the 27th of August 1849. Moshesh did not attend, but he sent two of his most trusted councillors to represent him, and professed to be willing to make concessions to obtain peace. Moroko, Molitsane, Adam Kok, and Carolus Baatje were present, but neither Sikonyela nor Gert Taaibosch took any notice of the invitation. The Boundary Question was almost the only one discussed. Moshesh was blamed for not having withdrawn his people from beyond the line fixed by the High Commissioner between him and Sikonyela, and the coalition which was desired was formed.

On the very day on which the meeting was held at Bloemfontein, Sikonyela and Gert Taaibosch fell upon some Basuto and Bataung villages and plundered them; but though Moshesh and Molitsane appealed to the British Resident to keep the promise made in his notice, he did nothing more than write to the offenders exhorting them not to break the peace again, to which letter they paid not the slightest attention.

Such was the condition of affairs when Major Warden invited Moshesh to meet him at Beersheba and arrange a boundary between the Caledon River District and Basutoland. The chief was given to understand that if he would comply, the Batlokua and Koranas would be restrained from further aggressions, and he would be regarded as a faithful friend of the English Government; but if he refused to do so, all the petty chiefs in the land, Molitsane only excepted, were prepared to join the European forces against him.

Moshesh did not meet the British Resident at Beersheba.

but he sent his son Letsie and one of his councillors. Letsie was informed of the boundary decided upon, and was asked to give his consent to it. He replied that his consent would be like that of a dog dragged by a riem round its neck. On behalf of Moshesh he proposed a line from the junction of Korneet Spruit with the Caledon to the western extremity of the Koesberg (the continuation, on account of its affecting the Beersheba lands, to be arranged at another time); but the British Resident declined to entertain it. Letsie conveyed to his father a letter enclosing a sketch of the boundary, and informing him that upon his accepting it the bands of Batlokua and Koranas would be brought to order.

With the consequences of refusal thus brought clearly before him, Moshesh affixed his mark to a letter, dated on the 1st of October 1849, agreeing to the proposed limits of the Lesuto. He begged that his people on the European side should not be driven from their pastures or otherwise ill-treated, and pointed out that the villages cut off from his jurisdiction were more than a hundred in number. He further requested that boundaries should be made for the two mission stations, Beersheba and Hebron, and that they should be connected with the Lesuto by a passage at least two miles in width.

Of the hundred Basuto villages referred to by Moshesh as situated west of the line, most were residences of only one or two families. The boundary of Major Warden was considerably more to the advantage of the Basuto than the proposed one of Mr. Southey, which Mr. Casalis described as cutting off *at least* forty villages. The discrepancy is explained partly by the omission of clusters of only two or three huts by the missionary, but principally by a recent migration of Basuto into the thinly inhabited district below the Long Mountain.

The French missionaries, who had been called to witness Moshesh's signature, immediately addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Harry Smith. In a few words they drew attention to the manner in which the chief's consent was obtained, pointed out an alteration in the line that would preserve to the Basuto sixty or seventy villages now cut off, and expressed an opinion that if His Excellency should approve

of the Warden Line, feelings of great discontent would remain in the tribe.

The British Resident promised Moshesh that the Basuto in the Caledon River district should receive the same protection as Europeans, and that they should hold their lands in the same manner. He anticipated that within a twelvemonth most of them would have sold their ground to white men, and would have removed to the Reserve occupied by their tribe.

Major Warden requested the High Commissioner to confirm the line, but though it was approved of before the 31st of October, as may be seen in the reply to the French missionaries, it was not until the 18th of December that it was established by formal notice. It cut off a very large part of the Lesuto as defined by the Napier treaty, but much of this was never in the occupation of the Basuto people. Putting aside that treaty, their claim to the country below the Long Mountain, or any portion of it, rested on exactly the same ground as that of the European inhabitants—they had found it a waste, and had moved into it. Whether the line laid down by Major Warden gave them a fair share of that district, or whether it gave to the Europeans, or to the Basuto, more than they were strictly entitled to, will be decided by every individual according to his own ideas of justice.

As soon as this boundary had been settled, the British Resident directed his attention to the country occupied by the various clans further to the north. In October and November he laid down lines, defining the reserves allotted to Sikonyela, Gert Taaibosch, Molitsane, Carolus Baatje, and Moroko, and informed these chiefs that all the natives living within their bounds were thereafter to be subject to their jurisdiction. Their outer boundaries were the actual lines then separating occupied farms from native village commonages. All the parties interested agreed to them without demur. Wherever there were prominent positions, beacons were placed, for owing to the circumstances of occupation this boundary could not be defined by streams or mountain ranges. On the 18th of De-

September 1849, a notice was published by order of the High Commissioner, confirming the lines thus laid down between the Native Reserves and the portion of the Sovereignty set apart for European occupation.

The system of government henceforth to be carried out was explained by Major Warden to be that any chief allowing his people to pass the limits of his country to the prejudice of another tribe would be viewed as a common enemy, and treated as such. This would have been possible if the British Resident had been provided with sufficient military force, or if there had been some approach to equality of strength among the chiefs, or if even the whole of the others combined had been as powerful as Moshesh. Major Warden certainly thought they were much stronger than they subsequently proved to be. He asserted on one occasion that he believed eight hundred Koranas to be equal to two thousand Basuto, and on another that he believed the Koranas of Gert Taabosch and Jan Bloem to be more than a match for all the other tribes, those of Moshesh, Molitsane, Sikonyela, and Moroko, together.

The fault of the system was want of power to enforce it. Sir Harry Smith made it a condition of holding a farm that every able-bodied man upon it should be liable to military service in aid of Her Majesty *and her allies*, whenever called upon by the British Resident or the magistrates. But almost to a man the European inhabitants of the Sovereignty were opposed to this principle. As far as the outer line between themselves and the Reserves were concerned, they were quite willing to protect it. But they maintained that it was neither their duty nor their interest to interfere in native quarrels which did not affect them, and as Her Majesty's allies would be whichever tribe was for the time being in favour, under such a land tenure they would be continually embroiled in war. From them, therefore, no hearty assistance could be expected.

Henceforth the petty clans along the Caledon relied not only for protection, but for existence itself, upon the British Resident, who was without a police or an army of any strength. Nothing but the sagacity of Moshesh prevented the Basuto from driving them all from their borders.

The district of Thaba Ntshu, where Moroko had been living since 1833, was set apart as a Reserve for his section of the Barolong. The sections of the same tribe under Tawane and Matlabe we left in the Mooi River district north of the Vaal. There they lived quietly, without giving or receiving any cause of complaint, until the country around them became occupied by people who had no cause to treat them with greater favour than other natives. Tawane then, by Commandant Potgieter's advice, moved away to the country of his birth.

Matlabe preferred to remain where he was. For a short period after Commandant Potgieter's removal to Ohrigstad, the Mooi River district was in a condition of partial lawlessness, and Matlabe was obliged to remove; but as soon as order was restored he returned, and for many years afterwards continued to live on the ground given to him by Commandant Potgieter. It will not be necessary to refer to him again.

It was towards the close of the year 1848 that Tawane removed from Mooi River to Lotlakana (now better known as Rietfontein), in the country of Tao. He had been away from the land of his birth more than fifteen years, and he returned to find it in a very different condition from that in which he left it. With the overthrow of Moselekatse and the establishment of the Emigrant Government north of the Vaal, an era of peace and safety had set in, and the remnants of the former tribes had left their retreats in the desert and were again planting corn and building huts on the banks of streams whose waters their fathers had drunk.

Tawane's following was small when he reached Lotlakana, but he was comparatively wealthy in cattle, and he at once attracted about him those Barolong who had become Balala in the dispersion. His principal kraal and his outposts grew with great rapidity, and in less than a year his retainers could be numbered by thousands.

There were several farmers living along the Molopo and at some of the best fountains in the country before the return of Tawane, but he was not in a position to dispute their right to be there. In fact, he was less independent than he had been in the Mooi River district, for now he was required to pay the

labour-tax. Further than this, however, his rule over the Barolong who were assembling about him was not interfered with, and he ended his life in prosperity and quietness. He died at the end of 1849, and was succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Montsiwa, then a man of some thirty years of age.

CHAPTER VIII.

TREATMENT of Natives outside the Reserves—Churches and Schools—Revenue and Expenditure—Publication of a Newspaper—Assignment of Locations to Kausop or Scheel Kobus, Goliath Yzerbek, David Danser, and Jan Bloem—Claims of the Captains Cornelis Kok and Andries Waterboer—Issue of Letters Patent creating a Constitution for the Orange River Sovereignty—Murders by Bushmen—Dealings with Poshuli—Feuds of the Batlokua and Basuto—Interference of the British Resident—Plunder of Moroko's Barolong—Conduct of Poshuli—Hostilities with the Baphuti—Objection of the Farmers to interfere in Native Feuds—Commando against Moshesh—Battle of Viervoet—Disastrous Results of the Defeat at Viervoet—Arrival of Troops and Native Auxiliaries from Natal—Plunder of the Loyal Farmers by the Basuto—Views of the Imperial Government—The Kaffir War—Action of the Republican Party in the Sovereignty—Alliance of Moshesh with the Party hostile to England—Attitude of Mr. Pretorius—Arrival in the Sovereignty of the Assistant Commissioners Hogge and Owen—Proceedings of the Assistant Commissioners—Conference between the Assistant Commissioners and Delegates from the Country north of the Vaal—The Sand River Convention, by which the Independence of the Transvaal Emigrants was acknowledged—Ratification of the Convention by the Volksraad and its Approval by the Imperial Authorities—The Barolong of Montsiwa.

THE history of the Sovereignty from this date onward is little else than an account of a struggle with Moshesh. Outside the Reserves there were not many natives living, but wherever they were in actual possession of ground on the 3rd of February 1848 their right to it was acknowledged. The only difference in their position that Sir Harry Smith's measures made was that they were now subject to the jurisdiction of European magistrates. It was anticipated, and the anticipation was correct, that most of them

would desire to dispose of their land and remove to the Reserves. But in order that they might not be unfairly dealt with, it was notified that no sales of ground by natives would be considered legal unless made before the Civil Commissioner of the district in which the land was situated.

In January 1850, the Rev. Dirk van Velden was appointed clergyman of Winburg. Ministers for the other congregations were not obtainable, and if they had been, there were no funds with which to pay their salaries. Messrs. Murray and Van Velden were therefore obliged to act as consents for the parishes of Harrismith, Smithfield, and Riet River. Each district was now provided with a school.

The revenue had not been as large as the Governor had estimated, and the expenditure had been greater. On the 10th of September 1850 an account was made out by the Sovereignty Treasurer, which showed that the expenditure to that date for civil purposes alone had been in excess of the revenue by £4,905. This amount had been drawn as a loan from the Treasury of the Cape Colony, but there was no possibility of paying it. The revenue of the year 1851 was £6,105, and the expenditure £6,095.¹

On the 10th of June 1850 the first number of a weekly newspaper termed the *Friend of the Sovereignty* was issued at Bloemfontein by a branch of the firm of Godlonton and White, of Grahamstown. This paper, printed partly in Dutch and partly in English, is still in existence under the name of the *Friend of the Free State*.

The district between the Modder and the Vaal rivers had been purchased by Mr. D. S. Fourie for the party of which he was the head from the Korana captain David Danser, and the right of the purchasers had for eleven years never been disputed. In August 1850 Major Warden visited that part of the Sovereignty. At Van Wyk's Vlei (now Boshof) he heard loud complaints from the farmers of robberies by a roving petty captain named Kausop, or Scheel Kobus as he

¹ By an Ordinance of the Cape Legislative Council, in February 1852 the sum of £9,684, said to have been advanced to the Sovereignty, was remitted. But on examining the items which make up that sum, it will be seen that several were not fairly chargeable to the Sovereignty Government.

was usually termed by the Europeans. The Major sent for Kausop, who made his appearance with twenty followers. He stated that he was of higher rank than Danser, that his ancestors exercised authority over Danser's, and therefore he laid claim to the whole district. He was informed that his claim would not be admitted, nor existing ownership be disturbed, but that as a resident in the country he would be provided for. It was ascertained that he had a following of about two hundred souls. Major Warden recommended that he should be provided with a location along the Vaal. Sir Harry Smith approved of this, and Kausop was put in possession of a tract of land seventy-two square miles in extent.

Adjoining his location on the upper side, a plot of ground stretching ten miles back from the river, ten miles above Platberg, and ten miles below that mountain, or two hundred square miles in extent, had in the preceding year been allotted jointly to David Danser and Goliath Yzerbek, the latter a petty Korana captain who had formerly lived on the banks of the Riet, and for whose use the land of the mission station of Bethany had been reserved in the treaty between Sir Peregrine Maitland and Adam Kok. Goliath had wandered away from Bethany, where he felt uncomfortable on account of being hemmed in by farms. Along the Lower Vaal he could enjoy a greater sense of freedom, for across the river a vast extent of almost waste country stretched away to the northwest. But a mistake was made in giving him and Danser joint proprietorship in a location, for they began to quarrel almost at once. Major Warden estimated that between them they had a following of about three hundred and fifty families.

Adjoining Kausop's location on the lower side was a Reserve allotted to a half-breed named Jan Bloem, who was the head of a Korana horde. This reserve was extended in February 1852 to the bend of the river where it is joined by the Hart. The Berlin Mission Society had some few years previously founded the station of Pniel on the southern bank of the Vaal, and these reserves were laid out with a view of bringing the Koranas within its influence. This is the ground on which eighteen years later diamonds were first found in large num-

bers. In 1850 a few farmers who had previously been living there made no objection to Major Warden's proposal that they should resign their land to the Koranas, and receive allotments further back from the river. As for Danser, he was hardly in possession of a location when he sold some farms in it, but the British Resident declared the sales illegal and refused to allow transfer.

The Griqua captain Cornelis Kok, of Campbell, laid claim to some land in this part of the Sovereignty, though he had no subjects living on the southern side of the Vaal. His right of chieftainship was acknowledged by Sir Harry Smith, and he was informed (1st of May 1848) that directions had been given to Major Warden to have the boundaries of his territory properly defined by a Land Commission. But this definition was never made, because the ground which he and his people occupied was found to be beyond the Sovereignty. His claim on the left bank of the river was then so far admitted that as a proprietor he was allowed to sell farms to any one who chose to buy them, but the Sovereignty Government exercised exclusive jurisdiction over all the inhabitants between the Modder and the Vaal, except those in the Reserves.¹

Between the Modder and Orange rivers, the country west of Adam Kok's Reserve was unoccupied. It was claimed by the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer, and Cornelis Kok also asserted a right to a portion of it. Waterboer's claim rested on his treaty with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in which the little kraal of Ramah was mentioned as the extremity of his territory, and this was the south-western point of Adam Kok's

¹ Without reference to the authorities which have been at my disposal, probably without even a knowledge of the existence of many of them, the Land Court of Griqualand West, which was specially constituted to investigate and decide disputes concerning the ownership of ground, arrived at precisely the same conclusion with regard to the native claims to this territory. After hearing evidence continuously for several months, on the 18th of March 1876 Judge Stockenström delivered an elaborate judgment upon the various classes of claims to land in what was then the Crown Colony of Griqualand West, in 1871 session having been taken by the High Commissioner from Nicholas Waterboer (son of Andries), of the territory containing the diamond fields. The evidence before the Court was conclusive that Waterboer had no right whatever to that part of the country. The judgment enters deeply into the history of the Griqua people. It fills sixteen columns of the *Diamond News and Griqualand West Government Gazette*.

Reserve. Further, Sir Harry Smith, without entering into particulars, had said to Waterboer that his district and Kok's might join. Still, the question was open how far his ground extended north from Ramah. Cornelis Kok claimed the angle between the Modder River and Adam Kok's line, but Waterboer maintained that the entire district up to the Modder should be his. Neither, however, seemed to attach much value to it. Major Warden was inclined to treat the whole as waste land, seeing that neither of the captains had any use for it, that both resided beyond the Vaal, and both had ample territory there. And he proceeded to issue certificates for several farms in it. But the soil in that part was so uninviting that applicants for ground there were very few.

On the 13th of December 1852 Andries Waterboer died, and ten days later the people of Griquatown elected his son Nicholas as his successor. On the 18th of the following January, the Councillors of the clan wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Darling, requesting that the newly-elected captain might be recognised by the English and Colonial Governments as the lawful chief of Griquatown and the surrounding districts, and that he might be admitted to the same alliance as was described in the treaty with his father. But the day of such alliances was past. The High Commissioner caused a reply to be sent, recognising the new chief and wishing him and his people prosperity; but stating that the treaty with Andries Waterboer was a personal one, and that His Excellency did not feel authorised to enter into another.

On the 25th of March 1851 Letters Patent were issued at Westminster creating a Constitution for the Orange River Sovereignty. The Constitution was sent out by Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, but was never promulgated, owing to the condition of the country at the time of its arrival. The only effect which it had was to prevent the continuation of a Legislative Council after the close of the term of three years for which the first members were appointed. In addition to the members of this Council whose names have already been given, Mr. Henry Halse was appointed on the 18th of August 1850, and Messrs. Frederick

Lindo and Andrew Hudson Bain on the 29th of December 1851.

In January 1850 Major Warden called out a commando for the purpose of clearing the Caledon River district of Bushmen. A party of these marauders had recently presented themselves at the homestead of a farmer named Van Hansen, and one of them had demanded some tobacco. Upon the farmer refusing to give it, the Bushmen murdered him, his wife, four children, and two servants; and then set fire to the house.

The boundary laid down between this district and the Basuto Reserve placed Vechtkop, the residence of Moshesh's brother Poshuli, on the European side. Poshuli was therefore considered to be under magisterial jurisdiction. He was believed to have instigated the Bushmen to commit the murders, as he had taken many of these people under his protection. Some persons for whose apprehension warrants had been issued by the Resident Magistrate had been sheltered by him, and when summoned he had refused to appear. Major Warden therefore fined him fifty oxen, and as he refused to pay, the commando was sent to seize his cattle. They were taken without resistance. Among them were thirty head which were at once sworn to as having been recently stolen from farmers in the district. A few others belonged to Mokatschane, father of Moshesh and Poshuli, who was then living at Thaba Bosigo. It was quite impossible for Major Warden to know who was the owner of each ox seized; all that he could tell with certainty was that the cattle were found at the stronghold of a notorious robber, who refused to appear when summoned, and who was strongly suspected of being implicated in a cold-blooded massacre. An outcry was, however, raised by Moshesh, who termed the seizure of his father's cattle as an unjust and unfriendly act.

With this exception the early months of 1850 passed by without any noteworthy disturbances. Gert Taaibosch removed for a time with his horde from the district just allotted to him, and resumed the wandering habits of his race, so that there was one element of strife the less on the Basuto border.

But the calm did not last long. Sikonyela's people fell upon a

some clans of Bataung and Basuto and plundered them, and when the British Resident called a meeting of chiefs to discuss the matter, the offender declined to attend.

On the 1st of September 1850 Major Warden received the High Commissioner's authority to employ the military force then at Bloemfontein and to call out a commando of farmers and natives to punish the Batlokua. The order came too late. On the 30th of August the Bataung attacked the mission station of Umpukani, the people of which they believed to be in alliance with Sikonyela, killed twenty persons, wounded many more, and swept off the cattle.

Seventeen days later a combined military, burgher, and native force moved against Sikonyela, but upon the intercession of Moroko and Gert Taaibosch, that chief was admitted to an interview with the British Resident, and as he expressed contrition, he was merely adjudged to pay a fine of three hundred head of cattle at some future day. As soon as this was settled the Batlokua chief joined his forces to those of Major Warden, and together they proceeded to fall upon Molitsane and punish him for violating the sanctity of a mission station. At this time so little conception had the British Resident of the strength of Moshesh that it was his intention to attack the Basuto if they should shelter Molitsane's cattle and decline to give them up when called upon to do so.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st the Bataung villages at Mekuatleng were attacked. The British Resident had with him about one hundred soldiers, but only thirty-five farmers had answered his call to arms. The native contingent was composed of Batlokua under Sikonyela, Barolong under Moroko, Koranas under Gert Taaibosch, half-breeds under Carolus Baatje, and a number of Fingos. The Bataung, who were taken by surprise, made but slight resistance, and within a few hours about twenty individuals were killed on their side, 3,500 head of cattle were captured, and a large amount of other spoil in sheep, goats, and grain was secured. Ten waggons belonging to a party of Gert Lynx's Koranas were also taken. The attacking party had only three natives killed and six wounded. A large portion of the spoil was distributed

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Plunder of Moroko's Barolong. 287

among the people of Umpukani and the allies, and the remainder was forwarded to Winburg and Bloemfontein to be sold to meet the expense of the expedition.

The commando had hardly left Mekuatleng when word was brought to the British Resident that the Barolong had been attacked and plundered. Morakabi, son of Molitsane, and Moseme, a petty Basuto chief, together fell upon Moroko's outposts, killed several of his people, and swept off his herds, consisting of three thousand eight hundred herd of horned cattle and eight hundred horses. The cattle were driven across the Caledon, where they were received by Moshesh's people.

This loss having fallen upon Moroko as a direct consequence of the part he had taken in aiding the British Resident against Molitsane, Major Warden gave him the strongest assurance that the Government would support him at whatever cost, and called upon Moshesh to restore the cattle taken from him.

A series of negotiations then followed, which show that Moshesh personally was desirous of maintaining peace with the English Government, while his people were ready for war and averse to any concessions. The chief of the Barolong declined to enter into arrangements with Moshesh, and looked to the British Resident for protection and restitution of all he had lost.

At length, in March 1851, Moshesh sent some 2,100 head of cattle, mostly of an inferior kind, which he had collected together, as compensation to Moroko, and Major Warden received them on account. Molitsane also gave up about 400 head at the same time. These cattle were surrendered three months after the commencement of the war with the Xosas and Tembus, which is strong evidence of the Basuto chief's desire for peace.

In the meantime retaliations and counter retaliations were constantly taking place among the contending clans. Other events were likewise occurring which tended to make the aspect of affairs still darker.

A small party of Tembus had been living for many years in the neighbourhood of the Koesbergen. These people were suspected of being in league with their kindred who were at

war with the Colony, and as they resisted an attempt to disarm them and remove them further from the border, the British Resident resolved to expel them. Among others whom he summoned to assist him was Poshuli, and this chief, in expectation of thereby gaining favour, committed some most revolting cruelties, among other barbarous acts murdering in cold blood three headmen whom he had invited to meet him.

Some of the Tembus who escaped fled across the Orange to the country occupied by the Baphuti under Morosi, who acknowledged his dependence upon Moshesh, though he was not always a very obedient vassal. There was, however, strong sympathy between the Baphuti and the other branches of the Basuto whenever outside pressure was felt by any clan of the tribe.

While Major Warden was attacking the Tembus north of the Orange, the Civil Commissioner of Albert was marching with a commando of farmers and Fingos against clans of the same tribe on the southern bank of the river. The British Resident crossed over, joined his forces to this commando, and then, as Morosi did not appear when summoned, a movement was made towards his village. The Baphuti did not wait to be attacked, but fell upon the advance guard of the approaching force, and a skirmish followed in which nine Europeans were killed before the remainder of the commando could come up.

From this date the Baphuti openly joined the enemies of the Colony, and a general course of plundering by them and the Tembus from the farmers and Fingos commenced on both sides of the river. Moshesh professed to be doing his utmost to restore tranquillity, but many of his followers openly joined Morosi.

These events gave the first intimation to the High Commissioner that the Basuto chief claimed authority over people living south of the Orange. He immediately wrote to Moshesh that such authority would not be recognized, and that Morosi being beyond the country of the Basuto must be obedient to the laws of the Colony.

Gert Taaibosch next fell upon Molitsane and drove off his

herds. The Bataung retaliated upon Moroko, and Moseme joined in despoiling the Barolong of the cattle so recently given up by Moshesh. Then the British Resident summoned all the chiefs in the Sovereignty to meet at Bloemfontein on the 4th of June to inquire into the cause of the commotions, but without waiting for them to assemble he called out a commando of three hundred and fifty farmers, and two thousand six hundred natives of various clans for the purpose, as he stated, of humbling the Basuto and Bataung.

Moshesh replied to Major Warden's circular calling the meeting that the confusion about him would prevent his attendance, and attributing the deplorable condition of the country entirely to the laying down of boundary lines. On the 4th of June only Moroko and Gert Taaibosch appeared, and the conference was therefore fruitless.

The High Commissioner sanctioned the project of the British Resident, and instructed him to attack Moshesh and Molitsane if they would not yield to the demands made upon them and to prosecute the war against them until they were humbled. He declared that he regarded Moroko as the paramount native chief in the Sovereignty, from his hereditary descent, his peaceable demeanour, and his attachment to the British Government.

But a difficulty occurred that had not been foreseen. The farmers in general declined to take up arms in such a quarrel, and instead of three hundred and fifty men who were called out, only one hundred and twenty after much trouble could be induced to take the field. Moshesh sent them word that he wished to continue in peace with them, and warned them not to aid in war against his people. Commandant Snyman and Mr. Josias P. Hoffman, subsequently first President of the Orange Free State, waited upon the British Resident at Bloemfontein and endeavoured to dissuade him from further interference in these tribal quarrels, but to no purpose.

As ultimately made up, the commando consisted of one hundred and sixty-two of Her Majesty's troops, one hundred and twenty farmers, and a rabble from one thousand to fifteen hundred strong, composed of Fingos, half-breeds of

Carolus Baatje, Barolong of Moroko, Griquas of Adam Kok, and Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and other captains. The whole was under command of Major Donovan of the Cape Mounted Rifles. The native contingents were accompanied by a large number of women and children. On the 20th of June 1851, this commando formed a camp at Platberg.

The British Resident invited Moshesh to meet him, but instead of appearing personally, he requested Messrs. Casalis and Dyke to represent him. These gentlemen found on arrival at the camp that Major Warden would make no concessions. On the 25th of June, a demand was made upon the Basuto chief of six thousand head of good cattle and three hundred horses, to be delivered at Platberg before the 4th of July. No communication was held with Molitsane, as Major Warden was resolved to fall upon him and expel him from the district recently allotted to him.

Sikonyela, with only a following of a dozen men, had accompanied the British Resident from Bloemfontein, and as it was considered necessary for him to gather his warriors and bring them at once to join the commando, he was furnished with an escort of eighty Barolong and Koranas and sent to his own country. His road for several miles lay through the Basuto Reserve, and the French missionaries pointed out that his proceeding along it could not fail to provoke an attack. On the way he was met by a large body of Basuto and Bataung under Moshesh's brother Moperi and Molitsane, who drove him to a hill where he defended himself bravely for a whole day until rescued by a patrol sent to his relief.

On the 29th a meeting was held of the European leaders, the chiefs and captains, and a number of petty Korana headmen who were in the camp, when it was decided to attack Molitsane the next morning at daybreak.

The principal stronghold of the Bataung was the hill Viervoet, the crown of which is a table land bordered, like many others in the country, with almost perpendicular precipices. Upon this hill Moseme's clan as well as the Bataung had placed their cattle for safety when the approach of the commando caused them to abandon their villages.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday the 30th of June, Major Donovan moved the greater part of his motley force against Viervoet. The hill was stormed without difficulty or much loss of life on either side, and the cattle were taken possession of. The Barolong contingent then commenced to plunder the huts and regale themselves on Kaffir beer, which they found in large quantities ready made.

While this was going on, three bodies of Basuto, under command of Letsie, Molapo, and Moperi, arrived at Viervoet, and the routed clans rallied and joined them. The fortune of battle was turned at once. The cattle were retaken. A body of the Barolong was cut off, and those of them who were not destroyed by the assagai and battle axe were hurled over the cliffs. A field gun was barely saved from capture. The loss of the native contingent in killed alone was estimated by Major Warden at one hundred and fifty-two men, but according to another trustworthy account it must have been even higher. This loss fell principally upon the Barolong, and two brothers of Moroko were included in it. The number of wounded was also very large. On the Basuto side sixteen men at most were killed.

The commando retreated to Thaba Ntshu, where a camp was formed, but a few weeks later it was broken up, and what remained of the force fell back upon Bloemfontein. The petty chiefs were now all thrown upon the hands of the government for protection and support. Some little bands of Fingos were located on the town commonage of Bloemfontein. To others it was necessary to serve out rations to prevent them from starving. The Barolong were obliged to abandon Thaba Ntshu, and nothing better could be done than to permit them to take possession of unoccupied ground anywhere in the district of Bloemfontein. The same was the case with the half breeds of Carolus Baatje. All the allies had substantial claims for compensation on account of their losses, all were clamorous in putting their grievances forward.

The British Resident now found himself without authority in the greater part of the Sovereignty. He did his utmost to raise a commando of farmers, but was unsuccessful. He then

applied to the Government of Natal for a native force from that colony, and Lieutenant Governor Pine promptly sent to his aid two companies of the 45th regiment of infantry, comprising one hundred and seventy-two men of all ranks, seventeen Cape Mounted Riflemen, and five hundred and ninety natives, the whole under command of Captain Parish of the 45th. Sir Harry Smith issued instructions to act only on the defensive until such time as troops could be spared from the eastern colonial frontier, when he would bring up a force sufficiently strong to restore British authority. Major Warden therefore garrisoned the village of Winburg with the troops from Natal, and stationed the native contingent with Moroko to protect his people.

In the mean time, the Basuto had taken possession of the districts previously occupied by the Barolong, the Koranas, and the half-breeds, and had seized the greater portion of the stock belonging to those clans. Moshesh asserted that he was not an enemy of the Queen of England, but at the same time his followers attacked those farmers who were attached to the English Government and who had obeyed the call to arms. These were searched out in the Harrismith, Winburg, Bloemfontein, and Caledon River districts, and were despoiled of whatever the Basuto raiders could lay their hands upon. Among them were two men whose names will frequently appear again in this narrative: Johannes I. J. Fick and Cornelis de Villiers.

When intelligence of these events reached England, military reinforcements were promptly sent out to enable Sir Harry Smith to restore British authority north of the Orange, if that could not be effected in any other way than by force of arms. But Earl Grey had no intention of burdening the Imperial Treasury with the permanent charge of maintaining a large garrison in the Sovereignty, and the same despatch which announced that troops would be sent to restore British prestige, indicated that unless the majority of the inhabitants would willingly obey and actively support the Resident, English rule over the country would be withdrawn.

At this time the war with the rebel Hottentots, Tembus, and

Action of Republican Party in the Sovereignty. 293

Xosas, was taxing all the energies of Sir Harry Smith and trying the patience of the Secretary of State. Hostilities with the Basuto tribe beyond the Orange were therefore felt as a grievous addition to other troubles. South of that river also the number of our foes was increased by the Baphuti clan under Morosi, which had recently joined the hostile Tembus, and thereafter assisted in laying waste the bordering Colonial districts.

The Republican party in the Sovereignty looked upon this as a favourable opportunity to assert their independence of England. On the 25th of August a document was signed at Winburg by one hundred and thirty-seven men, requesting Mr. A. W. Pretorius to take upon himself the office of Administrator General. As soon as this became known, numbers of farmers in other parts of the country declared their adhesion to the cause. Moshesh, who was well informed of what was taking place in British Kaffraria, and who knew that the Kaffirs had been so far successful there, probably regarded the English cause as now the weaker one, and in the same manner as he acted on every similar occasion throughout his life, he went over to what he believed to be the stronger party. This Moshesh, the chief who talked so much in later years of his constant devotion to the Queen, joined in the invitation to Mr. Pretorius to come and restore peace to a ruined country.

A deputation of farmers, acting independently of Major Warden, though not concealing their transactions from him, proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and concluded peace with Moshesh. The farmers undertook not to interfere in any native quarrels, and only to take up arms against those who should violate the boundary between whites and blacks. Moshesh undertook to make no war with them unless they should cross the boundary, to cause all thieving to cease, and to deliver up stolen cattle. To this effect a treaty was drawn up and signed on the 3rd of September by Moshesh and his sons Molapo, Masupha, and Nehemiah, on the one part, and by the delegates G. F. Linde and Jan Vermaak, on the other. This treaty was faithfully observed on both sides. The farmers who ignored the British Resident were left unmolested, or if their cattle were driven off

in mistake, they were immediately returned. Those who adhered to the English Government, on the contrary, were sought out and plundered everywhere.

As if to make the situation of Major Warden more humiliating, he at this time received a letter from Mr. Pretorius, dated on the 9th of September at Magalisberg, in which the man for whose apprehension the sum of two thousand pounds was still offered announced that at the request of Moshesh and other chiefs, as well as of many white inhabitants, he had been instructed by the Council of War and a large public meeting to proceed to the Sovereignty, and there devise measures for the restoration of peace and the prevention of such ruin as the Cape Colony then exhibited. The letter concluded with the statement that it was the wish of the Emigrants beyond the Vaal to arrive at a good understanding with the British Government, respecting which further announcements would be made on the arrival of the writer in the Sovereignty.

Since the battle of Boomplaats, Mr. Pretorius had abstained from interference in matters south of the Vaal, and had confined himself to requesting that the Imperial Government would send out two thoroughly impartial men to investigate the causes of discontent among the farmers of the Colony and the proceedings of the Emigrants. He believed that if this were done, the justice of their cause would be so apparent that their independence would be recognized. But now the condition of matters in the Sovereignty seemed to invite a bolder course.

A few weeks later, the Rev. Mr. Murray paid a visit to Potchefstroom, where he met Mr. Pretorius and most of the influential men of that district. They informed him that there was no general desire to interfere in matters beyond their border, but that the Emigrants were anxious to enter into a treaty with England by which their independence would be secured, and thought that a favourable time had arrived for obtaining what they wished.

On the 4th of October, Mr. Pretorius wrote again to Major Warden, stating that the Emigrants had long desired to enter into a lasting treaty of peace with the British Government,

and that he, with two others named F. G. Wolmarans and J. H. Grobbelaar, had been appointed by the Council of War and "the public" to proceed to the Sovereignty and treat for the same. They did not intend to leave until they had consulted further with the landdrost and heemraden of Potchefstroom and with "the public." They therefore sent this intelligence by two messengers, and hoped to receive a reply that the British Government was disposed to meet their wishes.

On receipt of this letter, Major Warden reported to the Governor that the fate of the Sovereignty depended upon the movements of a proscribed man. Moshesh would not probably make any further hostile movements until he could rely on assistance from Pretorius, who, on the other hand, would not decide upon anything before receiving an answer from the High Commissioner. Mr. Murray had informed him that he believed the letter of the 4th of October correctly represented the desires of the Transvaal people. At any rate, time would be gained by corresponding with the delegates, and therefore he was about to write to them.

On the 10th of October, he replied that the "Emigrant Farmers beyond the Vaal River having communicated to him in writing, through them, their desire to come to a friendly understanding with the British Government, he begged to inform them that his position precluded him from interfering in political matters beyond the limits of the Sovereignty. It would, however, afford him much pleasure to forward to His Excellency the High Commissioner any communications coming from them, and which would at all assist in bringing about the objects the Emigrant Farmers had in view. He would suggest that whatever propositions they might wish to make for the consideration of Government should be transmitted to his address, and they should be duly forwarded to His Excellency. He trusted they might be such as could be entertained by him. In conclusion, he had to add that while the British Government were ever desirous to cultivate the friendship of all, it would never tolerate uncalled-for interference in any portion of the Queen's dominions."

Sir Harry Smith approved of the course adopted by Major

Warden, and informed him that Major W. S. Hogge and Mr. C. Mostyn Owen, two gentlemen who had recently been appointed Assistant Commissioners, and who held large powers, would proceed to the Sovereignty with as little delay as possible for the purpose of examining into and arranging matters.

The assistant commissioners reached Bloemfontein on the 27th of November. They found those farmers who ignored the British Resident's authority, and who were in alliance with Moshesh, living in a condition of peace, but all other sections of the inhabitants were engaged in strife.

The Natal natives had recently been removed to Sikonyela's district, but the danger of employing a force of this kind, unless in concert with a more powerful body of Europeans, had become very apparent. They had broken free of control, and were almost as formidable to their friends as to their enemies. Seeking plunder wherever it was to be obtained, their chief object seemed to be to return to their homes as soon as they could collect a drove of cattle. It was believed to be almost as dangerous to attempt to disband them as it was to keep them under arms, but they fortunately relieved the Government of the difficulty by general desertion.

The troops from Natal were stationed at Thaba Ntshu, to which place Moroko's people had returned. But as the loyal farmers of Winburg were being constantly plundered by bands of Basuto and Bataung, and were in less favourable circumstances than the Barolong for defence, this force was sent to their assistance. Moroko was consequently left to his own resources.

The half-breeds and Fingos, whose families were rationed by the Government, were actively engaged in worrying the people of Moshesh. They were provided with ammunition by Major Warden, and in little bands they descended upon exposed parts of the Lesuto and were gone with their plunder before the natives could get together to resist them. As this conduct provoked retaliation, the Assistant Commissioners prohibited the further supply of ammunition to these people and discontinued the issue of rations to them.

An inquiry into the financial condition of the country occu-

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- ...ied some little time. It was ascertained that the revenue was barely sufficient for the maintenance of the civil establishments, and that a police force was out of the question. No offices had been created besides those already mentioned, excepting that of Registrar of Deeds. This situation was held by Mr. Joseph Allison, who was also clerk to the British Resident and secretary to the Legislative Council. No reductions in the limited civil establishments were possible. The revenue officers were called upon to account for the balances shown by their books to be in their possession, when Mr. C. U. Stuart, Civil Commissioner of Bloemfontein, was found to have misapplied public money. He was therefore dismissed, and Mr. Hector Lowen was appointed to succeed him.
- The Legislative Council met on the 30th of December. On the 1st of January 1852 the Assistant Commissioners requested the members to take the following questions into careful consideration and report upon them :
1. As to future relations with native tribes, whether it would not be advisable that they should be allowed to settle their own disputes. Should they request the advice or arbitration of the Resident or the Council, might that not be conceded without undertaking any responsibility ?
 2. As to what would, in their opinion, improve the Constitution of the Sovereignty, so as to give them more management of their own affairs, and ensure, in case any evils should accrue from that management, that they themselves should feel responsible for them, and not the Government ?
 3. As the country for many years must be infested by wandering natives, what system of internal arrangement would the Council recommend to be carried out, with as little severity as might be consistent with safety to life and property ?

The Council took these questions into consideration, and brought up a report, prefacing it with a statement that it was grounded on a firm reliance that Her Majesty's Government would indemnify all who had adhered to it and suffered in consequence, to the full extent of their losses.

On the first question they were of opinion that as soon as British honour had been vindicated and peace restored to the country, the Queen's supremacy over the native tribes should be withdrawn. But if that were not satisfactorily done, they should consider Her Majesty's faithful subjects and allies in the Sovereignty a deeply injured people.

On the second question they desired that the Sovereignty should be annexed to the Cape Colony, their interests being identical and inseparable.

On the third question they considered it unnecessary to make any other remark than that they were content to throw in their lot with the Cape Colony under the new Constitution graciously offered by Her Majesty.

The arrival of the Assistant Commissioners and the objects of their mission were at once made known to Mr. Pretorius. On the 11th of December he wrote from Magalisberg, desiring to know when they would be prepared to commence negotiations, and where the delegates would have an opportunity to meet them. He desired that the place selected might be nearer the Vaal River than Bloemfontein, so that they could confer with each other in safety. On behalf of the delegates he guaranteed to the Assistant Commissioners complete safety. He trusted that all prejudices which might have been entertained against the Emigrants would be wholly set aside, so that in candour and confidence a good understanding might be established.

To this communication a verbal reply was sent back by the messengers of Mr. Pretorius, to the effect that arrangements would be made as soon as possible, that the Assistant Commissioners had other pressing duties to perform which must first be attended to, and that the place of meeting would be selected in accordance with the desires of the delegates.

The Assistant Commissioners then made a minute inquiry into the condition of affairs. The Imperial Government had resolved in the most decided manner not to permit any further extension of the British Dominions in South Africa. It was therefore a mere matter of form to acknowledge the independence of the Emigrants beyond the Vaal, as British authority

had never been established there. But they reported that in their opinion very considerable benefits would arise from such an acknowledgment.

1. It was the only way to secure the friendship of the Transvaal Emigrants.
2. It would detach them from the disaffected Emigrants in the Sovereignty.
3. It would prevent their alliance with Moshesh, which that chief was seeking.
4. The Transvaal Emigrants, through their delegates, of their own free will offered to bind themselves to certain conditions, such as the prohibition of slavery and the delivery of criminals, which otherwise could not be enforced.

On the 23rd of December, therefore, the Assistant Commissioners issued from Bloemfontein a public notice that they consented to receive a deputation from the Transvaal Emigrants appointed to make certain friendly proposals to the Government, and at the same time they published a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith, reversing the outlawry of Mr. Pretorius and withdrawing the offer of rewards for the apprehension of all who had been proscribed. The Assistant Commissioners added the following paragraph: "That the Emigrants in times past have suffered grievances no reasonable person can deny; that they, in their turn, have committed many unjustifiable acts is equally certain. The Assistant Commissioners express a hope that this act of grace may be a stepping stone to a rational and permanent understanding, which may tend to promote the happiness of all, and lead to a general reconciliation."

It was arranged that the conference should take place on the 16th of January 1852, at the farm of Mr. P. A. Venter, near the junction of Coal Spruit with the Sand River. Of the Transvaal Emigrants, the section that adhered to Commandant Hendrik Potgieter was unrepresented. The other section was not represented in what under ordinary circumstances would be considered the proper manner, namely by persons deputed by the Volksraad or the Government. Its deputies were chosen by a Council of War, and approved of

at public meetings. The cause of this was the violent party feeling that then prevailed.

When Mr. Pretorius, early in 1848, went to reside at Magal- isberg, the old jealousy between him and Mr. Potgieter was revived. A few months later, when he was preparing to expel the British Resident from the Sovereignty, he sent to ask assistance from Mr. Potgieter's adherents. The Volksraad met at Ohrigstad, took the question into consideration, and refused its aid. In the following year, 1849, at a general meeting of Mr. Potgieter's partisans, it was resolved :

1. That the Volksraad should be the supreme legislative authority of the whole country.
2. That all officials should be appointed by the Volksraad and be subject to its instructions.
3. That Ohrigstad should be the capital of the whole country. (This was shortly afterwards rescinded, and Lydenburg was declared to be the capital.)
4. That Mr. A. H. Potgieter should retain the office of Chief Commandant during his life.

The adherents of Mr. Pretorius were dissatisfied with the last arrangement, and pressed their objections with such force that in January 1851 the Volksraad, with a view of putting an end to the dissensions, resolved to create four Commandants General, who should be equal in rank and independent of each other. The four appointed were :

A. H. Potgieter for Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg and Potchef- stroom.

A. W. J. Pretorius for Rustenburg and Potchefstroom, each individual in these districts being left at liberty to choose which of the Commandants he would serve under.

W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg.

J. A. Enslin for the Western Border.

Instead of allaying strife, this arrangement tended to in- crease it, and the adherents of the two most prominent Com- mandants General were at this time so embittered against each other that one party was almost certain to disapprove of any proposal made by the other. Mr. Pretorius, therefore, took no steps to convene the Volksraad and obtain its

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authority for what he was doing. Commandant General Joubert acted with him. Commandant General Enslin was suffering from the illness of which he died a few weeks later.

About three hundred Transvaal Emigrants accompanied the delegates to the place of meeting. The disaffected farmers of the Sovereignty mustered to the number of about a hundred, in hope of preventing any agreement being made in which they were not also included. Moshesh, who realised that if the interests of the Transvaal were separated from those of the opponents of the Government in the Sovereignty, he had committed a great blunder, sent his principal councillor with a few attendants to watch the proceedings and bring him a report. Nearly all the traders in the country were there also. The Assistant Commissioners went to the meeting with only an escort of five lancers.

On their arrival they learned that a notorious criminal named Adrian van der Kolf was present. This man was a European adventurer who had for some months been the head of a band of Basuto and Koranas that had plundered the adherents of the English Government far and wide. In communicating with Europeans he termed himself Moshesh's General, but to the Basuto and Bataung he represented himself as the agent of Mr. Pretorius. This scoundrel had not long before broken out of the prison at Potchefstroom, so that he was liable to be arrested on both sides of the Vaal. Yet so strong was the bond which held together the opponents of British rule, that this man could move about freely among the disaffected Sovereignty farmers.

Major Hogge made it a preliminary to further action that Mr. Pretorius should cause Van der Kolf to be arrested. Mr. Pretorius replied that he could not do so, as he was within the Sovereignty. Major Hogge then said he would issue a written order for the arrest and expect Mr. Pretorius to have it carried out. But this coming to the knowledge of the Sovereignty farmers, one of them furnished Van der Kolf with a fleet horse, on which he rode to a rise in the ground at a short distance, and then capped his gun and halted as if to challenge the Commissioners. Three lancers were thereupon

sent in pursuit of the miscreant, but after a chase of a few miles he reached a band of Basuto and Koranas who were waiting for him. Moshesh's delegate, seeing the attempt made to arrest Van der Kolff and that the farmers took no active steps to protect him, at once fled, in fear of like treatment for himself.

The negotiations were then entered into, and as each article was agreed upon the secretaries wrote it out and read it over in English and Dutch for approval. The secretaries were, on the part of the Emigrants, Mr. J. H. Visagie, and on the part of the Assistant Commissioners, Mr. John Burnet. The last named gentleman had succeeded Mr. Isaac Dyason in May 1850 as clerk to the Civil Commissioner of Winburg and was destined to take part in the most important events north of the Orange for the next sixteen years. Mr. Pretorius desired that the old district of Winburg should be included in the arrangement, but the Assistant Commissioners would not consent. He then vainly pressed that a general amnesty should be extended to those persons in the Sovereignty who had repudiated the Government. Further he desired to act as a mediator between the British Authorities and the Basuto, but neither was this conceded.

The articles of agreement were arranged by Mr. Burnet, and on the following day, the 17th of January 1852, the document which has ever since been known as the Sand River Convention was signed. Its clauses are :

1. The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the Emigrant Farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government; and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond, to the north of the Vaal River; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the Emigrant Farmers now inhabiting, or who hereafter may inhabit, that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.
2. Should any misunderstanding hereafter arise as to the true meaning of the words "the Vaal River," this question, in so far as

regards the line from the source of that river over the Drakensberg, shall be settled and adjusted by commissioners chosen by both parties.

3. Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River.
4. It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the Emigrant Farmers.
5. Mutual facilities and liberty shall be afforded to traders and travellers on both sides of the Vaal River; it being understood that every waggon containing ammunition and firearms, coming from the south side of the Vaal River, shall produce a certificate signed by a British Magistrate or other functionary duly authorised to grant such; and which shall state the quantities of such articles contained in said waggon, to the nearest Magistrate north of the Vaal River, who shall act in the case as the regulations of the Emigrant Farmers direct.
6. It is agreed that no objection shall be made by any British authority against the Emigrant Boers purchasing their supplies of ammunition in any of the British colonies and possessions of South Africa; it being mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with the native tribes is prohibited both by the British Government and the Emigrant Farmers, on both sides of the Vaal River.
7. It is agreed that, so far as possible, all criminals and other guilty parties who may fly from justice, either way across the Vaal River, shall be mutually delivered up, if such should be required, and that the British Courts, as well as those of the Emigrant Farmers, shall be mutually open to each other for all legitimate processes, and that summonses for witnesses sent either way across the Vaal River, shall be backed by the Magistrates on either side of the same respectively, to compel the attendance of such witnesses when required.
8. It is agreed that certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities of the Emigrant Farmers shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle children of such marriages to receive portions accruing to them in any British colony or possession in South Africa.
9. It is agreed that any and every person now in possession of land and residing in British Territory shall have free right and power to sell his said property and remove unmolested across the Vaal River, and *vice versa*; it being distinctly understood that this arrangement does not comprehend criminals or debtors without providing for the payment of their just and lawful debts.

(Signed) A. W. J. Pretorius, Commandant General.
H. S. Lombard, Landdrost.

The Sand River Convention.

W. F. Joubert, Commandant General.
 G. J. Kruger, Commandant.
 W. S. Hogge, Assistant Commissioner.
 C. Mostyn Owen, Assistant Commissioner.
 J. N. Grobbelaar, Member of the Volksraad.
 P. E. Scholtz.
 F. G. Wolmarans, Elder.
 J. A. van Aswegen, Fieldcornet.
 F. J. Botes.
 N. J. S. Basson, Fieldcornet.
 J. P. Furstenberg, Fieldcornet.
 J. P. Pretorius.
 J. H. Grobbelaar.
 J. M. Lehman.
 P. Schutte.
 J. C. Klopper.

In presence of :

John Burnet.
 J. H. Visagie.

On the 16th of March 1852 a great meeting of the Emigrants took place at Rustenburg,¹ a village recently founded about seventy miles due north of Potchefstroom. The Volksraad was to assemble there on that day. On the 11th, Commandant General Hendrik Potgieter, with a considerable following, arrived. In the bitterness of party feeling, Mr. Pretorius and those who had acted with him were accused by the Zoutpansberg people of usurping power which did not belong to them, of making a treaty without legal authority to do so, and of aiming at domination over the whole land. It was feared by many that there would be civil war. Mr. Pretorius reached Rustenburg on the 15th. That night some of the most influential burghers entreated the elders to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the two leaders. Before sunrise on the 16th the elders induced them to meet in Mr. Potgieter's tent. The people waited anxiously to know the outcome, and there arose a shout of joy when the tent door was opened, and

¹ This village is built in a beautiful situation, being an amphitheatre on the northern side of the great range which separates the feeders of the Limpopo from those of the Vaal. The stream which supplies it with water is one of the sources of the Limpopo. The country around is remarkably fertile, and the scenery is romantically grand.

Pretorius and Potgieter were seen standing hand in hand with an open Bible between them.¹

The Volksraad almost unanimously ratified the Convention. Its details were made known by word of mouth to the multitude assembled at Rustenberg, the only form of publication in a country without a printing press.

The Emigrants had at last obtained what they had striven for so long and through so much suffering. To God, the same God who had led from misery to happiness another people whose history was on every tongue, their grateful thanks were due. And so they joined together to praise Him. The psalms that they sung might have sounded discordant to those whose ears are used to organ and choir, the prayers that the elders uttered might have seemed to modern divines to savour more of the teaching of Moses than of Paul; but psalm and prayer went up to the throne of God from deeply grateful hearts, and men who had never been moved to shed a tear by all the blows that disaster had struck were strangely moved that day. The strife of sixteen years was over, and independence was won.

On the 31st March, 1852, Lieutenant-General the Hon. George Cathcart succeeded Sir Harry Smith as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony. On the 13th of May, he issued from Fort Beaufort a proclamation "notifying to the Transvaal Boers his assumption of the Government of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and expressing the great satisfaction it gave him, as one of the first acts of his administration, to approve of and fully confirm the Convention." And on the 24th of June, Sir John Pakington, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to General Cathcart, "signifying his approval of the Convention and of the proclamation giving effect to it."

At the time of the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of the Transvaal Emigrants, there were about five thousand families of Europeans in the country.

Before leaving the South African Republic, as the country north of the Vaal has been termed since its independence, the

¹ J. Stuart, who acted as Secretary to the Volksraad during this session, was among those present. For further details see his work entitled, *De Hollandseche Afrikanen en hunne Republiek in Zuid Afrika*, one volume octavo, Amsterdam, 1854.

history of the Barolong clan under Montsiwa must be brought down to the date of the Sand River Convention. One of the first acts of this chief after his father's death was to endeavour to obtain the services of a European adviser. He therefore sent his brother Molema to Thaba Ntshu, where the Rev. Mr. Cameron was then residing, with a request that the Wesleyan Society would provide him with a missionary. The request was laid before a district meeting of the clergymen of that body, with the result that in January 1850 the Rev. Joseph Ludorf took up his residence at Lotlakana.

For two years Montsiwa got along fairly well with his neighbours, and there were no complaints on either side. All this time his strength was increasing, while the farmers were also becoming more numerous in his neighbourhood. On the 14th of December 1851 the Rev. Mr. Ludorf, in the name of the chief, wrote a letter to Commandant-General Pretorius, complaining that certain farmers had encroached on his territory, and had taken possession of some of the best fountains. Mr. Pretorius immediately caused a reply to be written by Commandant Adrian Stander, to the effect that the Commandant-General and his Council had appointed a Commission to put a stop to all dissatisfaction, and that he wished Montsiwa to be present with his headmen at a certain place on the Molopo on the 30th instant to fix a line between the farmers and his people.

A few days later the Commandant-General himself addressed Montsiwa, whom he styled "Worthy Chief and Ally," regretting to hear that encroachments on his territory had been made, and notifying that the Commission had full power "to decide in the name of the Emigrant Farmers, and with his consent and approval, upon a boundary line, that they might continue to dwell together in friendship and love."

On the 30th of December 1851 the Emigrant Commission and the heads of Montsiwa's clan met at a farm-house belonging to Mr. Theunis Steyn on the southern bank of the Molopo. The Commission consisted of Commandants Adrian Stander and Pieter Scholtz, who were attended by two field cornets and ten burghers. Montsiwa was accompanied by two of his

brothers, the Rev. Mr. Ludorf, and ten councillors. After a friendly discussion, a boundary line between the Europeans and Montsiwa was agreed upon, which gave the Barolong an additional spring of water called Mooimeisjesfontein.

On the 8th of January 1852 Commandant General Pretorius wrote to his "Worthy Friend and Ally Montsiwa," that "he had submitted the report of the Commission to his Council, who had approved of the boundary line; that he trusted no encroachments would be made in future, and that Montsiwa on his side would use every endeavour to keep his people under good rule and order, so that their friendship might long continue."

All this looks very much as if Commandant General Pretorius regarded Montsiwa as an independent chief. But this was certainly not his view of the matter. The style of his letters is exactly the same as that in which he was in the habit of addressing all the petty chiefs in the country who were living under the farmers' protection. We would term them vassals, but he chose to call them allies. The boundary line he regarded as we would the boundaries of a native location in the Colony. That Montsiwa also took this view of the position is made equally certain by the following circumstance:

A few months later Commandant Pieter Scholtz, who was then the highest local authority in that neighbourhood, convened a meeting of all the chiefs about the Molopo. The missionaries resident with them were also requested to attend, the object being to settle all disputes between them, to apportion land to those who complained that they had none, and generally to bring about a good understanding. Montsiwa attended the meeting, but Mr. Ludorf did not appear.

The conference was a most friendly one. It took place at a mission station, and the Rev. Mr. Edwards acted as interpreter for the Commandant. The natives present all admitted that the country they were in belonged to the Emigrant Farmers by right of conquest from Moselekatse. Some chiefs who had recently moved in had ground assigned to them on condition of paying the labour tax and a heifer each per annum. Mont-

siwa asked that a distinction should be made in his favour, as he was an old friend of the farmers. He desired to be released from payment of the labour tax. Commandant Scholtz asked if he would prefer to be placed in the same position as a burgher, that is to pay taxes in money and to render military service when called upon to do so. Montsiwa replied that he would be satisfied with such an arrangement, and an agreement to this effect was concluded between them, excepting that the amount of the money tax was left to be settled by the Volksraad.

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CHAPTER IX.

Condition of the Republican Party in the Sovereignty—Negotiations with Moshesh—Agreement of Peace—Neglect of the Basuto to carry out the Conditions—Devastation of the Batlokua Country—Raid by the People of Carolus Baatje—Mr. Henry Green's Appointment as Successor to Major Warden—Plunder of the Barolong by the Basuto—Meeting of Representatives of the People at Bloemfontein—Resolutions adopted—March of General Cathcart with a Strong Army to the Lesuto—Terms offered to Moshesh—Rejection of the Terms by the Basuto—Battle of Berea—Retreat of General Cathcart—Prudent Conduct of Moshesh—Declaration of Peace by General Cathcart—Murmuring in the Army—General Cathcart's Retirement from the Sovereignty—Consternation of the Europeans and Allied Natives—Decision of the Imperial Government to abandon the Sovereignty—Politie Attitude of Moshesh—Ejection of Tulu from his Location.

Effects of Moshesh's Attitude upon the Tribes north of the Vaal—Correspondence concerning the Supply of Arms to the Northern Tribes—Campaign against the Bapedi—Events that led to Hostilities with the Bakwena—Destruction of the Rev. Dr. Livingstone's Property at Kolobeng—Flight of Montsiwa's Barolong from Lotlakana—Trial of the Rev. Messrs. Inglis and Edwards and their Banishment from the South African Republic—Effects of the Battle of Berea upon the Northern Tribes—Trouble with the Barolong of Montsiwa—Their Migration to the Country north of the Molopo—Death of the Commandants General Hendrik Potgieter and Andries Pretorius—Appointment by the Volksraad of their eldest Sons as their Successors—Arrival of a Clergyman from the Netherlands—Last Letter of Andries Pretorius—Form of Government in the South African Republic.

Appointment of Sir George Clerk as Special Commissioner to withdraw British Rule from the Sovereignty—Wretched Condition

of the Country—State of Affairs in the Griqua Reserve—Meeting of the Delegates convened—Proceedings of the Delegates—Invitation to the Republicans to elect a rival Assembly—Mission of the Rev. Mr. Murray and Dr. Fraser to England—Conquest of the Batlokua Country by the Basuto—Death of Gert Tsaibosch in Battle—Fate of Sikonyela—Memorials against Abandonment—Investigation of Charges made against the Boers—Meeting of the two Assemblies at Bloemfontein in February 1854—Dissolution of the Obstructionist Assembly by Sir George Clerk—Agreement with the Well-disposed Assembly—Terms of the Convention—Negotiations with Adam Kok—Failure of the Mission of Messrs. Murray and Fraser.

THE disaffected farmers in the Sovereignty were now in a comparatively helpless position. They accused Mr. Pretorius of having betrayed them, by agreeing with Her Majesty's Government to terms in which they were not included. He replied that he could do nothing for them unless they chose to move across the Vaal, but there they would be welcomed and would have ground assigned to them. Many therefore crossed the river. The Assistant Commissioners inflicted fines upon all who remained who could be proved to have ignored British authority, and by this means raised a sum of rather over £2,000.

It was at this time by no means certain whether the Sovereignty would be retained as a British dependency, or be given up. On the 21st of October 1851, Earl Grey had written to Sir Harry Smith that "its ultimate abandonment should be a settled point in the Imperial policy." The Assistant Commissioners, however, were convinced that British authority could not be withdrawn without breaking faith with many people, both white and black, and they were doing their utmost to put things in such order that the Secretary of State might be induced to reverse his decision.

Immediately after the Sand River Convention was signed, they made an attempt to open up negotiations with Moshesh. They invited him and Molitsane to meet them at Winburg on the 22nd of January, but both the chiefs made excuses for not appearing. Moshesh expressed himself desirous of a meeting.

but submitted several reasons why he could not go to Winburg, and requested that the conference might take place at Meku-atling or Lishuane. The Commissioners would not agree to this, lest they should seem at the outset to be willing to make any concessions demanded of them; but they postponed the meeting to the 30th, in order to give Moshesh time to consult his sub-chiefs, as he stated he wished to do. He and Molitsane still declined to appear in person, but they sent messengers with long and carefully drawn up statements of all the important events that had occurred in connection with their tribes during the preceding twenty years.

At length, however, Moshesh named as delegates his brother Moperi and his sons Molapo and Masupha, and a formal meeting was held at Winburg on the 7th of February. Molitsane appeared in person, and with him were his son Moiketsi and his nephew David Raliye. The Rev. Mr. Daumas acted as interpreter. A lengthy discussion took place, at the close of which the Commissioners stated the terms on which peace would be made. These were embodied in a formal document, which was signed by all the delegates on the 10th of February. In this agreement the Basuto and Bataung chiefs undertook to restore the balance of the plunder in their hands. The number of cattle to be given up was not, however, stated.

Major Hogge immediately after the meeting, went to Thaba Bosigo with the object of inducing Moshesh to fulfil the promises made by his delegates on his behalf. In an interview with the great chief on the 12th, he stated that after a thorough investigation of all that had taken place, he was of opinion that the grievances complained of by the Basuto were well founded, and he was therefore prepared to redress them. Moshesh expressed himself highly pleased with this admission, and on the 15th he and his son Letsie affixed their marks to the Winburg agreement.

On the 22nd of February, Major Hogge met Moshesh again, at Bolokwane, near the Orange River. There were many Basuto present at this conference, which was held purposely to let all the people know the arrangements proposed by the Commissioner and agreed to by the Chief. Briefly stated, the

offer made by Major Hogge was: To dismiss Major Warden, the British Resident; to place Captain Bailie of the Fingo levies under arrest, to cause a thorough investigation into his conduct to be made, and to restore to their relatives certain Tembu children disposed of by him and Poshuli; to consider the boundary line between the Lesuto and the Caledon River District, as laid down by Major Warden and confirmed by Sir Harry Smith, to be no longer binding; to consider and treat the petty chiefs Poshuli and Morosi in future as subjects of Moshesh; to do away with all the boundary lines proclaimed between the petty clans and the Basuto, retaining only the outer line as a division between Europeans and natives; and, finally, to interfere no more in purely native quarrels, but to leave them to themselves to settle their own disputes. In return for all these concessions, Major Hogge merely asked that the Winburg agreement should be carried out, and that a new line between themselves and the Europeans in the Caledon River District should be made and respected by them.

Moshesh declared that he was perfectly satisfied, but whatever his own feelings were, the Basuto tribe was not disposed to make the slightest sacrifice in order to restore tranquillity to the country. All accepted the concessions of the Assistant Commissioner as a matter of course, but none were willing to surrender the captured cattle or to make compensation from their own herds. And Moshesh certainly had no means of compelling them to do so, for his authority rested entirely upon public opinion.

Of all the chiefs known to us at that time he was the one who could least afford to disregard the inclinations of his subjects. Every other prominent native ruler, both along the coast and in the interior, governed by hereditary right, but Moshesh had little claim on that ground. His own father was still living, representatives of elder branches of his family were numerous. Like all the paramount chiefs of Bantu tribes, he was merely the head of a number of clans, each with very large powers of self-government. Every one of his sub-chiefs expected to be consulted on all matters of importance, and if his advice was neglected, gave no assistance to his superior. Such a position,

always a weak one, was made doubly so in Moshesh's case by the fact of his filling it merely because the different sections of the tribe accepted him as their head. In agreement with them he was strong, in opposition to them he was powerless.

To carry out the Winburg agreement to the satisfaction of the Assistant Commissioners, it would have been necessary for Moshesh and Molitsane to give up several thousand head of cattle, together with at least a thousand horses, instead of which the two chiefs only sent in between them about two hundred cattle and a hundred and twenty horses, and these the most wretched animals in the country.

Still Moshesh continued to profess the strongest desire for peace and friendship with all men, and particularly with the British Government. Mr. Owen wrote to him that he would not make any alteration in the boundary until the farmers' losses were compensated in full, and Moshesh then proposed that the farmers should go into his country, without giving any one but himself notice, and identify their cattle. The Commissioner would not agree to this proposal, as he feared it would lead to disturbances, and it was also evident that the stolen cattle were concealed in places difficult of access where they were closely guarded.

After this no further effort was made on either side towards the restoration of the stolen stock. Mr. Owen, who owing to Major Hogge's sudden death on the 9th of June, was left to act by himself, considered it useless as well as humiliating to correspond longer on the subject with the Basuto chief, in whose professions he put not the slightest confidence, and who he was convinced could not be induced to give up the booty without force.

During this time thefts continued, though occasional spasmodic efforts were made by Moshesh to suppress them. On one occasion he restored sixty stolen horses to their owner, and punished one of the thieves with death. But there was no constant vigilance displayed to prevent such acts, and robbers generally were left unscathed.

Sikonyela, who had never ceased his plundering forays, now drew upon himself the vengeance of his enemies. In May

1852 the district occupied by the Batlokua was overrun by a Basuto commando under Moshesh in person, some fifty warriors were killed, immense herds of cattle were seized, and large quantities of grain were carried away or destroyed. Sikonyela, who had but one stronghold left, was compelled to sue for peace. The great chief, who was not unwilling that his old enemy should remain in the Lesuto, provided he would become an obedient vassal, granted him terms which under the circumstances were exceedingly liberal.

Shortly after this the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, having obtained a supply of ammunition from Major Warden, made a sudden raid into Molitsane's district and swept off three thousand head of horned cattle and two hundred and eighty horses, with which booty they got safely away. The issue of ammunition to these raiders was nearly the last act of Major Warden as British Resident. It was in direct antagonism to the principles which actuated both the Imperial and the Colonial governments at that time in their dealings with the Sovereignty, and would have made his retirement necessary even if instructions had not already been received from England concerning his removal. On the 23rd of July he was succeeded by Mr. Henry Green, previously an officer in the Commissariat Department. An Executive Council was at the same time appointed. It consisted of the British Resident and five members.

The raid by the Platberg half-breeds was revenged by the Basuto upon the Barolong. A commando under Masupha fell upon Moroko's cattle posts and carried off a large booty.

At this stage Mr. Owen abandoned all hope of restoring order. In a report to the High Commissioner he expressed an opinion that the Sovereignty could not be maintained with dignity without the presence of a considerable armed force, and unless this expense were incurred, it should be abandoned.

Shortly after Sir George Cathcart's assumption of the duties of High Commissioner, he requested Mr. Owen to convene a meeting of representatives to ascertain the opinion of the European inhabitants on the question whether Great Britain

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Meeting of Representatives at Bloemfontein. 315

held the country with their concurrence or not. In every ward in the country representatives were elected on the principle of manhood suffrage, and on the 21st of June they met in Bloemfontein. There were seventy-nine members present. They chose Dr. A. J. Fraser as Chairman, and during three days deliberated on the important matters submitted to them. The conclusion which they arrived at was in favour of the retention of British authority.

The three years having expired for which the members of the Executive Council had been appointed, they desired that a Legislative Assembly, chiefly elective and composed of one member for each field cornetcy and seat of magistracy, with an additional one for Bloemfontein, should be established in its stead. The only non-elective members they thought should be the Civil Commissioners, to whom they proposed to give deliberative power, but not votes. They desired that a Recorder's Court should be substituted for the court of combined magistrates.

An important question laid before the Assembly by Mr. Owen was: "whether the inhabitants of the Sovereignty would be willing to place themselves under a commando law to punish the aggressions of Her Majesty's enemies, provided the policy of non-interference in the disputes of the native tribes were strictly adhered to, and with the proviso that the burghers should not be called out in any case except with the consent of the Council?"

Sixty-nine votes were given in the affirmative, but with conditions attached. Thirty-five were in favour of it, "provided the Government would assist them with a sufficient number of troops." Thirty-four were in favour of it, "providing the existing disputes with Moshesh were first settled and that five hundred troops were permanently stationed in the Sovereignty."

A few members, representing the party which termed itself the philanthropists, maintained that it was the duty of Great Britain and of the European colonists to prevent intertribal wars. The Sovereignty Government, they admitted, had broken down in trying to keep peace among the natives along the Caledon, but that was because the mother country had

not provided more soldiers and the farmers had not turned out in force to aid Major Warden. The consequence of non-interference, they asserted, would be the frequent precipitation of bands of fugitives upon the Europeans. It could never be supposed that a Christian community would attempt to force men, much less women and children, fleeing for their lives, to keep within a fixed boundary, without restraining their enemies. The system advocated by some, of receiving such fugitives, giving them small locations, imposing upon them a labour tax, and taking possession of the ground from which they had been driven, would never be allowed by England. Non-interference was thus not possible in practice.

This line of argument was that adopted of recent years by the missionaries with the weaker clans, but one searches in vain in the writings of those among the powerful tribes for similar views and expressions. It is observable also that some of those who, ten years earlier, were the advocates of the formation of great native states, were now the firmest upholders of the duty of Europeans to protect the weak clans against the strong.

During the session of the Assembly, Commandant General Pretorius visited Bloemfontein, where he was received by the Government with every mark of honour. At Assistant Commissioner Owen's request, he delivered an address to the representatives of the people, in which he counselled moderation and straightforwardness in all they did, but made no attempt to influence their decisions in any way.

It was now agreed by every one that nothing but physical force would bring the Basuto to terms. General Cathcart therefore resolved to visit the Sovereignty at the head of a strong body of troops, for the purpose of restoring British prestige. Having established on the eastern colonial frontier a condition of affairs which he called peace, he prepared to carry out this project in the last months of 1852.

In November of this year a splendidly equipped force, consisting of nearly two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, with two field guns, marched by the way of Burghersdorp to the banks of the Caledon. The Governor hoped that

the mere presence of such a body of troops would enable him to settle everything to his satisfaction, without the necessity of having recourse to hostilities. In a message to Moshesh, he informed that chief that upon himself would depend whether he should be treated as an enemy or not. And in a proclamation which he issued before he left the colony he announced that he was not going to make war, but to settle all disputes and establish the blessings of peace.

The army crossed the Orange without any difficulty, as the river was low, and then marched along the Caledon. On the 2nd of December, General Cathcart sent forward summonses to Moshesh, Molitsane, Sikonyela, Moroko, and Gert Taaibosch, to meet him at Platberg on the 13th, and at the same time he appointed a commission to examine into and report upon the number of cattle stolen and the question of the retention or alteration of Major Warden's boundary line. Messrs. Owen, Assistant Commissioner, Ebden, Acting Assistant Commissioner, and Green, British Resident, after devoting six days to the consideration of these matters, delivered a report, in which they estimated the losses sustained through the depredations of the Basuto and Bataung at £25,000, and recommended that a demand should be made upon Moshesh for ten thousand head of full grown cattle and fifteen hundred horses as compensation. They further advised that the chief should be required to surrender five hundred stand of arms as a token of submission and desire for peace, and that the boundary line of Major Warden should not be disturbed.

On the morning of the 13th, the army arrived at Platberg and encamped at the Wesleyan mission station, which was found deserted by every one except the Rev. Mr. Giddy. Not one of the chiefs was there to meet the Governor. Sikonyela sent an excuse that he dared not come, through fear of Moshesh. The Caledon being in flood, the Basuto chief could not attend had he wished to do so. In the evening two of his sons swam over, and they remained in the camp that night, but the Governor declined to admit them to an interview. On the 14th, Mr. Owen returned with Moshesh's sons to Thaba Bosigo, carrying a letter from General Cathcart declaring that the

time of talking was past, and demanding the delivery of ten thousand head of cattle and one thousand horses within three days under penalty of war.

Besides this, Moshesh was called upon, under penalty of the destruction of his tribe at some future time, to comply with the following requirements of the Governor:

1. The restoration to Sikonyela of the cattle taken from him, and peace with that chief.
2. The restoration of Platberg to the people of Carolus Baatje.

3. Observance of the boundaries fixed by Sir Harry Smith.

4. Peace with all the neighbouring peoples, and the cessation on the part of the Basuto of being a nation of thieves.

On the 15th, Moshesh visited the camp, and a conference took place between him and the Governor, in presence of the principal officers attending the English General. Among these were a brother of Lord John Russell acting as aid-de-camp, the Assistant Commissioners Owen and Ebdon, and Colonels Eyre, Cloete, and Bruce. Messrs. Casalis and Dyke accompanied the chief, the former of whom acted as interpreter. General Cathcart was unwilling to abate his demands. The chief, as usual, dwelt upon the blessings of peace, and stated that he had not power to collect as many cattle as were required in so short a time. He informed the Governor in figurative language that an advance into the country would be resisted, as a dog when beaten will show his teeth. He promised, however, to do his best to meet the demand made upon him. All that he obtained by his visit to the Governor was an extension of time by one day.

The Basuto as a tribe preferred a trial of strength to the surrender of so many cattle and horses. They could have collected three times the number in twenty-four hours had they been so disposed, but there were few among them willing to purchase peace at so high a price. Moshesh personally was in favour of yielding, for he dreaded a war with the English as the greatest of misfortunes. It might cause the dismemberment of his tribe, it certainly would bring ruin to himself. And therefore he did all that was possible under the circum-

stances, with the result that on the 18th his son Nehemiah was able to deliver at the camp three thousand five hundred head of cattle. Moshesh, it may be, thought that these would be received as sufficient for the present, and that the balance would be allowed to stand over.

On the 17th, General Cathcart sent a small supply of ammunition to Sikonyela, with a message that he would expect assistance from him in the event of hostilities with the Basuto. But he was unwilling to complicate matters by employing any other native forces, and he issued positive orders to Moroko to take no part in the war. Of the cattle brought in by Nehemiah, he gave a thousand head to Moroko, 250 to Carolus Baatje, and 250 to Gert Taaibosch, sending those chiefs with the whole herd to Bloemfontein, and thus getting them out of the way.

On Sunday, the 19th, as no more cattle had arrived, General Cathcart issued orders for his cavalry and a brigade of infantry to march to the ford of the Caledon opposite the mission station of Berea, and encamp there. In the evening of this day, Moperi, brother of Moshesh, and the Rev. Mr. Maitin waited upon the Governor, by whom they were politely received. Moperi assured General Cathcart that Moshesh was doing everything in his power to collect the cattle required, and entreated him to suspend hostilities a little longer. He and the missionary left with the impression that their desire might possibly be acceded to; but they must have been mistaken in the Governor's reply, for that night the final orders to advance were issued.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday, the 20th of December, the British forces, leaving the camp protected by a strong guard, crossed the Caledon at the ford which has ever since been known as Cathcart's Drift. Between them and Thaba Bosigo lay the Berea Mountain, a long, irregular, table-topped mass of rock with precipitous sides. The mountain was seen to be covered with thousands of cattle. The troops were formed in three divisions, the plan of action being that one of these should march over the mountain, and one on each side, so as to secure the herds, and then to meet in front of the Great Chief's residence.

The Cavalry Brigade was composed of men of the 12th Lancers and Cape Mounted Rifles, and was about 250 strong. It was under command of Lieutenant Colonel Napier. This division was ordered to march round the northern base of the Berea, but it had not proceeded far when it was tempted by the sight of the cattle to ascend the hill. Officers and men alike held the Basuto military power in the lightest esteem, and regarded the march as a pleasant excursion in which they were likely to get a good quantity of spoil without any hard blows. And the morning was well advanced before they were undeceived, for they met no opposition until they were in possession of a large herd of cattle.

Up to this time the only Basuto encountered were a multitude of terror-stricken women and children fleeing with such of their household goods as they could hastily lay hands upon. But hardly had the cattle been turned to be driven down the hill towards the drift, when a force of about seven hundred Basuto and Bataung horsemen under Molapo and the sons of Molitsane, which had hitherto been unobserved, made a sudden charge upon the scattered troops. All would have been lost but for the coolness and bravery of Colonel Napier, who collected a little band about him and tried to keep the enemy at bay until the stragglers could rally or escape. The cattle were rushing down the mountain, and Lancers and Riflemen were following them. One small party mistook a ravine behind the mission station for the path by which they had ascended, and found themselves surrounded by enemies when they reached the bottom.

The little band under the gallant Colonel kept the main Basuto force at a respectful distance, but detached parties of light horsemen pursued the retreating troops. Twenty-seven Lancers and five Riflemen were cut off. Several were killed close to the mission station. Fortunately, intelligence of the disaster was conveyed in time to the camp, and a company of the 74th Highlanders was sent to Colonel Napier's assistance, which enabled him to fall back without further loss. He reached the camp with a herd of four thousand head of horned cattle, besides a few horses and some sheep and goats. Only

four Basuto fell in this engagement, though when he prepared his report the Colonel was under an impression that a large number had been killed.

Another of the three divisions was under command of Lieutenant Colonel Eyre. It consisted of 271 men of the 73rd regiment, 102 of the 43rd, 90 of the Rifle Brigade, 13 artillerymen, 12 Cape Mounted Riflemen, and 11 of the 12th Lancers, in all 409 rank and file, besides a few mounted Fingos to be employed as cattle herds. This division was under orders to march along the flat top of the Berea, driving the cattle before it, and effecting a junction with the other brigades before Thaba Bosigo.

On reaching the mountain where the path he had selected winds up it, Colonel Eyre found a Basuto force threatening to prevent his advance. The position occupied by the enemy was a strong one, but it was found possible to send detachments up in other places to turn it, so that the troops reached the summit with very little loss. On the plateau they found some thirty thousand head of cattle, of which they took possession, but these immense herds were unmanageable, and much time was lost in vainly endeavouring to drive them onward. While the troops were thus engaged, Molapo's horsemen suddenly dashed upon them. The foremost men of the enemy were dressed in the uniforms of the Lancers whom they had killed a couple of hours earlier in the day, and carried their weapons, so that the soldiers mistook them for friends till they were close upon them. They cut off two or three men, and took Captain Faunce, an officer of the 73rd, prisoner.

All the cattle, except a herd of about fifteen hundred, were now abandoned, the brigade was called together and got into fighting order, and the onward march was resumed. But it was no longer the pleasure excursion that the soldiers had called it in the morning. The Basuto and Bataung under Molapo, seven or eight hundred strong, mounted on hardy ponies, and elated with their recent success, charged upon the detachment wherever the ground favoured them. The form and order of a body of disciplined troops were such, however,

as to enable them easily to keep light cavalry at a distance, and about five o'clock in the afternoon Colonel Eyre effected a junction with the third division. The loss on the English side was five men killed and one officer made prisoner; of the Basuto eleven warriors were killed.

The remaining division was under command of General Cathcart in person. When it left the camp it consisted of rather less than three hundred troops, composed of a detachment of the 12th Lancers, a detachment of Cape Mounted Riflemen, two companies of the 43rd, and some artillerymen with two field pieces; but a little later in the day it was strengthened by another company of the 43rd, drawn from Colonel Eyre's brigade. It moved along the western and southern base of the Berea, and met with no molestation, beyond an occasional shot fired from a distance, until about two o'clock, when it halted at the confluence of the Rietspruit and the Little Caledon River, near the mission station of Thaba Bosigo. Here the three columns should have formed a junction, but one of them had already fallen back to the camp and the other was still miles away endeavouring to secure cattle.

At Thaba Bosigo a force of six thousand horsemen had assembled, all well armed with European weapons. They were not, however, trained to act in concert, and were consequently at an enormous disadvantage in a pitched battle with European troops. They approached in dense masses, but few of them came within rifle range. The most daring body was led by Nehemiah, whose horse was shot under him. Very heavy firing was kept up on both sides for more than two hours, with hardly any result. Yet it was a terrible position that General Cathcart's little band was in. So vastly outnumbered was it, that only bravery and discipline prevented Isandlwana being anticipated by a generation in South Africa.

About half-past four in the afternoon a thunderstorm, such as at that season of the year is of frequent occurrence in the Lesuto, burst over Thaba Bosigo; and while it lasted the firing ceased. But as soon as the sun came out again, the dense masses of Basuto horsemen were seen advancing in greater

strength and more perfect order than before. Just at this critical moment, however, Colonel Eyre's column made its appearance, and speedily effected a junction with that under the Commander-in-chief.

As night was falling General Cathcart took up a position at an abandoned kraal among rocks where it would be difficult to attack him. The enemy followed, still keeping up a heavy fire from a distance, and it was not until eight o'clock that the rattle of musketry ceased.

In this engagement the casualties on the English side were two officers—one of whom was a nephew of the Duke of Wellington—and six privates wounded, making the whole day's losses thirty-seven killed and fifteen wounded. The Basuto loss in warriors was twenty killed and the same number wounded. But this was not the whole, for a good many of their women were killed and wounded by our troops in the early part of the day. It is not the custom of these people to place their women in safety before an engagement, and it has often been found impossible to avoid killing them. On this occasion, many of them fell under the fire of the artillery. Whether the others were mistaken for men, or whether they were shot down indiscriminately by soldiers of Colonel Napier and Colonel Eyre's divisions when not under their officers' eyes, will never be positively known. General Cathcart believed the last supposition to be the correct one, and expressed his deep regret on account of it. Captain Faunce, who was made prisoner by Molapo's horsemen, was murdered in revenge by relatives of some of the women killed, and his body was afterwards mutilated.

At daylight on the morning of the 21st the General left the kraal where he had passed the night, and began his march back to the camp on the Caledon. A strong Basuto force marched in a parallel line along the top of the Berea to observe his movements, but did not attempt to molest him.

The night after the battle was one of anxiety for Moshesh as well as for General Cathcart. Our troops had fallen back and our dead were lying unburied where they fell, but Moshesh was wise enough to see that his army was not a match for

even that little band which was bivouacked not so far away,—still less then for the enormous reserves that he knew the Governor could bring against him. The cool determined stand of the British infantry against the overwhelming forces that threatened them had made a deep impression upon the Basuto. They had not expected to see an unbroken line of fire and steel, but a rabble of dismayed fugitives entirely at their mercy. Already Moshesh heard his people talking of abandoning the open country, betaking themselves and their belongings to the most inaccessible mountains, and there acting on the defensive only.

At midnight the chief sent two of his attendants for Mr. Casalis. Under the eye of the missionary,—in his account of these events he does not say to his dictation, but that may be inferred,—Nehemiah wrote in his father's name the most politic document that has ever been penned in South Africa.¹ It is impossible to condense it or to paraphrase its terse expressions without marring its effect.

“Thaba Bosigo, Midnight, 29th December, 1852.

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,—This day you have fought against my people, and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you,—you have shown your power,—you have chastised,—let it be enough I pray you; and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

“Your humble servant, MOSHESH.”

It was some time before a messenger could be found who would venture into the English bivouac, and when at length one left Thaba Bosigo with a flag of truce, General Cathcart was already retiring to his camp on the Caledon. The messenger followed and delivered the letter.

The English General, on his part, was not less anxious for

¹ Whether this letter was written to Moshesh's dictation or not, it is certain that it was in accordance with his principles of appeasing a formidable opponent. In a precisely similar manner he had acted when attacked by the Matabele in 1831.

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peace than was Moshesh. He too had been deceived in the strength of the enemy, and he dreaded a war with a tribe so highly organised, so well armed, and with such strong natural fortresses. In his opinion there was nothing to be gained by such a war that could be placed in the balance against its difficulties and its cost. And so he eagerly availed himself of the opening for escape from a grave difficulty which Moshesh's letter afforded. It gave him the privilege of using the language of a conqueror, and in such language he declared that he was satisfied with the number of cattle captured, that he considered past obligations fulfilled, and that he would send the army away and go back to the colony in a few days' time.

There was murmuring in the camp when this was known, for the fiery spirited among the officers and men were eager to avenge their fallen comrades and retrieve the check they had sustained. Colonel Eyre begged hard to be allowed to plant an ensign on Thaba Bosigo, or to perish in the attempt. Other officers spoke bitterly of the disgrace of retreating and leaving the people of the Sovereignty to their fate, after making demands upon Moshesh which were not complied with. Mr. Owen delivered a written protest in strong words against the cessation of hostilities under such circumstances. General Cathcart, however, was determined not to involve the Empire in an expensive war and so he proclaimed peace with the Basuto.

On the 24th Mr. Owen paid a visit to Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo. The chief received him with civility and respect, and expressed his joy that he was no longer regarded as an enemy of the Queen. He directed his sons Nehemiah and Masupha with a party of men to accompany Mr. Owen and the Rev. Messrs. Casalis and Dyke over the battle-field, where the bodies of our slain soldiers were sought for, and such as could be found were decently interred.

Three days after the conclusion of peace the camp was broken up, and the army began its return march down the Caledon. A garrison of three hundred men in all, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was left to protect the Queen's Fort in Bloemfontein. The Europeans in the Sovereignty were em-

powered to organise for their own defence, in case the Basuto should attempt to overrun the country, and they were then left to take care of themselves as best as they could. Before the end of the month the army had reached the Orange on its way back to the colony.

The consternation among the whites and those blacks who had aided the Government was extreme. There was a great outcry about the disgrace to the Empire of such a proceeding, but General Cathcart shut his ears to it all. Then followed petitions, signed even by men of such tried attachment to the English Government as Mr. J. I. J. Fick, begging for military protection, or that the inhabitants might be left without interference of any kind to settle matters and to defend themselves in their own way. The latter of these alternatives was what the Imperial Authorities were about to comply with, for as soon as the news of Berea reached England, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the High Commissioner that "Her Majesty's Government had decided to withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty." In Sir George Cathcart's despatches he described the encounter as a victory and his proclamation of peace as a satisfactory settlement, but the Secretary of State was not deceived.

Yet it would be unjust to accuse the English minister of heartlessly leaving a few white people to the mercy of an opponent so strong as Moshesh, without looking at the question from his point of view also. In England it was generally believed that the war with the Basuto had been undertaken on behalf of the European settlers, and it was remembered that little more than four years had elapsed since a strong force had been moved to the Sovereignty to establish the Queen's authority over the farmers. The opinion was freely expressed that they had got themselves into a mess, and ought to be left to get out of it as best as they could, without expense to the British taxpayer. That the war had been undertaken by the representatives of the Imperial Authorities in opposition to the desire of the entire white population of the territory, a few missionaries and sympathisers with their views only excepted, was unknown in England. To conquer the Basuto would re-

quire many men and much treasure. The nation would be unwilling to be at the charge. The few English in the Sovereignty could be bought out. The Boers could return to the Colony or go over the Vaal, if they could not take care of themselves. And so the Ministry came to the conclusion that the best thing to do was to withdraw from the Sovereignty.

Immediately after the battle Moshesh sent messengers to the chiefs of the tribes far and near, to inform them that he had gained a great victory and had driven the English forces from his country. This version of what had taken place was universally credited, for it seemed to be verified by General Cathcart's speedy return to the Colony. The reputation for power of the Basuto and their chief was from this date greatly enhanced among the neighbouring tribes, though it was believed that their success was due less to prowess than to some magic substance employed against the white men.

Moshesh next requested the missionaries to appoint a day of thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace, and required his people to observe it in a devout manner. But, before the services were held, all who had been present at Berea observed the ancient ceremony of standing in battle array in a stream into which their diviners threw charms to prevent the ghosts of those they had killed working evil upon them. Thus, too, they believed that they pacified the shades of their ancestors, for these would be wroth if the ancient customs were not observed.

Moshesh, notwithstanding his patronage of the missionaries, had really lost none of his faith in the religion of the Bantu, and was as fearful of offending the spirits as the most ignorant of his followers could have been.¹ He showed himself to

¹ Moshesh always maintained to his people that he was a favourite with the spirits of their dead ancestors, and under their special guidance. There was a long period of his life when the missionaries believed that the vigorous mind of the Basuto chief rejected the Bantu faith in witchcraft, &c., and that he merely professed before his subjects to be a conservative in these matters, from diplomatic views. He was at this time fond of quoting passages from the Bible, of the historical portions of which he had acquired a very considerable knowledge. Like all other individuals of the Bantu race in South Africa, he had no difficulty in reconciling a belief in the existence of one Supreme God with the existence of protecting ancestral shades, but this Great Deity was to him a material being, who acted pretty much as mortals do, only

every one in the most advantageous light: to General Cathcart as a vanquished man begging for peace and friendship, to his fellow chiefs as a conqueror who had delivered his country from an invader, to the missionaries as a hopeful pupil, and to his people as a strict observer of their national customs.

Towards his neighbours in the Sovereignty he acted with greater moderation than might have been expected. The farmers on his border were subjected to many petty annoyances, but they were not driven from their homes, nor for many months were their herds molested. The Barolong under Moroko were permitted to retain possession of Thaba Ntshu, and were left undisturbed except by occasional thefts of cattle. The half-breeds were treated with equal consideration. Across the Orange, Morosi was restrained from plundering the people of Albert, who had suffered unceasingly from his depredations ever since the engagement at Viervoet.

This politic conduct of Moshesh and his people enabled the Governor to affirm in his despatches that matters were in a satisfactory condition. Moroko rejected the small subsidy offered to him and claimed restitution of all he had lost; Carolus Baatje acted in a similar manner; the farmers who had obeyed Major Warden's call to arms spoke sullenly and bitterly of the consequences of their loyalty; while General Cathcart was writing that all claims upon the British Government had been sufficiently compensated and all wrongs had been redressed, that unless the colonists were the aggressors, he anticipated such a degree of security and peace as had not been experienced since the establishment of Her Majesty's rule in the Sovereignty.

Henceforth no interference was attempted by the Government in matters solely affecting natives. Advice, indeed, was freely tendered to the different chiefs, but little or no notice was taken of it. They were left to arrange their relationship to each other as they chose, or as best they were able. The farmers were recommended to submit patiently to annoyances that could not be checked.

with illimitable power. In his old age Moshesh was completely under the influence of Bantu priests, and as he at no time discarded them, it is not likely that he was ever troubled with feelings of scepticism.

A few weeks after the battle of Berea the Korana captain Gert Taaibosch returned to the Lesuto border, bringing with him in addition to his own followers a party of vagrants whom he had collected beyond the Vaal. These vagabonds were all well mounted, and being expert cattle-lifters, their neighbourhood necessarily became a scene of disorder. Sikonyela, who was still brooding with all the bitterness of wounded pride over his defeat and humiliation by Moshesh in the preceding winter, at once joined his forces to those of Taaibosch, and together they commenced a series of raids upon the nearest Bataung and Basuto kraals.

Moshesh contented himself with remonstrances and appeals to his enemies to keep the peace. He was endeavouring to form a coalition of all the natives in and around the Lesuto under his own leadership, and was therefore doing whatever he could to prevent them wasting their strength against each other. But the views of Taaibosch and Sikonyela were too limited and their repugnance to control of any kind was too great to allow of their entering into such a plan.

It will be remembered that when the Bataung chief Makwana sold the country between the Vet and Vaal rivers to the farmers, he reserved for his people a location at the head of Coal Spruit. There he had died, and there his son and successor Tulu with his people had ever since been living.

Tulu was too weak to cause uneasiness to any one, and was living in fancied security when, in April 1853, he was attacked without warning by Sikonyela and Taaibosch, aided by a few renegade whites. The Bataung could make no resistance. They were despoiled of everything they possessed, and were obliged to abandon the location and take refuge with their kinsmen under Molitsane at Mekuatlung.

The marauders next made a raid upon a chief named Witsi, who occupied the tract of country still known as Witsi's Hoek, on the Natal border, north of the Lesuto. This chief and his people at an earlier date formed part of a coast tribe that had been dispersed in the convulsions caused by Tshaka, and they had only been living a short time on the inland side of the mountains. The district in which they resided, indeed, had been

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given out in farms by the Sovereignty Government, but the European occupants had been obliged to withdraw from it. The people of Witsi bore an evil reputation among their neighbours, European and native. The chief was not a vassal of Moshesh, though living in friendship with him and to some extent under his influence. The Korana and Batlokua raiders seized a large herd of cattle, but were pursued by the people they had plundered, who retook their stock and drove off the robbers.

The victory of the Basuto at Viervoet and the subsequent attitude of Moshesh towards the Sovereignty Government had a disturbing effect upon the tribes as far as the Limpopo. Especially was this the case with the Bapedi, between whom and Moshesh's people there was the warmest sympathy. Sekwati, the Bapedi chief, began to think that as the southern Basuto had successfully resisted the white man, he might do the same. He had a country similarly fortified by nature to fight in, and he had recently obtained a good many guns. With these weapons, which they had not yet learned to use properly, the Bapedi were really not more formidable than with assagais and battle-axes; but the possession of guns with them, as with all native tribes, increased their confidence in themselves and created a warlike spirit.

The Sand River Convention had hardly been signed when the question of arming the natives came up for discussion between the Transvaal Government and the High Commissioner. Commandant General Pretorius complained that English hunters and traders were in the habit of entering the country north of the Vaal by the lower road, and that by keeping along the line of the mission stations which had recently been established in the west of the republic, they made their way to the interior, and supplied the tribes there with firearms and ammunition in defiance of the sixth clause of the Convention. He requested that such persons should be required to pass through Potchefstroom, both in going and returning, that the number of their guns might be checked; and he notified that

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Campaign against the Bapedi.

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the lower road was closed. The High Commissioner regarded these precautions as reasonable and necessary for the security of the new State, but the hunters and traders paid no regard to them.

There was no time to be lost. Prudence demanded that the danger should be suppressed before it attained larger dimensions. The Bapedi, feeling confidence in their strength, had already commenced to rob the neighbouring farmers of cattle, so the Volksraad instructed Commandant General Potgieter to proceed against them, exact compensation for the robberies, and disarm them. For this purpose the burghers of Zoutpansberg were called out.

On the 25th of August 1852 the commando reached the foot of the mountain on which Sekwati resided, and which he had strongly fortified. The place was held by a large garrison, and there were many thousands of cattle on it, so that there was no fear of hunger; but water was wanting. Potgieter had with him Commandants Schoeman and Van Wyk, six other officers, and three hundred and fifteen burghers. He invested the stronghold by stationing a guard at each opening to the summit, and then sent a message to Sekwati requiring him to surrender his guns. The answer of the chief was short and to the point: "Come and take them."

A close inspection showed that the mountain could not be carried by storm. Every approach was fortified with strong stone walls, behind which were warriors armed with guns, who could also roll down boulders on an advancing force. The Commandant-General therefore resolved to blockade it closely, and to send out a patrol under Schoeman to scour the neighbouring country.

Commandant Schoeman found every hill defended by armed forces, and it was not without difficulty that he succeeded in getting possession of several of them. During nine days he was almost constantly skirmishing, but in that time he secured five thousand head of horned cattle, six thousand sheep and goats, nine guns, and some ammunition, with a loss of one burgher—Stephanus Fouche—killed and three wounded.

On the third day of the investment of his stronghold

Sekwati asked for peace, but refused to give up his guns. The want of water on the mountain was already causing much suffering. The Commandant-General declined to grant any terms short of complete disarmament, and so the blockade continued. During the nights parties of women and children were sent out to obtain water. At first the burgher guards allowed the famished creatures to pass down, but not to return, till it was discovered that men were making their way out in this manner, when no more were permitted to go by.

Mr. Potgieter, who was in delicate health when the expedition left home, now became so seriously ill as to be unable to direct operations any longer. Mr. Schoeman therefore took the chief command. There was little else to do than to guard the outlets, and let thirst destroy the garrison. Women, children, and cattle were dying for want of water. Blood was the only liquid that kept life in the warriors. The burghers were not one to twenty of the men whose wives and children were thus famishing, and they were scattered about in little pickets, while the whole Bapedi force could be directed to one point. Under such circumstances, it might be expected that the most arrant cowards would have cut their way out; but the Bapedi, so confident when danger was at a distance, had now lost heart, and, except with woman and children in front of them, did not dare to meet the farmers' bullets. Twenty days the blockade lasted. How many human beings perished cannot be stated with any pretension to accuracy, but the number must have been large. The air was polluted with the stench of thousands of dead cattle.

On the twentieth day a heavy storm of rain fell. Ammunition was becoming scarce in the farmers' camp, the horses were dying, and many of the men were sick. All were weary of the excessive discomfort to which they had been subject, and all were of opinion that the punishment of the Bapedi had been sufficiently severe. Commandant Schoeman therefore retired, and the burghers were disbanded. The main object of the expedition—the disarmament of the Bapedi—had not been attained. But Sekwati had been so chastised that it was long before his people troubled the farmers again.

Events Leading to Hostilities with the Bakwena. 333

Another military expedition of the same time was that against the Bakwena, which, owing to the destruction of Dr. Livingstone's property, has been heard of in every land where the English language is spoken.

The Bakwena tribe was one of those which had been nearly annihilated by Moselekatse. A remnant only escaped by taking refuge in the desert, where the Matabele could not follow, owing to their ignorance of the watering places.¹ When Moselekatse was driven away, this remnant returned to its former home, and received from Mr. Potgieter permission to remain there. Being at a considerable distance from the settlement along the Mooi River, no labour tax was imposed upon the Bakwena, who were left in virtual independence. The only restriction placed upon them was that they should not possess guns, horses, or waggons, the object being to prevent them from acquiring military power. Their chief, Setyeli by name, was a man who in mental ability ranked among the Southern Bantu second only to Moshesh, though he was considerably behind the great Mosuto.

In 1845 the Rev. Dr. Livingstone had established a mission with Setyeli, and had acquired a most astonishing influence over him. Far and wide it was told in the country that the chief of the Bakwena had been bewitched by a white man, who had him under complete control.

By the missionary's advice Setyeli had moved from the location assigned to him by Mr. Potgieter, and had established himself on the Kolobeng river some forty miles to the westward, where water could be led out for irrigating purposes and where the tribe was at a greater distance from the farmers. Here Setyeli, or his missionary in his name, claimed to be perfectly independent.

In all South Africa there was no man more disliked by the farmers than the Rev. Dr. Livingstone. His great abilities and his partizanship of the natives brought him into prominence, while his disregard of the sentiments of the white in-

¹ See Setyeli's own account in the Imperial Bluebook on the state of the Orange River Sovereignty published in 1854. Also the Bloemhof Evidence. There is abundant proof to the same effect in other documents, and in Dr. Livingstone's volume only is there a statement by Setyeli denying it.

habitants of the country and his want of sympathy with them caused him to be regarded as a formidable opponent. In the second chapter of his "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa" he has given ample illustration of this. By the farmers he was not then, nor has he at any time since been, considered a missionary in the sense of being an instructor of the heathen in divine truths. Report and common belief represented him as bent upon arming the tribe and instigating the chief to oppose the republican government. The great contrast between the conduct of the Bakwena during his residence with them and the period when they were under the guidance of a German missionary was pointed out years later in the Volksraad and by the press as proving beyond doubt that the opinions of 1845-52 were correct. Whether they were well founded or not is difficult to determine. That he carried on a trade in guns and ammunition, at any rate to a large extent, is not probable, despite the evidence that has been produced to the contrary; but that he saw no harm in it is evident from the statements in his well-known volume. Most likely, the truth is that he, being in a situation where money was of no use in providing food or personal services, purchased what was necessary for the existence of himself and his family with guns and ammunition, articles which were in constant demand. That he went further in this direction is scarcely credible. The attempt of Commandant General Pretorius to close the lower road to the interior certainly met with his unqualified opposition.

Owing to these circumstances the Bakwena were regarded with great distrust, but it was not until the winter of 1852 that Setyeli openly defied the republican government.

There was a branch of the Bahurutsi tribe living in a condition of vassalage on ground near the Marikwa assigned to it by Mr. Potgieter. These people called themselves the Bakatla, and had as their head a man named Moselele. Quiet and peaceable as long as it was believed that the white man's power was irresistible, ever since Viervoet the Bakatla had not ceased to be troublesome as cattle lifters. At length the Government resolved to call Moselele to account, and if neces-

sary to punish him, whereupon the chief and most of his followers fled to the Bakwena. Setyeli received him gladly, promised him protection, and immediately sent to request some other chiefs in the neighbourhood to join him in resisting the white man.¹

The Volksraad instructed Commandant-General Pretorius, to see that the law was enforced. A commando of over three hundred men was therefore called out and placed under direction of Mr. Pieter Ernest Scholtz, whose orders were to demand the surrender of Moselele; and, if Setyeli would not comply, to attack him.

The Barolong chief Montsiwa, it will be remembered, had shortly before, at his own request, been released from the labour tax and placed upon the footing of a burgher. He was now called upon by the Commandant to supply, as a burgher, a contingent of twenty men to assist in arresting Moselele. Montsiwa sent excuses, but no men. The commando then moved on to Setyeli's kraal without any assistance from him.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 28th of August, the burgher force arrived at Kolobeng. The Bakwena were found to have intrenched themselves, and to have obtained the assistance from other tribes that the chief had asked for. Commandant Scholtz at once sent a message in friendly words requiring the surrender of Moselele. Setyeli's answer was that he would not give up Moselele, that Scholtz must fight if he wanted him. So far, Setyeli's own account agrees with that of the Europeans. The chief adds that he had supplied his allies with powder and lead. Commandant Scholtz adds that Setyeli boasted of being amply furnished with guns and ammunition. "The Boers were in the pot," he said, "the next day was Sunday, but on Monday he would put on the lid."

¹ This account does not agree with that of Dr. Livingstone, and I feel under the necessity therefore of quoting my authorities. These are (a) the Proceedings of the Volksraad of the South African Republic as communicated at the time to the British officials in the Sovereignty; (b) the Reports of Commandant General Pretorius and of Commandant P. E. Scholtz; (c) Setyeli's own statement published in the Imperial Bluebook already referred to; (d) at least twenty different statements made in later years by individuals who were actors in this matter; (e) the evidence given before the Bloemhof arbitrators; and (f) a large quantity of correspondence of the period, published and unpublished.

On Sunday he sent to the camp to ask for some sugar. The Commandant told the messenger that such a boaster needed pepper more than sugar. At the same time the chief pointed out where the oxen were to be sent to graze, because, he said, the grass elsewhere was poisonous, and he regarded the cattle already as his own.

On Monday morning, Commandant Scholtz sent two men to Setyeli to ask him to come to terms. So much forbearance had the effect of strengthening the chief's confidence in his own power. He therefore challenged the Commandant to fight, and tauntingly added that if the Boers had not sufficient ammunition he would lend them some. In the Commandant's report, he adds that he sent two messages subsequently before the fighting commenced. Only the last of the two is referred to by Setyeli in his account. The message was that the women and children had better be sent to some place out of danger. Setyeli's reply was that the women and children were his, and that the Commandant need not trouble himself about them.

The burghers then advanced to the attack. The Bakwena and their allies were posted in strong positions, which it was necessary to storm. Setyeli afterwards asserted that his allies fled on the first shot being fired, but his own people certainly acted with greater courage than is commonly shown by Betschuana. It was only after six hours' hard fighting that the burghers obtained possession of the intrenchments and two of the rocky ridges. Night was falling, and the Bakwena still held a rocky hill. During those six hours the burgher loss had been four men killed—Jan de Klerk, G. Wolmarans, — Smit, and a half-breed—and five wounded. Setyeli gave his loss as eighty-nine killed. At dusk the commando returned to the camp.

Next morning a patrol of one hundred and fifty men, under Fieldcornet Paul Kruger, was sent out to see if the Bakwena were still on the hill. It was found that the warriors had fled during the night; so they were followed up, when they retired into the Kalahari Desert. The women, children, and a few cattle were left behind.

Destruction of Dr. Livingstone's Property. 337

On Wednesday, the 1st of September, Commandant P. Schutte was sent with a patrol to the old town of Kolobeng, some eight or nine miles distant, where the Rev. Dr. Livingstone resided. The Bakwena had moved from this place some time before to the locality where the burghers found them. Upon his return, the Commandant reported that he had found the missionary's residence broken open, and his books and other property destroyed. Dr. Livingstone was not there at the time. He had gone to Cape Town with his family, and, after sending his wife and children to England, was returning to Kolobeng when these occurrences took place. At Motito on his way back he met Setyeli, who was then proceeding to Cape Town in hope of obtaining assistance from the English Government, and from whom Dr. Livingstone received the account which has so often since been quoted as a true relation of what occurred. This is placed beyond question by a letter from Dr. Livingstone to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, written just after the meeting with Setyeli, in which the identical account is given which appears in the missionary's published volume. But Setyeli himself, on arriving in Cape Town, gave an account which is more in accord with that of the burgher leaders, much more so, indeed, in the principal points than with his other version published by Dr. Livingstone.

At the time, in a report to his commanding officer, which no one could then suppose would ever be published, Commandant Schutte stated that Dr. Livingstone's house had been broken open and pillaged before his arrival at Kolobeng. Repeated testimony from scores of persons who were present was given to the same effect from that date until the Bloemhof arbitration. That is the evidence on one side. On the other—that the house was broken open by the Boers—is the statement of Setyeli, made after his defeat, when he desired above all things to procure English assistance. There is further on one side the fact that the burghers regarded Dr. Livingstone as a very dangerous enemy, and were therefore not likely to have any scruples with respect to the destruction of his property. And on the other side, that the Bakwena were not likely to have

any scruples either, that there was in the country at the time a band of desperadoes consisting chiefly of deserters from the army who would have no misgivings in plundering a solitary and unprotected house, and the fact that on the march of the burghers towards Kolobeng two men had been tried by court martial, and sentenced to take their choice between thirty lashes or renunciation of all commando privileges, for having pilfered some articles from a missionary's residence. The great structure raised in England upon Setyeli's statement, the charges against the Boers founded upon it and made and remade until a collection would fill many volumes, cannot be regarded as evidence. What is really to be weighed in coming to a judgment is here placed before the reader, who can form his own opinion.

There was a building used as a workshop, which was found locked. Some of the prisoners informed the Commandant that there was ammunition in it, upon which he caused it to be opened, and found a quantity of tools which he described as gunmakers' and blacksmiths', and some partially finished guns (probably under repair). The whole of the loose property upon the place was then confiscated and removed.

The commando retired with three thousand head of horned cattle, eleven horses, a few goats, two waggons, forty-eight guns, and all the loose property that was of value. A great many of the cattle were claimed by different persons as having been stolen from them by the Bakwena, and when these were given up the troop was greatly reduced.

The reputation of the burghers would have suffered less in Europe if the account could be ended here. But when they retired, between two and three hundred women and children, who had been abandoned by the warriors, were taken as prisoners with them. This was held to be the simplest plan of bringing Setyeli to terms. Exactly the same thing has been done by gallant and humane Englishmen in more recent times, and when due care is taken that no abuse of any kind follows, the act can only be considered a justifiable proceeding in war with barbarians. Such a circumstance is regarded as a matter of course in intertribal quarrels, when the women and children

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are not put to death. But where the arm of the law is weak, the practice must be condemned, as it opens a door to many abuses. In this case, the primary object was to obtain something towards the cost of the expedition. It was expected that the relatives of the captives would offer cattle for their redemption, or that Setyeli would propose favourable terms on condition of their release. Only a very few, however, were redeemed by their friends. Nearly all, after a short captivity, escaped or were permitted to return to their tribe, and the remainder, being children, were apprenticed to various persons.

Moselele, for whose arrest the commando had been called out, was not captured. He fled further to Gasitsiwe, chief of the Bangwaketsi, who gave him shelter and protection.

When in the neighbourhood of Lotlakana on his return, Commandant Scholtz sent to Montsiwa, requiring him to come to the camp and account for his refusal to furnish a contingent to the expedition. A burgher acting similarly would have been treated in exactly the same way. The penalty was a fine. The chief, who professed to be afraid, sent the missionary Ludorf and two of his councillors to speak for him. The Commandant declined to receive the missionary, and directed the councillors to return and inform Montsiwa that he must appear in person.

That night the Barolong clan held long and anxious council. The missionary states in his account that he put before them three courses that they could follow. His words are: "I said, there are three deaths, choose the which you will die. First, take some cattle and go to the Boers, and pray to have peace; give up all your guns, pay taxes, and become their slaves. Or, second, look without delay for a hiding place, but look to the consequence—no water, and a burning sun. Or, third, stand and fight like men for your lives, property, and freedom. As for me, I cannot say which will be best for you." And he adds: "This was a very solemn moment for us all. May the Lord bless my trembling word for the good of their souls. Amen." Of the one course that was life—honest adherence to their engagements, which did not mean slavery or anything resembling slavery—this adviser had nothing to say. Honesty

indeed seems to have been something with which he had very little sympathy, for this is the same man that supplied the spurious document purporting to be a treaty between the Emigrants and Montsiwa, which was brought to light at the Bloemhof arbitration.

At daylight, on the morning of the 15th of September 1852, the Barolong of Montsiwa, said by the missionary to be then sixteen or eighteen thousand souls in number, began to abandon Lotlakana and flee to the south-west. That there was not the slightest necessity for doing so is proved, not only by the subsequent statements of the Commandants, but by the fact that the burgher force proceeded onward without any demonstration against the place, and that it was not until the 28th of the month, when the commando was far away, that the huts were set on fire by Montsiwa's order. That the chief would be fined for neglect to do his duty was indeed highly probable. But the destruction of his kraal was entirely his own act, and the flight of the clan was simply one of those sudden migrations to which the Barolong had been accustomed since the days of Tao. The Rev. Mr. Ludorf accompanied the fugitives a short distance, but after a few days he abandoned them and retired to Thaba Ntshu.

There were two missionaries of the London Society residing with clans of the Bahurutsi on locations near the Marikwa. Their names were W. Inglis and R. Edwards. These individuals addressed a letter to Commandant Scholtz with reference to the recent proceedings, in which they used the following words: "Many of the said captive children will probably be taken away and sold to other parties in distant places, where their parents may never see them more." This letter might have passed unnoticed, but about the same time a copy of the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 19th of May 1852 came into possession of the Republican Government. This paper contained a report written by the Rev. Mr. Edwards to the Directors of the London Society, which had been taken over from the *Missionary Journal*. So far as a description of the natives goes, this report was one of the most accurate and well written documents of its kind that had then appeared. But

idle tales derived from native sources and suppositions which had their birth in prejudice were recorded in it as if they were facts. The following paragraphs will illustrate this, the clauses given here in italics being those upon which the Government took action.

"The native mind has of late been much unsettled by wars, or rumours of such, and held in suspense and uncertainty by the hostile movements of the emigrant boers, more especially to the eastward, where their inherent propensity for the constrained labour of the coloured man is ever seen. They allow the tribes to occupy land where, with one or two exceptions, irrigation is impossible from the scarcity of water; and even that favour is granted with the understanding that the latter are to supply servants as required by an imperative order from the boer officials, for ten, fifteen, or twenty men at the shortest notice, and without the least reference to the wish, or interest, or convenience of the natives. These arbitrary proceedings occasion much disquietude, and not unfrequently oppression and injustice. *If some Power do not interfere, either from policy or humanity, the ruin and slavery of the native tribes will inevitably follow at no distant period.*

"In the wars made upon the tribes eastward of this, the Emigrants believed they had just cause to take away lives, capture cattle, young people, and children for servants or slaves, *some of whom are sold to others not engaged in those wars.* Last year a Griqua brought a boy from the northern lake and sold him to a Boer for a horse. A party of the Dutch emigrants have returned from thence last month, and also brought a number of children. A horse belonging to one of these whites fell into a game-pit and was killed; he demanded people in payment. The chief, fearing his wrath, gave him a man, his wife, and daughter. Such is the testimony of one who witnessed the transaction."

It was never supposed that this report would meet the eyes of the Boers. Mr. Inglis made the following statement concerning it:

"This paper, I am sorry to say, was given by me to one Murphy, a trader, who came to our house at the time the commando had gone out. A blunder on my part; I did not intend to have given it to him. He gave it to the Boers, and such are the results."

No Government in the position of the South African Republic could allow such statements as those of Mr. Edwards to pass unnoticed. Their having been made in the supposition that the persons assailed would never see them was an irritating

factor in the case. A public trial was the best means to test them. On the 20th of November 1852, therefore, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Inglis also were cited to appear before the court of landdrost and heemraden for the district of Rustenburg, in which they were residents. Mr. Inglis's account, published in the "Friend of the Sovereignty," makes it clear that more consideration was shown to them than would have been the case if they had been on their trial for libel in England. There he would probably have been punished for contempt of court had he acted as he states he did when on trial at Rustenburg.

They were both condemned to banishment from the Republic within fourteen days, and Edwards in addition to pay the costs of his trial, amounting to £7. 2s. 6d. If any one in South Africa doubted the justice of the sentence, Mr. Inglis soon proved that in his case at any rate it was judicious. He turned to the press, but his communications were so rabid that very shortly newspapers of respectability ceased to take notice of him.

Within ten days after the battle of Berea, Moshesh's messengers had traversed the country to Zoutpansberg, and immediately the effects were visible. Sekwati remembered his recent punishment, and kept tolerably quiet, but there was hardly another chief in the domains of the republic that did not give trouble. From Lydenburg all the way round by Makwasi Spruit to the Molopo, cattle lifting was conducted on a larger scale than ever before. In many places the farmers were obliged to form lagers. In the Marikwa, to add to the distress, fever was prevalent.

In this quarter, Montsiwa's Barolong plundered so extensively that Commandant General Pretorius was obliged to proceed against them. The spoor of stolen cattle was traced to Montsiwa's new kraal. The commando followed it up, and found some of the cattle among Montsiwa's herds. In a skirmish several farmers were wounded, and a few Barolong were killed. Some prisoners were taken, and Fieldcornet Paul Kruger was sent with these to Montsiwa to invite him to come to the camp and arrange matters amicably. Before reaching the place where the chief was, it grew dark, so Mr. Kruger

Death of Commandants Potgieter and Pretorius. 343

sent the message by the prisoners, who were all released, and he returned with his escort to the camp. Next morning it was discovered that Montsiwa had fled during the night. The commando therefore returned home.

During the next eight months the Barolong of Montsiwa were regarded as rebels, but as they kept out of the way, no active steps were taken against them. On the 14th of October 1853, peace was concluded with them by Fieldcornet Jan Viljoen, acting for the Government, and the location assigned to them by Messrs. Stander and Scholtz in December 1851 became theirs again. Montsiwa, however, did not return to Lotlakana, but went to reside in the country of the Bangwaketsi north of the Molopo.

Before this date the two most prominent leaders of the Emigrants, Hendrik Potgieter and Andries Pretorius, had finished their career. The former died in March, and the latter on the 23rd of July, 1853. The death of Mr. Pretorius was an affecting scene. An attack of dropsy, for which no medical treatment could be obtained, brought his life to a close. For a month he lay upon a bed of sickness, where he continued to display those admirable qualities which had made him worthy of being the hero of the Emigrants. He entreated those who assembled round his bedside to preserve cordial union among themselves after his death, and not to let party strife or ambition find a place among them. He recommended them to give heed to the exhortations of the minister, the Rev. Dirk van der Hoff, who had reached the republic from Holland only two months before, and to promote morality and civilization by every means in their power. Afterwards, several native chiefs were admitted to see him. They had heard of his illness, and had come to pay their respects. The relatives of the dying man were much affected on seeing these heathen exhibit intense grief, as they knelt successively and kissed his hand. Everything connected with this world having been settled, Pretorius devoted his remaining hours to praise and prayer. He expressed perfect resignation to the will of the Almighty, and satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily transferred to a region where trouble and sorrow are

unknown. Then, having committed his soul to his Saviour, he calmly breathed his last. He died at the age of fifty-four years and eight months.

Mr. Pretorius had been twice married. By his first wife, Christina de Wit, he had three sons and five daughters. A year after her death he married again, and by his second wife, Petronella de Lange, he had three children, two of whom died before him.

Upon the death of Commandant General Potgieter, the Volksraad appointed his eldest son his successor. Practically his command was limited to the district of Zoutpansberg, for the people of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom were nearly all adherents of Mr. Pretorius. It had not been considered necessary to name a successor to Mr. Enslin when he died. The Volksraad met at Rustenburg on the 8th of August, and appointed Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, eldest son of the late leader, Commandant General of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom. The Rev. Dirk van der Hoff held service at Rustenburg on this occasion, and before the sermon read a letter written by the late Commandant General ten days before his death and addressed to the officers who composed the Council of War. The clergyman did well if his own exhortation to the congregation was half as touching. Translated, the letter reads:

“Magalisberg, 13th July, 1853.

“The Honourable the Council of War.

“Honourable Sirs,—How have I ever looked forward to the day of the approaching meeting, in order, with you, to provide for the building up of our Church and State; but it does not please the Lord that my person should be with you; therefore I take up the pen for the last time to write a few words to you, which I would so gladly have communicated verbally.

“How dear were we to each other when, surrounded with difficulties, we declared the thoughts of our hearts and our aims to each other candidly, the one advising the other with an upright heart; with what a blessing everything went with us; how faithful were we to each other, as if united by one bond, even so that thereby powerful enemies became afraid of us. And now in my weakness I must still advise you: protect your Church; if the Christian religion declines among you, your State will perish and the blessing will be taken

away from your land and people, so that you will not be able to prosper in any matter. Watch and pray that no seed of discord take root among you, eradicate it in time. Be faithful to each other in everything; whatever you undertake to do, do it with the Lord; call on Him for aid; ask Him for power and strength, and the Lord will manifest His might in your weakness.

"I have ended my course. The Lord give me rest from my labour, and bless you in yours. My worthy brothers, I once more admonish you, yes, earnestly I exhort you, be careful that no disunion takes place among you. Much is still left undone here that ought to be done. Help manfully the progress of the cause of righteousness, and do not go away from it; if you continue steadfast in good the Lord will bless your work, but if you fall into discord the enemy will bring you under his foot, therefore, I exhort you, watch and pray.

"Heartily I thank you for the steadfastness and fidelity which you have to the present shown towards me, yes, faithful brothers, leaders of those under you. God, the Almighty God, reward you for your faithfulness, and never let you be put to shame. The Lord bless you in everything; the loving Father give you understanding in everything, that you may wisely lead the people of the Lord. Praised be the God of Salvation, who has spared me until now, and has given me to see His goodness, not only in the independence of my offspring, but in that He has sent us a minister of the Church, who is now with you. The Lord bless him also, that he may see rich fruit of his work, therefore has the All-good given us peace with all nations. If you remain in the ways of the Lord and abide by your religion, He will do still more for you. Therefore never allow the church to be empty; let not the minister speak to chairs and benches, but to attentive listeners. Preserve and protect your religion if you love peace.

"My brothers, in conclusion I exhort you, when it shall please the Lord to take me away from among you, allow no dissension to prevail. Choose uprightly with unanimity whom you will, or be submissive to him whom I recommend to you. Be not haughty, but fear. The eternal God bless you from heaven. May the earth bring forth its fruits and withhold them not from you till the end of the ages.

"And you, my brother, who are to succeed me, lead the people of God in humility and in manliness, with all righteousness and discretion. Know that the Lord will also look down from heaven upon you. Ask Him for His grace and His support, and He will sustain you. Never do anything for your own exaltation, but in everything let your aim be the glory of God and the well-being of the land and people. It is the wish, it is the prayer of

"Your servant and brother,

"A. W. J. PRETORIUS."

The Republic was at this time divided into four districts Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and Rustenburg. The Volksraad had decided to form a fifth district out of portions of Lydenburg and Rustenburg, and to establish in the centre of the territory a new village to be called Pretoria after the late Commandant General. For this purpose Mr. M. W. Pretorius had purchased two farms from Messrs. Prinsloo and Van der Walt for the sum of £600, and it was understood that the Volksraad would take them over. They were situated on a little stream called the Aapjes River at the base of a range of mountains which, owing to a petty chief named Magali having been found near its western extremity by the first explorers, has since been known as Magalisberg. It was not, however, until a later date that this resolution was carried into effect, and the district of Pretoria was formed.

The supreme authority of the Republic was the Volksraad. The Executive consisted of three Commandants General—M. W. Pretorius for Potchefstroom and Rustenburg, P. G. Potgieter for Zoutpansberg, and W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg; several Commandants; a landdrost in each village, and a fieldcornet in each ward. There was no President. The nearest approach to a Cabinet was the Krygsraad, or Council of War, which each Commandant General could summon for consultation. It consisted of the Commandants and Fieldcornets of the district. Every burgher was liable to be called out for military service. Taxation was very light, for with a Government so simple a large revenue was not needed.

The Government was admittedly tentative, and already it was beginning to be recognised that it could not long exist in that form. But in what direction change was advisable was not so apparent. It was believed that time would show its defects, and that whenever necessary it could be adapted to meet the requirements of the people.

On the 6th of April 1853, a Commission under the Great Seal was issued to Sir George Russell Clerk, appointing him "Special Commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the

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Appointment of Sir George Clerk. 347

affairs of the Orange River Sovereignty," in other words, he was sent out to withdraw British authority with the best grace possible. He arrived at Bloemfontein on the 8th of August.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by Adam Kok to keep the Griqua Reserve intact, the village of Fauresmith—then generally called Sannah's Poort—had been founded early in 1850 on ground leased from a Griqua, and the district around it was practically as much in the European part of the Sovereignty as that round Bloemfontein. On the 29th of January 1850 Sir Harry Smith had issued a proclamation that the farmers must withdraw from the inalienable Griqua territory on the expiration of their leases, but these had some thirty years yet to run. Many of the Grikwas were desirous of selling their ground, and there was a strong party among them headed by Hendrik Hendriks, once secretary to the Griqua Council, in opposition to Adam Kok on this very point. They maintained that it was unjust to prevent them from selling their farms when large prices were being offered, and thus in defiance of the prohibition land was constantly changing hands. This was one of the difficulties awaiting solution.

There had been a considerable increase in the European population of the Sovereignty during late years, its numbers being now about fifteen thousand; and there had been a change in its constituents. In the five villages, particularly in Bloemfontein and Smithfield, many English traders and mechanics had settled. There were one hundred and thirty-nine Englishmen owning farms in the Sovereignty, but some of them were absentees. The British Resident himself was the largest landowner in the country, and several other officials were in possession of enormous tracts of ground. According to a return compiled for the Special Commissioner, these hundred and thirty-nine Englishmen were the proprietors of two hundred and sixty-four farms, comprising 2,467,764 acres of land, so that as a body they were not free from the reproach which Sir George Clerk cast upon them of being mere speculators. A considerable number of individuals belonging to old colonial families had come in, while of the former residents many of the extreme anti-English party had moved over the Vaal.

The total number of farms for which certificates or titles had been issued was one thousand two hundred and sixty-five, and the extent of ground thus alienated was estimated at eleven millions of acres. The different native reserves covered about thirteen millions of acres, and it was supposed—for no survey had been made—that about eight millions of acres remained unappropriated.

The country at the time was really in a state of anarchy, though in Sir George Cathcart's despatches it was constantly represented that tranquillity and order had been restored. Under such circumstances, the position of the Special Commissioner was most humiliating. Representing the Imperial Government, professing friendship for all with whom he came in contact, he saw his advice unheeded and his authority set at naught. Armed bands of natives traversed the country as they pleased; a son of Molitsane made a raid upon some Fingos who had taken refuge at Winburg, and there was no means of punishing him; the Koranas, Batlokua, Bataung, and others plundered and destroyed whenever and wherever their inclinations led them. That matters were not even worse was solely owing to the circumstance that a long and severe drought had destroyed the pasturage, so that it was difficult for mounted men to move about.

On the 9th of August 1853, a notice was issued by the British Resident, under instructions from the Special Commissioner, calling upon the inhabitants of the Sovereignty to elect delegates for the purpose of determining upon a form of self-government. On the 5th of September the delegates met at Bloemfontein. They were ninety-five in number, seventy-six of them being Dutch South Africans, and nineteen Englishmen. In an address which he made at the opening of the session, Sir George Clerk informed them that "he had the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to direct them to prepare themselves for undertaking the government of the territory whenever British jurisdiction should be withdrawn."

Dr. Fraser was elected Chairman by sixty votes against thirty-five divided among four others, and the deliberations commenced. It was at once evident that the delegates were

not inclined to do as they were desired. On the 8th they appointed a committee of twenty-five to confer with the Special Commissioner, so that the others might return to their homes, and only meet again to settle matters finally. By a vote passed without opposition they gave the Committee instructions not to entertain any proposals for the formation of an independent government until the following matters should have been adjusted by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner to their entire satisfaction:—

1. The settlement of the Griqualand question.
2. The adjustment of the boundary line between the Basuto Territory and the Sovereignty. (That is, the line between the Orange and the Caledon.)
3. The question of the interference of the British Government between natives and the European inhabitants of the country.
4. A guarantee that the allies of the British Government or persons from beyond the Vaal River should not molest the inhabitants of the Sovereignty, more particularly in regard to confiscated farms.
5. Compensation for those who might find it necessary to leave the country and those who had sustained losses by war or otherwise.
6. The share justly belonging to the Sovereignty of the customs dues received at the ports of the Cape Colony and Natal, or the cession of a port in either of those colonies.
7. The complete or conditional absolution of the inhabitants from allegiance to the British Crown.
8. The settlement of all disputes regarding boundaries of farms as yet undecided by the several Land Commissions.
9. The cancellation of all existing treaties with natives.
10. Permission to the future government to purchase munitions of war of all kinds in England or the British Colonies, and a guarantee that no obstacle should be thrown in the way by the Colonial Governments to prevent such munitions of war from reaching the Orange River Territory.
11. The refunding of all fines unlawfully imposed upon inhabitants of the Sovereignty, and the restoration of, or payment for, all farms unlawfully confiscated.

Some correspondence with Sir George Clerk followed, and the Committee then separated. It met again on the 10th of November, when it decided upon the adoption of a constitution the same as that approved of by the delegates in June in the preceding year, *but under Her Majesty's Government.*

Sir George Clerk then announced that as they were unwilling to take steps for the formation of an independent government, he would enter into negotiations with other persons. And then was seen the strange spectacle of an English Commissioner of high rank and courteous demeanour addressing men who wished to be free of British control as the friendly and well disposed inhabitants, while for those who desired to remain British subjects and who claimed that protection to which they believed themselves entitled, he had no sympathising word. In the change of phraseology which took place with the change of policy, they had now become the obstructionists.

As this stage Commandant Adrian Stander, who had recently been living at the Marikwa, visited the Sovereignty, and rallied the republican party around him. Several of the elected delegates seceded, professing that they had only voted for the retention of the British Government out of fear that the Special Commissioner's invitation was a device to entrap and then fine them. In a very short time addresses with nine hundred and fifty-nine names attached to them were presented to Sir George Clerk, offering to meet the wishes of the Imperial Government on the following conditions:—

1. The release of the inhabitants from Her Majesty's authority.
2. The arrangement of matters concerning Griqualand.
3. The invalidation of all existing treaties with the surrounding tribes, and the non-interference of the British Government between the burghers and the natives.
4. Compensation for confiscated farms and for fines unlawfully levied.
5. Permission to purchase munitions of war in England and all British Colonies, and assurance that the same should be allowed to pass unhindered through the Cape Colony or Natal, as well as that a free passage should be allowed for all goods through those Colonies to the Territory.

The elected committee thereupon requested Dr. Fraser and the Rev. Mr. Murray to proceed without delay to England, to lay their case before the Imperial Parliament, and to protest against the people of the Sovereignty being abandoned under the circumstances of the country.

As if to accentuate their despairing cry, just at this juncture Moshesh, in opposition to the advice and wishes of Sir

Conquest of the Batlokua Country by the Basuto. 351

George Clerk, crossed the Caledon at the head of a great army, and fell suddenly upon Sikonyela's stronghold. That chief was at the moment unprepared for defence, as he was not expecting to be attacked, and had only a few warriors with him. His mountain fastness, though hitherto considered impregnable, was far from being such a formidable stronghold as Thaba Bosigo. There was but one narrow and steep path leading to its summit, but it was found possible to scale some of the precipices in the rear. The Basuto army attacked it in three divisions. While one division, under Masupha, stormed up the footpath, the others, under Moshesh and Letsie, scaled the precipices at different points, the warriors climbing over each other's shoulders.

On the tableland above, in a heavy storm of rain, a battle was fought which ended in complete victory for the Basuto. Sikonyela lost his eldest son Makitikiti, and the bravest of his guard. Gert Taaibosch and the leading members of his band also fell in the engagement. The Batlokua chief, when all was lost, managed to conceal himself, and he lay in hiding for several days, while Moshesh remained on the mountain. During this time the Basuto scoured the district and seized the cattle, waggons, and everything else of value belonging to the Batlokua and Taaibosch's Koranas. When at length they left, Sikonyela crept from his hiding place, and with only sixty warriors at his back fled to Winburg.

As a man of note, the name of the once formidable Batlokua chief will henceforth disappear. The son of the terrible Ma Ntatisi was now struck down never more to rise to power. Sir George Clerk sent him to Bloemfontein, where he was provided with rations for himself and a few followers until the abandonment of the Sovereignty. Moshesh frequently invited him to return to his old residence, but his haughty spirit would not allow him to become a retainer of his ancient enemy. When he left Bloemfontein after a stay there of some months, it was to retire to the present district of Herschel, where he remained in obscurity until his death in 1856.¹

¹ The principal branch of the remnant of the Batlokua afterwards removed to Griqualand East, below the Kathlamba Mountains. Lehana, second son of ...

Mota, brother of Sikonyela, with those Batlokua who did not choose to follow their fallen chief, now submitted to Moshesh. The district occupied by the conquered tribe was divided among several clans, subjects or vassals of the Basuto, Molapo and Molitsane obtaining the best portions of it.

This event, which to the European inhabitants was another proof of Moshesh's power and their danger, to Sir George Clerk was only an incentive to get away quickly.

In December he had a meeting at Jammerberg Drift with the Basuto chief and his eldest son Letsie. The farmers along the Warden Line between the Caledon and the Orange had been invited to be present, and a good many of them attended. The Special Commissioner requested them and the chiefs to arrange another boundary, but said that he desired to be merely a witness of their proceedings. Moshesh replied that he thought the Orange River would be a good boundary. After this there could be very little discussion, and nothing more was ever attempted by the Special Commissioner in this matter.

In the Cape Colony the announcement that the Sovereignty was about to be abandoned was received with great dissatisfaction. From all the important centres of population, petitions, numerous signed, were addressed to the Queen, earnestly beseeching Her Majesty to retain the country. One of these petitions was from the Presbytery of Swellendam, representing the Dutch Reformed congregations of Swellendam, Caledon, George, Riversdale, Bredasdorp, Mossel Bay, Napier, Knysna, and Ladismith.

Very imprudently, some of these petitions were drawn up with a view to secure the co-operation of those well meaning persons at home whose sympathies are easily roused on behalf of coloured races. In these, grotesque and frightful pictures were drawn of the injuries inflicted by the Boers of the South African Republic upon the missionaries and natives there, and it was predicted that if the people of the Sovereignty were Sikonyela in rank, was then acting as regent during the minority of Ledingwana, son of Makitikitl. For the recent history of this branch of the once famous tribe, see my paper on Griqualand East in the Cape Colonial Bluebook on Native Affairs for 1885.

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left to themselves they would behave in a similar manner. These petitions were made public through the colonial press, and tended very greatly to strengthen the republican party. There was a general cry of indignation from the farmers on both sides of the Vaal, coupled with a challenge for an impartial investigation of the events alluded to, and an expressed desire to be freed from all connection with persons who so "defiled" them. From the date of the publication of these documents it is beyond question that a large majority of the inhabitants of the territory were in favour of self-government, and that the committee which had been elected no longer represented the people.

Sir George Clerk had made himself acquainted with the recent transactions beyond the Vaal, and knew how distorted the assertions of ill-treatment of the natives by the Emigrant Farmers really were. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Aborigines Protection Society, the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Peace Society, without any hesitation or scruple accepted as correct the version of occurrences sent home by the missionaries, and besought the Duke of Newcastle to interpose. The members of these great Societies do not seem to have reflected that though they had an undoubted right to ask for the very closest investigation that could be made, ordinary justice demanded that the charges should be proved before they were entitled to condemn the Boers as they did. The Secretary of State probably viewed the matter in this light, for his instructions to Sir George Clerk to remonstrate with the Transvaal authorities were conveyed in very weak language.

The Special Commissioner, however, apart from positive instructions, felt it his duty to look closely into this matter. One of the first documents put into his hands after his arrival in the Sovereignty was a memorial from certain missionaries, and if the views expressed in it were well founded, the Imperial Government ought to be made acquainted with the facts. This memorial had its origin in a missionary meeting held at the Rev. Holloway Helmore's station of Likatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal rivers, on the 11th of July

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1853. The Rev. Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, presided at the conference. The missionaries who took part were those of the London Society labouring with the Griquas at Griquatown and Philippolis and with the Batlapin at Kuruman, Taung, and Likatlong; those of the Berlin Society labouring with the Koranas at Pniel and Bethany; and of the Paris Society labouring at Motito. Among them were some men of undoubted ability, the tenor of whose lives commanded the respect of all well thinking persons, and whose opinions were entitled to be taken into the most careful consideration.

They resolved, "that a memorial be drawn up touching upon the state and prospects of the Transvaal natives and the missions established among them, and that a deputation consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Moffat, Inglis, and Solomon, be appointed to wait upon Sir George Russell Clerk, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, to present the memorial to him."

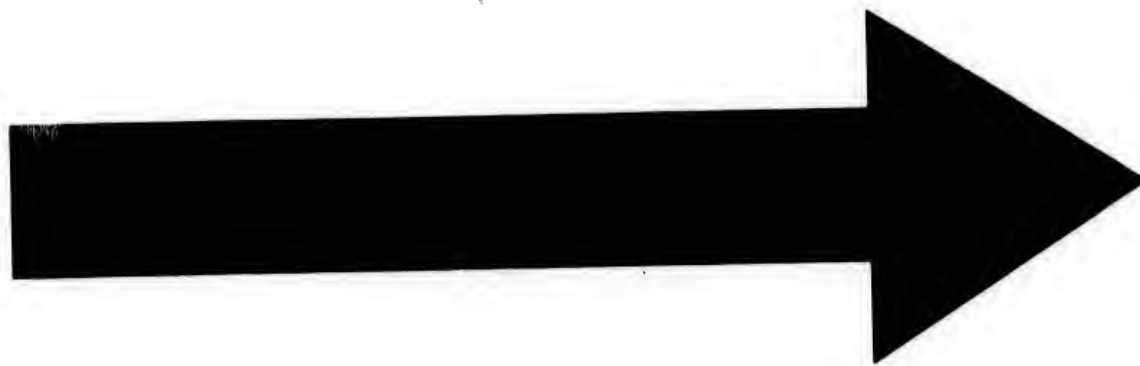
In this document the missionaries expressed their satisfaction at the appointment of a Commissioner to investigate matters. They complained of the conduct of the farmers towards the natives, and of the destruction of five missionary stations, four of the London Society's and one Wesleyan. They stated it to be their "firm conviction that the attacks were unprovoked on the part of the natives, and could be traced to no other sources than the love of plunder, the lust of power, and the desire of obtaining constrained and unpaid labour on the part of the Boers." They spoke of the banishment of the Rev. Messrs. Edwards and Inglis "on the most flimsy pretexts," and the destruction or sacrifice of much missionary property. They stated that "the whole system pursued by the Boers towards the tribes under their control was reducing them all to a state of servitude which could not be distinguished from slavery." They complained of the permission given by the Convention to the Boers to purchase munitions of war, while these were withheld from the natives. They "could not too earnestly deprecate the abandonment by Her Majesty's Government of the Orange River Sovereignty," and they feared a general war resulting from a combination of the natives against the Emigrant Farmers.

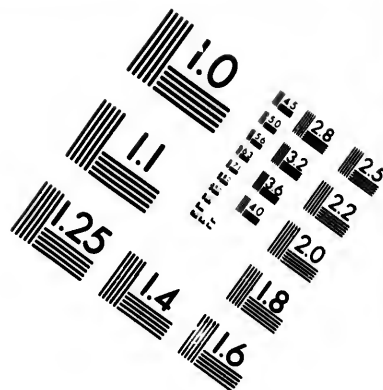
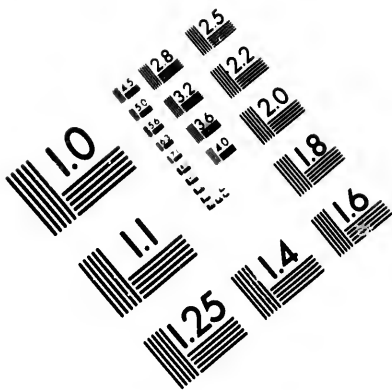
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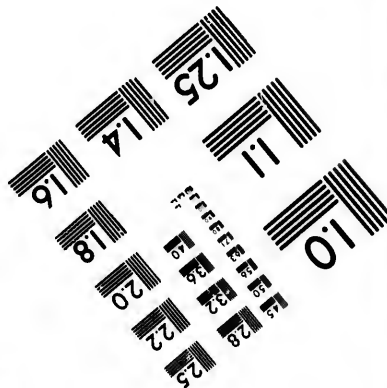
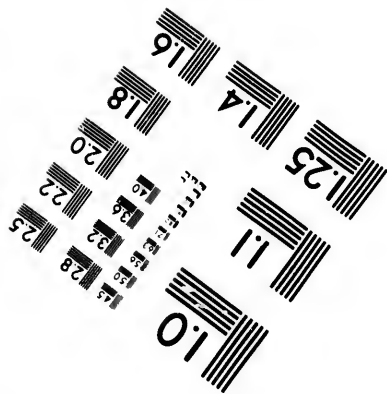
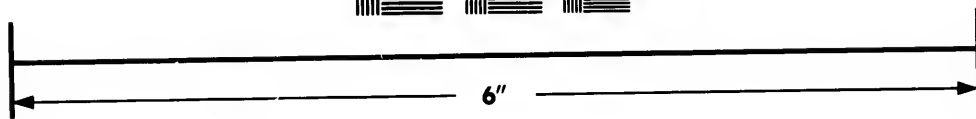
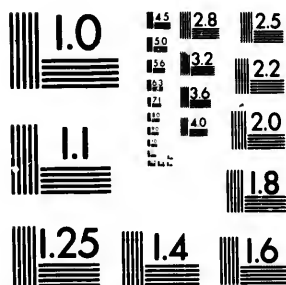
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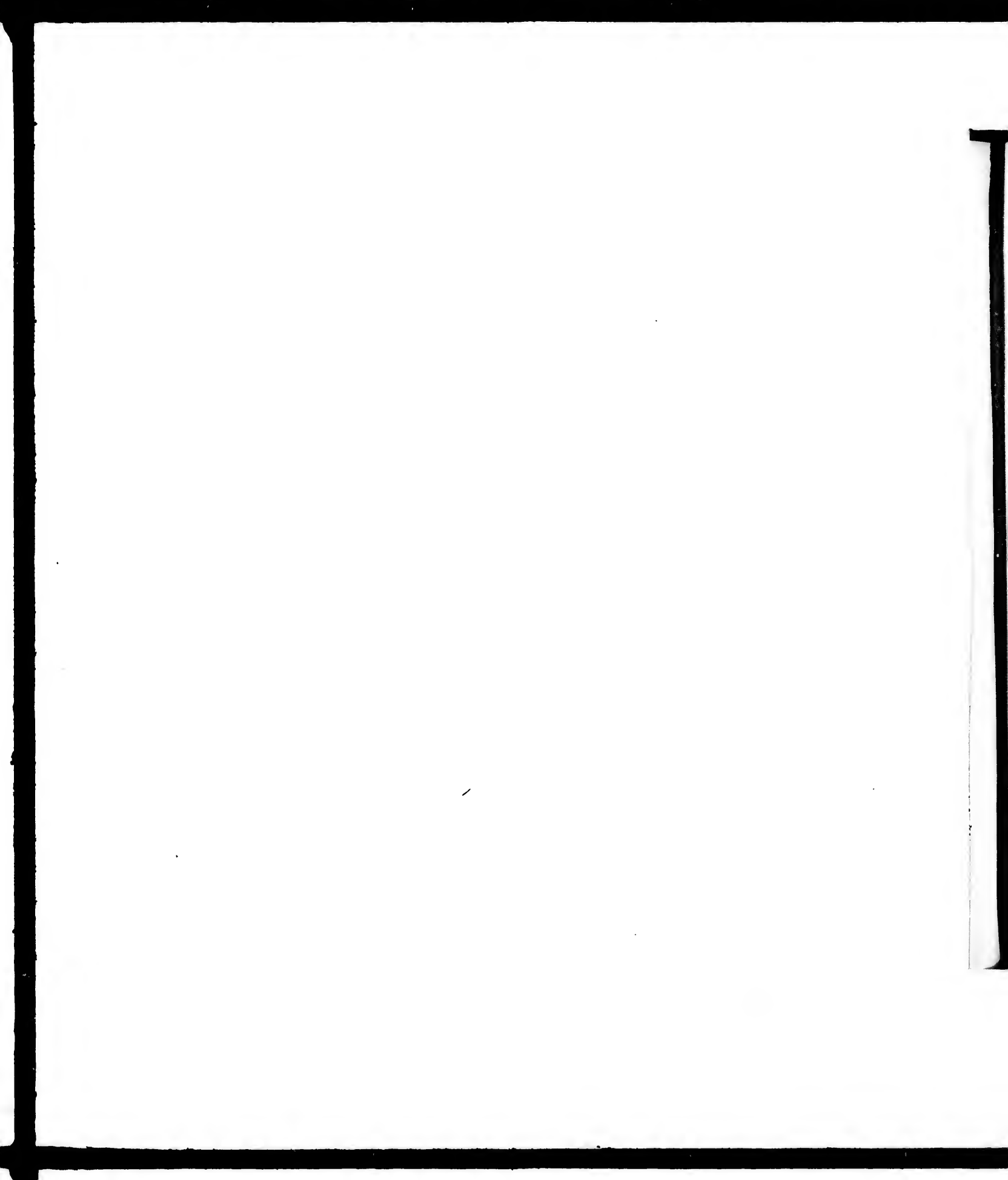
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Investigation of the Charges against the Boers. 355

Shortly after the receipt of this memorial by Sir George Clerk, Commandant Scholtz visited Bloemfontein. The Special Commissioner caused the document to be translated into Dutch, and requested him to reply to the charges made in it. On the 6th of September, the Commandant delivered his statement to Mr. Owen.

He expressed "astonishment and regret that such unfounded assertions could be brought forward." He knew of no missionary stations destroyed by the Boers, but he was aware that the Rev. Mr. Ludorf had abandoned his charge, that the Rev. Messrs. Inglis and Edwards had been expelled from the Republic, and that the tribe with which the Rev. Dr. Livingstone had been labouring had been defeated in an engagement brought on by themselves.

He denied that any natives had been wantonly attacked, or that any tribe whatever had been assailed for the sake of plunder. The people with whom the Boers had been fighting were living on ground taken by the Emigrants from Moselkatse, they were subjects of the Emigrant Government and were required to perform service instead of paying taxes; there were also many persons apprenticed to individual farmers; but there were no slaves held by the Emigrants. Every facility would be granted if the British Government chose to send a Commission of Inquiry to find out the truth.

As for the case of the Rev. Messrs. Inglis and Edwards, he referred to the records of their trial. He had heard that Mr. Edwards' station had been plundered by a party of Griqua hunters and by a band of deserters from Her Majesty's army. The Boers had nothing to do with it. From Dr. Livingstone's station he himself had brought away two immense firelocks and a gunsmith's outfit, but he considered that he was justified in doing so. He was not aware of any combination of natives against the Emigrant Farmers, nor was he apprehensive of any, "should the missionaries not excite them against his countrymen." And lastly, the conduct of the missionaries had been the cause of a great deal of mischief, and their interference in matters outside of their proper sphere of labour would no longer be permitted in the Republic.

Here were two conflicting statements based on the same facts. Further inquiry brought to light that much of the difference between them arose from the various interpretations given to the word slavery.

(a) Was a clan which agreed with the Republican Government to contribute a stated amount of labour yearly, in return for the use of ground on which to live, in a condition of slavery?

(b) Certain farmers had leased ground to individual natives in consideration of receiving the service of their families at times when work was pressing. The system undoubtedly was a pernicious one, for tenants of this kind lived, as a rule, by plundering their landlords' neighbours. But that was not the question. It was, are such tenants in a condition of slavery?

(c) Natives wandering about in idleness with no visible means of subsistence and not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, destitute persons, orphan children, and sometimes children taken as were those from the Bakwena and afterwards unclaimed, were apprenticed to farmers for a term of years, without their consent being required. They received wages, and, with hardly an exception, were well cared for, though they were never regarded as the social equals of their employers, the feeling towards them being identical with that of an English squire towards his dependents in olden times. Were they in a condition of bondage?

The missionaries declared all these to be in a state of servitude indistinguishable from slavery. The farmers denied this, and asked whether white people in England under the same circumstances were not termed free.

It was ascertained that there were, in very truth, numerous individuals along the western border of the Republic in a condition of slavery, in the sense that their persons and everything they acquired were throughout life entirely at the disposal of others. These people were the Balala. They were the remnants of tribes broken by war in former years, and their owners were the same Betschuana who, according to the missionaries, were being oppressed by the Boers. The tendency

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Investigation of the Charges against the Boers. 357

of things under the Emigrant Government was to free the Balala from bondage, in the sense of giving them rights in property and control over their families and their persons, though without allowing them to become vagrants. This, at any rate, was something to weigh against the strict treatment to which the other natives were subject, though the missionaries had not taken it into consideration.

There were instances of real oppression of blacks by white men, but they were by no means numerous. One would not be justified in terming the Boers a race of oppressors on account of them, any more than in terming the inhabitants of London a race of pilferers on account of the pickpockets in that city. These instances of oppression were made possible by the feebleness of the Republican Government, and the way to prevent them would be to strengthen that Government. The missionaries, with the most upright intentions, were really advocating the destruction of all authority. The Emigrant Government could not exist if the tribes living on its soil were independent of its control, those tribes could not have been there at all if it had not been for the conquest of the Matabele by the farmers, and it did not seem unreasonable, therefore, that they should be required to pay a moderate tribute.

As for the differences of opinion between the Emigrants and the missionaries, it was to be regretted that they did not all think alike; but the existence of those differences would not warrant the British Government in incurring the responsibility of keeping possession of distant and useless territory. If the missionary contention was correct, and all men are by nature equal, education and belief in Christianity creating the existing difference between them, the Boers, in despite of themselves, would soon be compelled to alter their views. If, on the other hand, the Boer contention was correct, and there are differences in the intellectual capacities of races which mark some as inferior to others, the best guarantee of the mild and just treatment of the lower race would be in securing the friendship of the higher.

The Special Commissioner, therefore, took no further action with regard to the missionary memorial.

358 *Meeting of the Two Assemblies at Bloemfontein.*

On the 19th of January 1854, he published a notice inviting those persons who were prepared to form an independent government to meet in Bloemfontein on the 15th of February.

On that day two hostile committees assembled. One, under the presidency of Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, a farmer who had been residing at Jammerberg Drift since 1843, entered into negotiations with the Special Commissioner.

The other was the remnant of the committee appointed by the delegates in September preceding, now reduced by the absence of Dr. Fraser and by secession to thirteen members. Among these were the representatives of the Winburg loyalists, Commandant Wessels, J. van Rensburg, and J. Vergottini, true to their political creed to the very last. They passed resolutions declaring themselves in permanent session, and that any dealings which the Special Commissioner should have with any other body would be null and void, as they only had been properly elected and represented the people. On the 16th, Sir George Clerk wrote to Mr. H. J. Halse, as the chairman, "dissolving the committee in consequence of unauthorized proceedings, and recommending to such members of it as had not seceded to agree with those persons who, under his authority, were then engaged as representatives of a majority of the inhabitants in carrying out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the territory."

The "obstructionists" then announced their intention to set at defiance any government that might be established in independence of the Queen of England. Those of them who were of English blood declared that nothing short of an Act of Parliament should deprive them of their rights as British subjects. Those who were of Dutch descent indignantly exclaimed that after having adhered to the British Government through weal and woe, and having thereby incurred the wrath of their Republican fellow-countrymen, the Special Commissioner was now about to subject them to those whose friendship they had forfeited. They would nail the British ensign festooned with crape half-mast high, they declared, and hold out until the British Parliament should decide their fate. Equally violent resolutions were adopted by a meeting held at Smith-

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Agreement with the "Well-Disposed" Assembly. 359

field a few days later, when a "Committee of Safety" was elected with acclamation.

From men labouring under such excitement, a dignified submission to the inevitable was not to be expected. A report had within the last few days been circulated of the discovery of a gold field in the neighbourhood of Smithfield, and the remnant of the old committee now wrote to the Special Commissioner begging him to delay proceedings until it should be seen whether there might not be a large influx of diggers. The object was to gain time for Messrs. Murray and Fraser to bring the matter before the House of Commons. Sir George Clerk replied that the discovery of a gold field, no matter what its effects might be, would not alter the resolution of the Imperial Government. Indeed, though it was not then known in South Africa, a Royal Proclamation had already been signed (30th of January 1854), "abandoning and renouncing all dominion and sovereignty over the Orange River territory."

Gold had been freely employed to allay the spirit of resistance. Under the name of compensation for losses occasioned by the change of government, large sums were expended. The claimants for losses sustained through the robberies of the Basuto had a twelvemonth before received two shillings and three pence in the pound, being the amount raised by the sale of the cattle obtained from Moshesh before and at Berea. Sir George Clerk gave them seven shillings and ninepence in the pound more. No less a sum than £33,744 was expended in this manner. The arrears of salary due to the civil servants were also paid out of Imperial funds.¹ By these means the number of obstructionists was so reduced that those who still held out were rendered powerless.

With the "well disposed" Assembly the Special Commissioner soon came to terms. On the 17th of February he laid before the members a draft of a Convention containing ten Articles, in accordance with previous arrangements. The Assembly then deliberated on the Articles in order. The first

¹ In 1854, the Imperial Parliament voted £45,000 to meet the expenses connected with the abandonment of the Sovereignty, and in 1856 a further sum of £3,691 was put upon the Imperial Estimates and passed for the same purpose.

was agreed to without change. The second read: "The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok." The Assembly was desirous of adding the words "and shall hereafter make no treaties with them." The Special Commissioner agreed to add, "and Her Majesty's Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government."

The Assembly desired information concerning the old treaties with Moshesh. Sir George Clerk replied in writing: "War between two Powers breaks all pre-existing treaties. The British Government has no treaty with Moshesh."

Instead of the third Article as originally drafted, the Assembly desired to substitute another of a different nature; but upon Sir George Clerk engaging to use his best endeavours to gain Adam Kok's consent to a new treaty in conformity with their proposals, the draft was approved of.

Some of the other Articles were slightly modified, and the ninth on the original draft was embodied in the fifth; but no alterations of importance were made.

The arrangements having been completed, on the 23rd of February 1854 the Convention was signed. It is as follows:

Articles of Convention entered into between Sir George Russell Clerk, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for settling and adjusting the affairs of the Orange River Territory, on the one part, and the undermentioned representatives, delegated by the inhabitants of the said territory,—

For the District of Bloemfontein.

George Frederik Linde,
Gerrit Johannes du Toit, Fieldcornet,
Jacobus Johannes Venter,
Dirk Johannes Krafford,

For the District of Smithfield.

Josias Philip Hoffman,
Hendrik Johannes Weber, Justice of the Peace and Field Com-
mandant,

Petrus Arnoldus Human,
Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, Fieldcornet,
Petrus van der Walt, senior (absent on leave).

For Sannah's Pocrt.

Gert Petrus Visser, Justice of the Peace,
Jacobus Groenendaal,
Johannes Jacobus Rabie, Fieldcornet,
Esias Rynier Snyman,
Charl Petrus du Toit,
Hendrik Lodewikus du Toit.

For the District of Winburg.

Frederik Peter Schnehage,
Mathys Johannes Wessels,
Cornelis Johannes Frederik du Plooy,
Frederik Petrus Senekal, Fieldcornet,
Petrus Lafras Moolman, Fieldcornet,
Johannes Izaak Jacobus Fick, Justice of the Peace.

For the District of Harrismith.

Paul Michiel Bester, Justice of the Peace,
Willem Adrian van Aardt, Fieldcornet,
Willem Jurgen Pretorius,
Johannes Jurgen Bornman,
Hendrik Venter (absent on leave),
Adrian Hendrik Stander,

On the other part.

1. Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, in entering into a Convention for finally transferring the Government of the Orange River Territory to the representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it, guarantees, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the future independence of that country and its government; and that, after the necessary preliminary arrangements for making over the same between Her Majesty's Special Commissioner and the said representatives shall have been completed, the inhabitants of the country shall then be free. And that this independence shall, without unnecessary delay, be confirmed and ratified by an instrument, promulgated in such form and substance as Her Majesty may approve, finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them to all intents and purposes a free and independent people, and their Government to be treated and considered thenceforth a free and independent Government.
2. The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native

chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok; and Her Majesty's Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government.

3. With regard to the treaty existing between the British Government and the chief Captain Adam Kok, some modification of it is indispensable. Contrary to the provisions of that treaty, the sale of lands in the Inalienable Territory has been of frequent occurrence, and the principal object of the treaty thus disregarded. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, intends to remove all restrictions preventing Griquas from selling their lands; and measures are in progress for the purpose of affording every facility for such transactions,—the chief Adam Kok having, for himself, concurred in and sanctioned the same. And with regard to those further alterations arising out of the proposed revision of relations with Captain Adam Kok, in consequence of the aforesaid sales of land having, from time to time, been effected in the Inalienable Territory, contrary to the stipulations of the Maitland Treaty, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, personally, without any unnecessary loss of time, to establish affairs in Griqualand on a footing suitable to the just expectations of all parties.
4. After the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Government from the Orange River Territory, the new Orange River Government shall not permit any vexatious proceedings towards those of Her Majesty's present subjects remaining within the Orange River Territory, who may heretofore have been acting under the authority of Her Majesty's Government, for or on account of any acts lawfully done by them, that is, under the law as it existed during the occupation of the Orange River Territory by the British Government. Such persons shall be considered to be guaranteed in the possession of their estates by the New Orange River Government. Also, with regard to those of Her Majesty's present subjects, who may prefer to return under the dominion and authority of her Majesty, to remaining where they now are as subjects of the Orange River Government, such persons shall enjoy full right and facility for the transfer of their properties, should they desire to leave the country under the Orange River Government, at any subsequent period within three years from the date of this convention.
5. Her Majesty's Government and the Orange River Government shall, within their respective territories, mutually use every exertion for the suppression of crime, and keeping the peace, by apprehending and delivering up all criminals who may have escaped or fled from justice either way across the Orange River; and the courts, as well the

British as those of the Orange River Government, shall be mutually open and available to the inhabitants of both territories for all lawful processes. And all summonses for witnesses, directed either way across the Orange River, shall be countersigned by the magistrates of both Governments respectively; to compel the attendance of such witnesses, when and where they may be required; thus affording to the community north of the Orange River every assistance from the British courts, and giving on the other hand assurance to such colonial merchants and traders as have naturally entered into credit transactions in the Orange River Territory, during its occupation by the British Government, and to whom, in many cases, debts may be owing, every facility for the recovery of just claims in the courts of the Orange River Government. And Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend the adoption of the like reciprocal privileges by the Government of Natal, in its relations with the Orange River Government.

6. Certificates issued by the proper authorities, as well in the colonies and possessions of Her Majesty as in the Orange River Territory, shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle heirs of lawful marriages, and legatees, to receive portions and legacies accruing to them respectively, either within the jurisdiction of the British or Orange River Government.

7. The Orange River Government shall, as hitherto, permit no slavery, or trade in slaves, in their territory north of the Orange River.

8. The Orange River Government shall have freedom to purchase their supplies of ammunition in any British colony or possession in South Africa, subject to the laws provided for the regulation of the sale and transit of ammunition in such colonies and possessions; and Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend to the Colonial Government, that privileges of a liberal character, in connection of import duties generally, be granted to the Orange River Government, as measures in regard to which it is entitled to be treated with every indulgence, in consideration of its peculiar position and distance from sea-ports.

9. In order to promote mutual facilities and liberty to traders and travellers, as well as in the British possessions as in those of the Orange River Government, and it being the earnest wish of Her Majesty's Government that a friendly intercourse between these territories should at all times subsist, and be promoted by every possible arrangement, a consul or agent of the British Government, whose especial attention shall be directed to the promotion of these desirable objects, will be stationed within the colony, near to the frontier, to whom access at all times may readily be had by the inhabitants on both sides of the Orange River, for advice and information, as circumstances may require.

This done and signed at Bloemfontein, on the Twnty-third day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-four.

GEO. RUSSELL CLERK, K.C.B.,
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner.

Josias Philip Hoffman, President.
G. J. du Toit, Fieldcornet.
J. J. Venter.
D. J. Kraford.
H. J. Weber, Justice of the Peace and Field Commandant.
P. A. Human.
J. T. Snyman, late Field Commandant.
G. P. Visser, Justice of the Peace.
J. Groenendaal.
J. J. Rabbie, Fieldcornet.
E. R. Snyman.
C. P. du Toit.
H. L. du Toit.
F. P. Schuchage.
M. J. Wessels.
C. J. F. du Plooy.
F. P. Senekal, Fieldcornet.
P. L. Moolman, Fieldcornet.
J. I. J. Fick, Justice of the Peace.
P. M. Bester, Justice of the Peace.
W. A. van Aardt, Fieldcornet.
W. J. Pretorius.
J. J. Bornman.
A. H. Stander.

A few days later some other matters were arranged, and a memorandum relating to them was signed by the Special Commissioner. The only portions of this document of permanent interest are the following :—

Particular instances of past hardship may be taken into consideration, with a view to placing the new Orange River Government in a position, as far as practicable, to soothe and remedy all bitter recollections of sufferings of former times in the cases in which such have appeared. It has therefore seemed good to Her Majesty's Special Commissioner to bestow a sum of Three Thousand Pounds sterling as a free gift on Her Majesty's part, for the benefit of such persons as may be considered entitled to participate in such gift, under the circumstances above referred to, to be distributed according to the discretion and judgment of the Orange River Government.

In doubtful cases arising from claims as to the extent of any farm on the Basuto line, two persons may be appointed to arbitrate, the one on the side of the Orange River Government and the other on that of Mosheh. The Special Commissioner will recommend such a measure to Mosheh, and any person who after such inquiry shall be found not to be entitled to the extent of ground which he claims, must be regarded as appropriating what he has no right to, and should it clearly appear that this appropriation has been ratified by British authority, the claimant shall in that case be entitled to indemnification by the British Government, which is hereby guaranteed by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

The Government Buildings and Fort are made a present to the Orange River Government.

The School Buildings of Bloemfontein and Harrismith are likewise made a present to the Orange River Government, on condition that they shall be used in future for school purposes, as heretofore.

While the negotiations were proceeding, Adam Kok visited Bloemfontein and had an interview with the Special Commissioner. The Griqua chief was understood as having consented to allow the sale of land in the Reserve, but he afterward denied that he had done so. It was arranged that the British Resident should proceed in a few days to Philippolis to confer with the captain and his council upon all the questions requiring settlement. Accordingly on the 1st of March Mr. Green arrived at the Griqua village, and laid before Kok's government the proposals of the Burgher Assembly in the form of a treaty, which he requested the captain and his council to sign. Its clauses were:

1. The Griqua people, subjects of Captain Adam Kok, to have henceforth the right (hitherto denied them) of selling their farms when they feel so disposed.
2. With a view to the preservation of the amicable feeling which has now long existed between the white inhabitants of the Sovereignty and the Griquas, the sales of landed property between them shall be conducted subject to the following regulations, viz.: (a) An Agent of the British Government to be appointed temporarily to supervise the sales, before whom the buyer and seller shall appear and make formal declaration of their agreement. (b) All payments to be made to the Griqua proprietor through the Agent. (c) The tenants of the leased farms to have the right of preemption up to a certain date to be fixed by the Government Agent.

3. Every person of European extraction purchasing a farm in the Inalienable Territory shall become subject to the laws of the Independent Government now established in the Sovereignty.
4. Captain Kok to retain his present authority over his own subjects, saving and excepting that, for the purpose of preserving order in the village of Sannah's Poort and watching over the interests of such persons as join the new Government under the preceding Article, a Landdrost shall be appointed by the new Government to reside there, whose jurisdiction as a magistrate shall however be confined to the farm on which the village is built.
5. The pension of £300 per annum at present paid to the Griqua chief and people in lieu of the quitrents of certain lands in the alienable territory, surrendered by them to Sir Harry Smith by virtue of the arrangement of the 27th January 1848, to be continued to Captain Kok personally during his lifetime by the Imperial Government.
6. All the Griquas who lost farms in the alienable territory by the arrangement referred to in the preceding Article to be paid for them at once by the Imperial Government at rates varying from £37 10s. to £187 10s. each, according to the relative value of the farms at the time the arrangement was made.
7. Should circumstances at any future time render it more conducive to the welfare and comfort of Captain Adam Kok to remove to the south of the Orange River, every facility shall be afforded him, not only by the British Consul on the Frontier, but by the British Government, to enable him to dispose of his property on the north of that river, and to establish his station at some chosen spot within the Colony.

The Griqua Council refused its assent to the first Article, upon which Mr. Green informed them in writing that the Special Commissioner had declared the sales legal; but in consequence of their refusal "to work with His Excellency for the public good, the offer of payment which he had made for lands beyond the Riet River was withdrawn, as the object in offering it—the preservation of peace—would probably be frustrated through the unsettled state in which the land tenures must be left in consequence of their resolution."

On the 7th of March the missionary at Philippolis wrote in Adam Kok's name to Sir George Clerk that "the most important point of these proposals was that the restriction preventing sales of farms in the inalienable territory should be removed. He had brought this point before his people, and his Council had frequently had it under their consideration, but

the resolve was that they could not give their consent to such a proposal. It was not a modification but a reversal of the Maitland treaty, the leading principle of which was that the inalienable territory should remain for the use of the Griqua people." At the same time the writer desired Sir George Clerk to compensate individual Griquas for all claims they might advance to farms between the Riet and Modder rivers, that is the alienable territory of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Before the departure of the Special Commissioner from Bloemfontein, Moshesh visited that town, and was received in the most friendly manner by the members of the Provisional Government. At a public dinner he made a speech that would have been creditable to an educated and Christian ruler. He was on the most friendly terms with Moroko, who accompanied him, and he made liberal offers, though without effect, to Sikonyela. Sir George Clerk spoke to him of a British officer being stationed on the border as a channel of communication between the Colonial Government and the heads of the communities north of the Orange. Moshesh desired that he might be placed in the Lesuto, but did not press the matter. He inquired if the Warden Line was still considered his boundary, and was requested by the Commissioner not to speak of it—"it was a dead horse that had long been buried, to raise it would be offensive." Thus the Basuto chief was led to believe that the line was not considered binding by the Imperial Government, while the Boers had every reason to believe that it was.

On the 11th of March the flag of England was hoisted for the last time over the Queen's fort, but only to be saluted. When it was lowered that of the new Republic took its place, and the Special Commissioner, the troops, and the British officials were leaving Bloemfontein. Moshesh and the other chiefs accompanied them the first stage of the journey towards the Colony. Then in apparent friendship the Commissioner, the chiefs, and the members of the new Government bade each other adieu, and the Boers and Basuto were left to settle as they could the relation in which they were to stand to each other.

At Philippolis Sir George Clerk remained some time, vainly endeavouring to induce Adam Kok to come to terms. Individual Griquas were anxious to sell ground for which they had little or no use, and individual farmers were ready to buy it. There was no enforcement of law or order in the district. Under these circumstances, the Commissioner said, it was useless trying to retain the Reserve intact. It would be better to legalize the sales than to have the district filled with people, Europeans and Griquas, setting him and his council at defiance. But the captain would not yield. Sir George Clerk then told him that the Maitland treaty would be set aside. The captain asked him to state that in writing, but the Commissioner declined to do so. On another occasion Kok pressed for compensation for farms claimed by his people outside the Reserve, which had been allotted by the Sovereignty Government to burghers. The Commissioner stated that he would make liberal compensation, if the Griqua Government would ratify the sales which were being made in defiance of it. But arguments, threats, and promises were alike useless, and the Commissioner was obliged to leave the complicated Griqua question for solution by the new Government.

Meantime the delegates, Messrs. Fraser and Murray, had arrived in England. On the 16th of March they were admitted to an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, who informed them that it was too late to discuss the question of the abandonment of the Sovereignty. In his opinion, the Queen's authority had been extended too far in this country. It was impossible for England to supply troops to defend constantly advancing outposts; especially as Cape Town and the port of Table Bay were all she really required in South Africa.

The delegates then tried to get the question discussed in the House of Commons. At their instance Mr. C. B. Adderley, on the 9th of May, moved an address to Her Majesty, praying that she would be pleased to reconsider the Order in Council renouncing sovereignty over the Orange River Territory. In his speech he confined himself chiefly to the question, whether it was legal for the Crown to alienate British territory and absolve British subjects from their allegiance without the con-

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n discussed in the
C. B. Adderley, on
Majesty, praying
Order in Council
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sent of Parliament. On the advantage of retaining the coun-
try he said but little.

A few members spoke on the Government side, among them
being the Attorney General. All of them regarded the aban-
donment as expedient and perfectly legal. Sir John Paking-
ton and Sir Frederick Thesiger thought it would have been
better if the Legislature had been consulted, but concurred in
the expediency of the abandonment.

Being without a single supporter, Mr. Adderley then with-
drew his motion.

While preparing this work, I have had before me the follow-
ing books, in addition to those already mentioned:—

"A Voyage to Cochin China in the Years 1792 and 1793." By
John Barrow. One volume quarto, London, 1806. This book con-
tains an "Account of a Journey made in the years 1801 and 1802 to
the Residence of the Chief of the Booshuana Nation, being the
remotest point in the Interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans
have hitherto penetrated," taken from a journal of the travellers.
It fills 74 pages, and is illustrated with a chart of the route and with
plates.

"Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa." By John Barrow.
Two volumes quarto. London (Second Edition), 1806.

"Reize in de Binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika, gedaan in den Jare,"
1803. Door B. F. von Bouchenroeder. 231 octavo pages, Amster-
dam, 1806.

"Beknopt Berigt nopens de Volkplanting de Kaap de Goede
Hoop." Door B. F. von Bouchenroeder, 163 octavo pages, Amster-
dam, 1806.

"Aantekeningen eener Reis door de Binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika,
gedaan" in 1823. Door J. B. N. Theunissen. 116 octavo pages and
chart, Oostende, 1824.

"De Vruchten myner Werkzaamheden gedurende myne Reize
over de Kaap de Goede Hoop naar Java en terug." Door M. D.
Teenstra. Three octavo volumes, Groningen, 1830. The first
volume, of 431 pages, is devoted to the Cape of Good Hope.

"Practical Considerations on the Exact Position of the Slave
Question, as far as it regards the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope."
By John Centlivres Chase. 36 octavo pages, Cape Town, 1831.

"Annual Reports of the Cape of Good Hope, Philanthropic Society
for aiding Deserving Slaves and Slave Children to purchase their
Freedom." Octavo pamphlets, Cape Town, 1828 to 1833.

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette. A monthly magazine in
quarto form, Cape Town, 1831 to 1833.

The South African Quarterly Journal. From October 1821 to October 1831, and from October 1833 to October 1835. Octavo, Cape Town.

"Abstract of the Proceedings of the Board of Relief appointed with a view to mitigate the Sufferings occasioned by the Irruption of the Cafir Tribes into the Colony in 1834-5." 97 octavo pages, Cape Town, 1836.

"Five Years in Kaffirland, with Sketches of the Late War in that Country." By Harriet Ward. Two volumes crown octavo, London, 1848.

Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine. Octavo, monthly, 1847 and 1848.

"Reis naar en Verblijf aan de Kaap en te Natal gedurende," 1846 en 1847. Door M. de Vooght, Wed. Stucki. 207 octavo pages, Kampen, 1849.

"The Kaffir, the Hottentot, and the Frontier Farmer." By the Ven. Archdeacon Merriman. A small volume of 200 pages, London, 1853.

"The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration." By Earl Grey. Two octavo volumes, London, 1853.

"Biographical Memoir of John Montagu, with a Sketch of some of the Public Affairs connected with the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope during his Administration as Colonial Secretary from 1843 to 1853." By W. A. Newman, M.A., Dean of Cape Town. 612 octavo pages, London, 1855.

"Correspondence of Lieut-Gen. the Hon. Sir George Cathcart." 401 royal octavo pages, London, 1856.

"History of the Basutos of South Africa." By the Special Commissioner of the *Cape Argus*. A small volume of 143 pages, Cape Town, 1857.

"An Auto-Biographical Memoir." By Petrus Borchardus Borchards. 498 octavo pages, Cape Town, 1861.

"African Hunting from Natal to the Zambezi from 1852 to 1860." By William Charles Baldwin. 451 royal octavo pages, London, 1863.

"The Dutch Republics of South Africa." By F. W. Chesson. 63 octavo pages, London, 1871.

"Review of Earl Grey's Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration." By the Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, M.P. 192 octavo pages, London, 1869.

October 1821 to
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octavo pages, Cape

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octavo, London,

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Administration." By

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