

time by the philanthropic press as an attempt to intimidate the Governor, but we felt well convinced that the hero who did not quail under the murderous fire of the French when crowning the heights of Albuera, and fixing the victory on that momentous day, was not likely to be intimidated by 3000 or 4000 persons walking peaceably up to implore his protection and sympathy against an iniquitous law; and the result proved that they had not mistaken his feelings; for although His Excellency (as might have been expected) declared that he could not take upon himself to annul or even suspend the operation of the law, he yet promised that he would not fail to report to the Secretary of State the great excitement which this provision had created; and the colonists had the satisfaction of finding soon after that under an authority from the Secretary of State, directions were given to all functionaries not to enforce that regulation, which thus became a dead letter, and was only "observed in the breach."

From the manner in which the Government was thus interfering with the slave question, it became perceptible to everyone that the early abolition of slavery was aimed at; and many of the liberal-minded persons amongst the slave proprietors accordingly determined to evince their disposition to concur with the Government in this object as far as they could consistently with their interests, and they established a "Philanthropic Society," the object of which society was to buy up all young

females just reaching the age of puberty, to emancipate these immediately, but to place them for three or four years with persons of their own choice as apprentices until they had procured some little funds, and had been sufficiently trained to be entrusted with a state of perfect freedom.

By this means in a few years two or three hundred young females were purchased and manumitted, thus at once preventing any increase of slavery, and the society had so many voluntary applications of masters or mistresses to confer this boon upon all young females, that want of funds alone precluded the society from extending its beneficial influence all over the colony. They therefore endeavoured to obtain the support of the Government, and showed that by an annual sum of £7000 or £8000 being voted by the Imperial Parliament for such an object, the operations of this institution might be so enlarged that within very few years all female slaves would have been reclaimed from slavery, that also every able-bodied slave who might wish to be emancipated, and who had acquired the right by law to insist upon compulsory emancipation, might have obtained the funds to attain this object, so that gradually and imperceptibly slavery would have ceased to exist in nine or ten years, at a sacrifice to Great Britain of some £70,000 or £80,000 paid out in a series of years. But the only reply that these slave-holders, who were thus anxious to see liberty diffused without serious loss to themselves and a

disruption to society, was that this would never satisfy the impatience of the British public, who were bent upon instant and universal freedom!

In this manner their object was paralysed, and in the meantime the Order in Council was still brought into rigid operation; and for the most trivial offences a fine never less than £10 was inflicted on every master or mistress (for sometimes even a mistress would lose her temper and slap a termagant, whose aim and pleasure it became to bring their mistress to the utmost verge of passion); and in more serious cases the parties were tried by indictment, and very heavy penalties inflicted; and such became the universal detestation of the law and its effects, that it is not too much to say that the slave-owners generally became anxious for the day which was to put an end to the torture which they were suffering under the lash of this law.

That Act, so wished for, was at length passed by the Imperial Parliament in August, 1833, and in the beginning of the following year a new Governor (Sir Benjamin D'Urban) came out with express orders to carry it into operation.

By that Act, on the 1st of December, 1834, slavery was for ever to be abolished in the colony; and the late slaves, after passing through four years of apprenticeship, were finally to be free from all control on the 1st December, 1838. During that interval of four years the arrangements were also to be completed, by which the £20,000,000,

generously awarded by the British nation as a compensation to the slave-owners, were to be apportioned out to each colony, and paid over to those whose slaves were to be put in freedom.

The amount to be awarded to each colony, and more particularly to each slave-owner, was thus at first altogether problematical. Appraisers were appointed by the Government, who were ordered to examine personally every slave, and setting aside every consideration arising from a *pretium affectionis* (as lawyers term it), were to bring them all within certain classifications and fix an average value upon them.

This appraisement was conducted with perfect fairness (with the single exception of the district of George, where it was shown to be palpably corrupt, and was accordingly revised and amended); and the returns showed that upon 35,745 slaves found within the colony a sum of about £3,000,000 would be required to pay for them, thus yielding an average of about £85 a head.

The slave proprietors at once admitted the right of the Government in the exercise of its *dominium eminens* to take from every private person any property for the attainment of a public good; and they appeared generally satisfied, even with this appraised value, although in very many instances (from the prices I have already stated that slaves were readily sold for) it was clear that serious loss would be sustained, and chiefly by persons who

possessed the most valuable slaves. But it was soon seen that this appraisement had still to undergo the rule of reduction, and that the object of the appraisement was not to ascertain the average amount which every *slave-owner* would receive, but only the proportion which would be awarded to *each colony* out of the compensation fund of £20,000,000; and upon that computation being made by the commissioners at home, it soon proved that instead of £3,000,000 which the slave-owners at the Cape expected to receive, the sum of £1,200,000 only would be available for them, thus reducing the average value of each slave per head from £85 to £33 12s.; and I cannot give a more striking instance of the loss so sustained by the proprietors of valuable slaves than by stating in my own case that for a slave for whom I had frequently refused £500, and might have commanded £600, I found, according to the highest average for that class of slaves, a sum of £60 nominally awarded to me, but by the mode of payment ultimately received even that pittance reduced to £47 or £48.

This sudden and extraordinary reduction in the amount to be received from what had previously been anticipated proved ruinous to many families, as the capitalists to whom many of these slaves were mortgaged, foreseeing that they would not be paid out of the compensation fund, immediately commenced proceedings against the principal debtors and sureties, sold off their goods and chattels, and

thus reduced many respectable families to distress, if not to actual want.

But the evils arising to the colonists did not stop there. When the assistant commissioners in the colony had so far proceeded in their work as to make out the proportionate sums which were to be awarded to each proprietor, it became known that these amounts could only be received at the Bank of England, and had to go through various forms, at various offices in London, before such payments could be made. This they at once saw would be placing them at the mercy of certain agents, through whom alone this could be accomplished; and a very numerous meeting of slave-owners was again held in Cape Town, from which emanated a respectful petition to the Government, praying that the amount awarded to each person might be paid them "in the colony," either in cash or by Treasury drafts, thus ensuring to them at least the certainty of receiving the sums finally awarded without any deductions. But this petition was at once rejected as inexpedient or impracticable, and all the slave-owners (not ten of whom had any personal agent in England) were driven to the necessity of resorting to a few persons in Cape Town, and Graham's Town, who (setting themselves up as alone acquainted with the requisite forms) bought up these certificates at 18 to 20, and in the country districts (I verily believe) from 25 to 30 per cent. discount, bringing down this paltry pittance—already

reduced to one-third of the appraised value of their slaves, as certified by the Government appraisers themselves—still further to about one-fifth of that amount. And can it then be wondered at, that very many persons thus reduced to absolute want and ruin should have been unmeasured in their abuse of a Government which, intent upon one great and laudable object, yet appeared determined upon carrying it through, utterly regardless of the master's rights and interests; and that some of them became so incensed against the Government that they have to this day indignantly rejected the paltry sum awarded to them, although repeatedly pressed upon them; so that the Colonial Government holds still at this moment about £5000 unpaid, which those entitled to receive it will not take, although tendered to them again and again, as its receipt would only deprive them of what they conceive to be a legitimate cause of grievance.

In this state of feeling then, when most of the slave-owners had seen their nominal compensation frittered away to the smallest possible fraction, the sun rose on the eventful 1st of December, 1838, to shed its lustre on a day of universal and unrestricted freedom to all persons in Southern Africa; and it is but just to add that the perfect propriety of demeanour with which that blessing was hailed and accepted by 35,000 individuals, has fully established their capacity for the enjoyment of those privileges which they have now possessed for thirteen years.

Yet no words can adequately convey the effect which that day produced also on the prospects of the whole of the agricultural interests throughout the colony.

In and near Cape Town, where a large population of free blacks, and persons willing to engage in service, were found ready to supply the place of these emancipated slaves, their departure (although attended with some inconvenience and additional expense) could in some measure be supplied; but no pen can describe how, in the country districts, this migration was felt. Masters and mistresses who, up to the evening before, had forty, fifty, and some eighty persons engaged in keeping up extensive farming establishments, saw, in one moment, the whole of their farming pursuits and plans destroyed: no bribe nor entreaty, I believe, did avail in one single instance to induce any one of these now free persons to stay over that day; for a lady having a pet canary pent up for months or years in a cage (the object of her most tender care and affection) might as soon expect to keep it in, if setting the cage door open, as that the entreaties of their masters and mistresses would be heeded on such an occasion; and as misfortunes, proverbially, never come singly, the day for this general emancipation, without any thought of, or reference to, the general interests of the colony, had been fixed for the very midst of the wheat harvest, which was seriously affected by it; for although in a very few

instances some hands were induced by large rewards to stay just to cut down the crop, yet they also immediately followed their companions, all crowding to the towns and villages, where they could find ready subsistence and easy work ; so that on that day not only many of the agricultural farmers saw themselves reduced to poverty and distress by the paltry payments they had received, but were moreover deprived of the only means of cultivating their farms profitably for the future ; and although this state of depression has in some measure at present subsided in and near the capital, where many of these slaves have again voluntarily returned to those habits in which they had been brought up, and where the farmers, from a proximity to the market, could afford, or at least were compelled, to give somewhat remunerating wages for labour, yet in the eastern country districts this was impossible, and the agriculturists there found themselves totally deprived of every vestige of labour to improve or cultivate their farms, or even to superintend or herd their flocks.

III. I shall now proceed to the third and last cause of general grievance felt throughout the eastern province.

In my last lecture I noticed that after the war of 1812 the Kafirs had been completely expelled out of the Cape Colony, and that a number of stockaded posts, stationed at short intervals along the whole line of the frontier, effectually secured

the country against the inroad of a single marauding Kafir; but it was evident that such a system could only be maintained by unceasing vigilance, and by a very strong military force, chiefly of cavalry, to scour the intermediate country; and for upwards of two years after that period, in addition to the military detachments, a number of armed burghers, out of every district, were regularly "commanded" and kept up under military discipline to furnish these posts. I have myself seen parties stationed along the Fish River, from the Worcester and Clanwilliam districts, who, for eighteen months, had thus been kept on this harassing duty. Their incessant complaints, however, had led to their being gradually withdrawn; but unfortunately, in consequence of the great reduction of the army at the general peace of 1815, the military force was not only greatly reduced, but the strong and efficient body of cavalry which had hitherto maintained a rapid intercourse between all these posts was also removed from the colony, rendering it necessary to abandon most of these stations on the outer line of the frontier, and to limit the defence of that country to the headquarters at Graham's Town, and one or two other isolated stations.

The Kafirs (and particularly those of the tribe of T'Sambie and Congo, who had been dispossessed of their favourite haunts in Lower Albany) at once watched and seized the opportunity for gradually recovering that country, and recommenced their

system of plunder, rendering that country so insecure that the inhabitants, in November, 1816, represented in the strongest terms their distress on the frontier; how all the advantages of the great commando of 1812 had been lost, and that they would be compelled to abandon their farms on the line of that frontier.

This induced the then Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, to repair personally to the frontier, and in April, 1817, he had a formal interview with Gaika, T'Sambie, and almost all the other great chiefs, who (as usual) expressed themselves most anxious to maintain peace, throwing the blame of the depredations complained of on young warriors, who would go out on these forays without their sanction; but upon receiving the further assurance that no reprisals were intended, and that the Government neither wanted their land nor cattle, they seem, for a time, to have exerted their influence with some effect, for the country may be said to have again enjoyed a short interval of complete repose and security.

Many farmers from the interior, in consequence, gradually resumed their lands in the Zuurveld, and it was remarkable that the tribe of the Amakozee, under Gaika, who was at that time directed by the Rev. Mr. Williams, proved themselves to be the most faithful in carrying out their engagement with the Government.

The herds of the farmers soon increasing afforded, however, again an irresistible attraction to the tribes

of T'Sambie and Congo, who under the cover of the Kap and the Fish River bushes could at any time get into Albany; and in 1818 the old system of plunder and forays again commenced, and was carried on to a great extent; and what is more remarkable, either from family feuds or (as they openly alleged) complaining that Gaika was too faithful an ally to the British Government, they openly declared war upon him, and in a single engagement overthrew all his forces, capturing his wives and his cattle, and thus threw him entirely upon the Government for protection.

As Gaika had certainly proved faithful ever since the treaty of 1817, the Government sent a military force, under Colonel Brereton, to support and restore him to his authority. A series of engagements ensued, in the course of which T'Sambie and Congo were utterly defeated, Gaika was replaced in his former position as the great chief, and a large quantity of cattle was taken, which was divided between Gaika's tribe and such of the farmers as had been called out in aid of the military.

The force then sent out, although quite sufficient to inflict chastisement, was still unable to shut up and guard all the passes into the colony, so that those tribes soon again recommenced, or rather continued, their hostilities, displaying then all the art and ability in the conduct of such wars, at which they have since become such perfect adepts. Watching their opportunity from the vantage

grounds which they held on the eastern banks of the Fish River, they made two successful sallies upon two small military patrols marching along that river, in both of which the commanders (Captain Gethin and Lieutenant Hunt) and a large portion of the military fell, the former of whom (Captain Gethin) was, without exception, one of the finest officers in His Majesty's service, who had commanded the forlorn hope in the last daring assault of St. Sebastian, and had been the first to plant the British standard upon those walls which had twice resisted successfully the most murderous and best-planned storming parties.

To punish such unceasing attacks another "commando" on a larger scale was called out in March, 1819, under the command of Colonel Wiltshire (the conqueror of Kelat), and this "commando," from the small military force then in the colony, was to consist mainly of the armed *levée en masse* of the male population of the eastern and western provinces; but while these parties called out from each of these distant districts were collecting, and their advance impeded by that fatal disease (the horse-sickness), which at certain intervals breaks out in the eastern province (carrying off almost all the horses kept in the field), these tribes of T'Sambie and Congo, headed or rather excited (as in the present war) by one of those witch-doctors,* who occasionally

* The name of this witch-doctor was "Lynx." He was subsequently captured and sent into captivity to Robben Island, from

succeed in elevating them to a state of fanaticism, adopted a plan which had hitherto been supposed as impossible to expect from them. Emerging at the break of day from out of the Fish River bush, a force of about eight to ten thousand men were suddenly seen to blacken the eastern horizon, advancing in battle array upon the attack of the very headquarters of the military at Graham's Town. Two field-pieces (six-pounders) were providentially ready on the spot, and these, with a small military force then at hand, immediately advanced out of the town to repel the invasion, but, surrounded and pressed by overwhelming numbers, they were compelled to fall back; the field-pieces had thrice to be limbered up and take up positions in the rear, and it was not until they had taken up their last stand in and among the few houses then forming that town that the deadly grape and canister discharged upon them took effect and compelled them to retire.

This display of their force and daring, and of the precarious tenure on which the frontier was held, at length forced our rulers to adopt the suggestion which, years before, had been pressed upon them, viz., that it was "physically" impossible to protect the frontier with the dense Fish River bush in the

whence he made a desperate effort, with two or three other convicts, to escape by means of a boat which they seized, but in endeavouring to land on the opposite shore of Blauwberg the boat was swamped and all the runaways perished.

possession of the Kafirs, and accordingly the order was at length given to Colonel Wiltshire to expel the Kafirs from the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma, and to seize and occupy that country, which was more open and easily defended.

This commando (or second general war) was also crowned with complete success; a vast colonial force was at length brought together, and by a series of able and combined operations the Kafirs were driven completely out of those fastnesses, and the country between the Fish River and Keiskamma became occupied by the Government forces.

But even then the Colonial Government was so averse to extending this colony that orders had been already issued to give up again that intervening country to Gaika and his tribe, as he had ever since 1813 succeeded in impressing upon the Government that he had been inviolably faithful to them, and having in fact owed his life and restoration to power to their assistance in 1817. Yet in the course of these operations it was found that his men were engaged among the ranks of those who had openly attacked Graham's Town; that many of his leading guides had taken a prominent part therein, and that his chief interpreter, Hendrik Nootka, had been shot in the very act of attempting to stab Colonel Wiltshire in the attack on Graham's Town.

Before finally adopting any measure in regard to that territory, Lord Charles Somerset therefore again

repaired to the frontier in 1819, and there concluded a formal treaty with Gaika and all the Kafir chiefs assembled on Somerset Mount, when he pointed out to them the absolute necessity which their incessant attacks during the last seven years had forced upon the Government of incorporating that tract of country; and with their entire concurrence the terms were agreed upon, by which it was stipulated "that all Kafirs should evacuate the country between the Great Fish River and the Kieskamma, and from the boundary of the colony on the opposite side to a line drawn from the Winterberg to the sources of the Kieskamma." It was, however, further agreed that this country should not be occupied by the farmers but lie open, forming, as it were, a *neutral* ground between the two nations.

It certainly does appear to us now, judging *ex post facto* and after a lapse of years, as somewhat extraordinary, that persons possessed of the intelligence which distinguished both our then Governor and those around him should have adopted a measure which the most ordinary common sense of any practical peasant at once foretold was to be again the cause of endless dispute, and, in fact, of the undoing of everything that had been done before.

The Governor had no sooner returned to Cape Town than small parties of Kafirs again felt their way into this ground; and upon the government

of the colony falling into the hands of Sir Rufane Donkin, as acting Governor, during the years 1820 and 1821, he immediately saw the folly of such treaty, and, repairing to the frontier, he effected a modification in its terms, by which the Kafir chiefs at once declared, that though they strongly objected to isolated farmers being settled therein (as these would be liable to be plundered, which would bring the nations again at war), they yet agreed that military posts should be stationed therein, and that under their protection a body of British emigrants, who had just then entered the Albany district, should be placed and concentrated near such posts.

Upon this understanding, then, the military posts of Frederick's Burg and Fort Wiltshire were established in this from that time called "ceded" territory, at each of which it was contemplated to keep an efficient military force as a vanguard for the protection of our frontier, and in the meanwhile the attention of the Home Government had been directed to the capabilities of the Albany district, and 5000 emigrants arrived under the aid of a grant from Parliament, where lands were distributed among them, which, it was hoped, would form the nucleus of a thriving population, and prevent at once the reoccupation of that district by the Kafirs.

Everything that an enlightened and humane policy could devise was now set on foot to promote friendly relations with the Kafir tribes. Fairs were established, where they might come to buy and sell what-

ever they required or wished to dispose of; passes were offered to all those who wanted to enter the colony, and for a short time peace and amity seemed to prevail. But, unfortunately, on the return of Lord Charles Somerset the policy of occupying the "ceded" ground was abandoned: the post of Frederick's Burg was ordered to be broken up; the applications by emigrants for lands in that district were refused, and those which had been partially granted or promised were revoked, and to their surprise the Kafirs saw that the bone of contention, which they had been compelled reluctantly to yield, was again given up and virtually surrendered to them, in consequence of which small parties of Kafirs were seen again gradually taking possession of that country; and although no open rupture took place, and, on the contrary, every encouragement was held out to them to attend the fairs and keep up friendly relations with the recently-arrived emigrants, who freely entered with them into trade or traffic, yet not a month passed by that some cattle were not carried off, and that some life was not lost, so that the utmost vigilance was required to prevent a general incursion or attack upon the frontier. To check any attempt of that kind the Cape Corps, which was now almost the only protection for the frontier, was gradually transformed into a cavalry corps, and they no doubt very efficiently guarded that boundary line from any overt attack; yet this constant state of insecurity soon

extended itself up to the Winterberg and Somerset districts, and along the whole line of that country it became quite impossible for any farmer to consider his life or property secure. In the year 1828 the old chief T'Sambie died, and his death was soon followed by that of Gaika, in 1829; and in a short time a very perceptible change took place in these two great clans, which immediately bordered our frontier. T'Sambie's successors were Pato, Kama, and Cobus Congo; these had intermixed a good deal with the emigrants, and, under the able guidance and instruction of the Rev. W. Shaw, had been perceptibly improved both in their habits and feelings, and the effect of such improvement was soon apparent in their more earnest desire to maintain peace with the colonies.

The Amakozee tribe, on the contrary, now fell under the sway of Macomo and Tjalee, the first of whom, although Gaika's eldest son, not being of such high descent on the mother's side, was not acknowledged as sole or paramount chief, but seemed to derive an equal authority with his younger brother Tjalee. Writing of the former (Macomo), it is singular that Colonel Scott should have prophetically stated in 1822 "that he promised to give much trouble to the colony," although Colonel Scott could little expect that during thirty years this chieftain should prove so formidable, as he has continued to show himself up to the present moment.

However, under their authority the Amakozee

soon became more and more daring, so that the Government felt driven to the necessity of establishing a post at Fort Beaufort; but about that time a singular occurrence took place, somewhat connected with this district, which ought not to be passed by unnoticed.

Chaka, the great Zulu chief, having depopulated this entire district, made, in the year 1828, a most savage inroad upon Kafirland Proper, with an overwhelming force. Having first overrun this district, and ravaged the country of the Amapondas, he drove the remnant of all these tribes, under the name of Fetcanee, upon the Kafirs; and such was the terror of their name that the latter implored the aid of the Government against this formidable enemy. All the burgher forces near the frontier were again hastily called out to take arms, troops were collected, and this force crossing the Kye advanced to the Umtata, where in some partial engagement the dreaded foe was repulsed, although I believe it is a matter of doubt to this day whether the foe thus defeated was part of Chaka's forces, or only tribes of Amapondas and others which had fled before him. However, after this harassing duty was again passed by, Chaka retreated, and was murdered in this district, near the Umvoti River, by his brother Umslangaan, and other councillors who were about him; and these again, but a few days after, were all butchered by Dingaan, who thus became undisputed chief of the Zulus.

The force then displayed by the Government, and the aid immediately afforded to the Kafirs, showed them again the earnest desire of the Government to promote peace with them; and of this they received a striking proof. On an occasion a farmer having reported to a military officer that 120 head of cattle had been taken from him, a Lieutenant Ross went upon some traces, which led to a Kafir kraal, where these cattle not being forthcoming the same number were exacted, and given up; but, a few days after, the farmer having reported that the cattle supposed to have been stolen had been found by him elsewhere, the whole number of cattle were immediately again restored to the kraal from which they had been obtained.

From facts such as these the Kafirs ought to have seen that nothing but the most friendly disposition was felt towards them by the Government, but a cankerous sort of irritation unquestionably continued to prey upon them, from the false step which the Government had first taken in regard to the neutral or ceded territory. The moment the Kafirs saw that it was not fully taken possession of, nor permanently occupied, they were unceasing in their applications to be allowed at least to depasture that tract of country. This being once conceded they naturally formed their huts, and in the proper season planted their gardens, thus virtually taking entire possession; but depredations again taking place within the colony, after incessant and generally

fruitless patrols to pursue and recover the cattle, a strong military force had invariably to be sent into that territory to eject those who had squatted down. This was uniformly resisted, when the huts had to be burnt, the gardens destroyed, and the occupants again driven beyond the Keiskamma; until, after one or two seasons, upon urgent applications on the plea of drought or bad crops, the like concession was again made, to be again followed by the same train of burning huts and ejections, and their expulsion from out of this territory.

In this state of unrest, then, the whole of the inhabitants of the frontier were kept during fourteen years.

There was no war declared with the Kafirs, yet not a week passed that some robbery or plunder was not committed. In this manner the stock of the neighbouring farmers was gradually thinned and swept away by incessant forays, which were made either by young Kafirs whenever desirous of possessing themselves of a few head of cattle to purchase wives, or by older Kafirs, who having been "eaten up" in their own kraals, were anxious to restore themselves to wealth or authority: in all such cases, however, any farmer complaining of these robberies was generally accused by the authorities of either exaggeration or of downright falsehood in his statements; and when in the attempt to recover his cattle any collision took place with the Kafirs the latter were very generally

excused, some blame was uniformly tried to be thrown on the farmer, and it became but too manifest that the Government did not wish to acknowledge the existence of a state of insecurity, which they either hoped would gradually pass away, or, if admitted, would only compel them openly to declare and commence an active war.

Upon this principle, then, the Government would not admit the extent of these injuries, and seemed inclined rather to expose their subjects to these losses than provoke hostilities with an enemy whom they were not inclined to cope with.

During this same period the capabilities of this district of Natal had become obscurely known from the visits of Lieutenant Farewell and Captain King, and the accounts of several of their companions being brought to the Cape, a society was soon formed for the exploration of Southern Africa; and Dr. Smith, with a very respectable party of travellers, was fully equipped to examine and report upon its condition and advantages. He succeeded in exploring the Bay of Natal and visiting Dingaan in his chief town of Umkongloof, and the accounts which he brought back first attracted the attention of the Dutch farmers to this district with a view to occupying the same. They quietly collected fourteen waggons, and a party headed by Piet Uys, Cobus Uys, Hans de Lange, Stephanus Maritz, and Gert Rudolph, started from Uitenhage in the beginning of the year 1834, taking

the lower route along the eastern slopes of the Quathlamba or Drakensberg range, following nearly in the same track by which Dr. Smith and his party had explored this district. Their arrival agreeably surprised the small party of English who had settled themselves down at the Bay, where Messrs. Ogle, Toohey, and King (who are now amongst us, and the only survivors of those settlers) gave them a hearty reception, from whose accounts, and from their own explorations of the country, they soon came to the conclusion that this would be a country in every way suited to them and their countrymen; they loitered here some time, shooting and examining the country, and would have pursued their explorations still further if they had not been suddenly startled by the astounding intelligence that the Kafirs had made a sudden general irruption into the eastern province, and thus provoked a third Kafir war.

This compelled them to beat a hasty retreat, and they most providentially succeeded in returning unattacked through the whole of Kafirland, while the Kafirs, having deserted their own country, appeared wholly intent upon laying waste the eastern districts of the colony.

Some of the details of that war, as bearing directly upon the emigrant farmers, and their reasons for final expatriation in large bodies, must, however, be reserved for a future lecture, as I fear I have already too long trespassed upon your time and patience;

but in the next I hope I shall be able to conclude in setting them down in this district, and showing how they ultimately succeeded in attaining that object.

“Per varios casus et tot discrimina rerum.”

“Through such varieties of woe they tend
T’wards fair Natal, where all their toil shall end.”

LECTURE III.

SEEKING A NEW HOME

MY last lecture brought us to the first exploratory visit paid by a small party of Dutch farmers to Natal with a view of ascertaining its capabilities, and to the general state of the eastern frontier at the outbreak of the third general Kafir war of 1834. That year had been marked (as I have already said) by Sir Benjamin D'Urban (without compare the best Governor with which the Cape Colony has ever been favoured) having assumed the government of the country. Two very serious duties were, however, demanded from him immediately upon his taking the administration of the government: the one was to organise and set in operation a Legislative Council, which was then just granted to the colony, as a stepping-stone towards more liberal political institutions; the next was to enact various laws and regulations, incident on the abolition of slavery and the transition of all the slave population into a class of apprentices for a limited period. It will be easily understood that the time of a Governor who read attentively every paper

that was transmitted to the Colonial Office, and who generally drew out every document emanating therefrom, must have been fully engrossed with these two important duties; and during that period (I am personally aware) his mind was much harassed by the most conflicting accounts he received as to the state of the frontier and our relations with the Kafir tribes.

The leading practical men about the frontier, and the public press at Graham's Town, represented that frontier as in a very alarming and precarious position, and that the Kafirs were undisguisedly evincing a very hostile feeling; while a party in Cape Town, under the influence of the Rev. Dr. Philip and of the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* newspaper, represented them as peaceably inclined, and ready to enter into any arrangements based on the principles of justice and fairness, ascribing all the alarming accounts received from the frontier not only to fear, but to the base and unworthy motive of trying only thereby to have a strong military force, and consequent large expenditure, kept up in that province; and the contemptuous view taken by that party of the representations, both of the colonists and the former Government, as to the insecurity of that part of the colony, cannot be better shown than by quoting the following passage from one of the numbers of the *Commercial Advertiser*, published a short time before the arrival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the Cape Colony, to this effect:—

“The murders by Kafirs, of which the Colonial Government prate so fluently, are to be found only on the lips of lying men or in the imagination of the timid Cockneys and pin-makers who shrink from the bold eyes of a natural man.

“We cannot, however, allow a single day to elapse without declaring that the alarm expressed with regard to these people (the Kafirs) have no foundation, that the accusations brought against them were false, and that the clamour (we feel convinced) was raised for the purpose of concealing a system and series of frauds practised by some of the white English inhabitants against and upon these people.

“When Government hear of any outcry they have only to give a gentle hint that Dr. Philip, or the editor of this paper, are about to make a tour in that direction, and iniquity will hide its head, sin will be felled like an ox, and all the enemies of righteousness will be scattered like sheep!”

With opinions so directly opposed to each other, it is not at all surprising that Sir Benjamin D’Urban should have determined to try, at least in the first instance, the policy advocated by those inclined towards peace and amity with the Kafirs, and he accordingly availed himself of the very person thus held out as able to “scatter the enemies of righteousness like sheep,” and authorised Dr. Philip (who was going to visit the Kat River Settlements and the London Missionary Institutions on the frontier) to court a conference with the principal Kafir chiefs; to announce to them his Excellency’s friendly disposition towards them, and his anxious desire to

settle personally and permanently with them the future relations which were to be kept up between the two countries. The reports which his Excellency received during the middle of that year from this and other quarters led him still more to hope that peace would not be disturbed until he had personally visited the frontier, and towards the end of that year I accompanied our worthy Chief Justice, Sir John Wylde, on circuit, when, after the court business at Graham's Town was ended, we were led to anticipate a friendly intercourse with the chiefs Macomo and Tjalee at the Chumie, where Colonel Somerset had given them an intimation of his and our visit. But the reception which we received was marked with such a spirit of hostility, as compelled the Rev. Mr. Chalmers himself to admit that the behaviour of the whole of the clans around him had assumed so decidedly hostile an appearance as to render it necessary for the public functionaries to be prepared for some general outbreak; and on our return to Cape Town, at a numerous convivial meeting, to which Sir Benjamin had invited myself and family on New Year's Eve, I could not help dilating somewhat at length on the hostile disposition of these tribes, to which His Excellency appeared to listen with particular interest; but nothing else indicated the slightest disturbance in society, except (what was only remembered afterwards by some of us) that Sir Benjamin had occasionally absented him-

self for a few minutes from the party. Good humour and hilarity prevailed until we had hailed in the new year, when every one gradually retired to their homes; but on the next morning, on returning to town, I found the astounding intelligence universally spread abroad that the evening before His Excellency had received the account that the Kafirs, to the number of 12,000 or 15,000 men, had invaded the whole frontier from every quarter on Christmas Day, burning and destroying every farmhouse, murdering the inhabitants, and carrying away all their cattle and property.

Still doubting this information, from the imper-turbable good humour which had prevailed at Government House the night before, I could not resist applying personally in that quarter for information, and appealing to His Excellency as to the truth of that report. He, in his wonted gentle and yet firm manner, not only confirmed the report, but jocularly observed that he had received the sad intelligence while we were assembled there, but that he had done immediately all that could be done, and had not wished to disturb the harmony of the party by divulging such intelligence.

That night already all orders had been given to despatch every disposable soldier; to call out all the burgher forces, and to send off Colonel Smith, the Quartermaster-General of the forces (and now our worthy Governor-in-Chief), who had started in the middle of the night, and in five days reached

Graham's Town, where he found everything in an indescribable state of panic and confusion.

This attack had been so little expected and provided against that a force of about 750 men, of all arms, spread in small parties over the whole eastern frontier, and from 1100 to 1200 men, constituted the whole military force in the colony.

All that Colonel Smith could consequently do at Graham's Town was to restore some confidence in the community, to organise some volunteer force on the spot, and to guard the few military posts, while another *levée en masse* of all the young and able-bodied farmers throughout the colony was again called out, and those who did not fall within that "conscription" were still required to furnish horses, cattle, waggons, supplies of food and the like, upon a vague promise of being afterwards indemnified; and in this manner a very respectable force marched immediately from every district of the colony, fully equipped by their own relatives and friends. And chiefly with this force, animated by the greatest enthusiasm, and aided by one or two regiments, which subsequently reached the colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was enabled not only to expel the Kafirs again out of the colony, but to drive them across the Kye, where, after the death of Hintza, he succeeded in dictating the terms of their surrender, and to lay down the basis of what was fondly hoped would secure the permanent peace and tranquillity of the frontier.

It is not my purpose, nor does it belong to the object of these lectures, to enter into a detail of the military or political arrangements effected by that excellent Governor.* It will suffice to state that chiefly owing to the exertions of the burghers, and the spirit in which they were led by Col. Smith, the whole of Kaffraria up to the Kye was completely cleared of the Kafirs, and Sir Benjamin dictated at last to them the terms upon which he would accept their submission.

His plan (I have reason to know) was at that time to give out all the lands between the Fish River and the Keiskamma (or what was already known as the ceded or neutral territory) to such inhabitants as had suffered most of the Kafir war, or to additional

* I cannot resist the pleasure of here introducing the noble and generous sentiments lately expressed by Sir George Napier (the Governor of the Cape Colony, who had been sent to supersede Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and to introduce an entirely new system in our relations with the Kafirs) in his examination before the House of Commons, viz. :—To the question put by Mr. Hawes (question 1600) : Are you, or are you not, disposed to think that, taking a certain military possession of Kafirland beyond the boundary of the Keiskamma—that is to say, establishing military posts there, as has been done by Sir Harry Smith, with the concurrence both of Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Peregrine Maitland—has been so far successful that it has prevented an irruption of the Kafirs into the colony proper? Answer : I think certainly it has. I went out, if I had any prejudice at all, with a prejudice against the colonists, and against that former occupation of the ground by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith, and thinking that it would be better not to have them. My own experience and what I saw with my own eyes have confirmed me that I was wrong, and that Sir Benjamin D'Urban was perfectly right ; that if he meant to keep Kafirland under British rule the only way of doing

emigrants or discharged soldiers and officers; to give out these lands under the express condition of personal occupation, and thus to form a belt of a dense European population in advance of the Fish River fastnesses. He intended further to allocate the country between the Keiskamma and the Kye among such of the Kafirs as had submitted, but to keep over them an efficient military force and a magisterial control; and he intended still further to urge upon the Local Legislature and the Home Government to compensate liberally, if not fully, all those who had been *bond fide* sufferers in the war.

These losses had been inquired into with the greatest care and minuteness, and the official returns showed that those sustained on the immediate frontier amounted to:—

456 farmhouses burnt and totally destroyed.

350 others partially pillaged and gutted.

60 waggons captured by the Kafirs and destroyed.

5,715 horses,	} taken and irrecoverably lost;
111,930 head of horned cattle, and	
161,930 sheep,	

amounting in value to upwards of £300,000, independent of the losses by persons who contributed to the outfitting of the various "commandos" from each district.

A few thousand recaptured cattle were, however,

so was by having a line of forts and maintaining troops in them. No doubt it must be so, and if all those forts were well garrisoned and provisioned it would answer very well.

all the trophies of the war, and the feelings of the inhabitants may easily be guessed at when amongst these many breeding cattle and entire spans of oxen were recognised by their former owners, but who upon reclaiming them were told that they could not be surrendered, as they were to be publicly sold in order to compensate for part of the expenses of war, but that "they" were hereafter to get ample compensation. But what were their feelings, and those of their gallant commander, when, after having suffered these losses and encountered the dangers of a most harassing war of fifteen months' duration, a despatch was received from the then Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, dated 26th December, 1835 (which had been immediately published by the home authorities through the Blue Book), containing the most unreserved condemnation of the whole policy and operations of the war, abusing in unmeasured language the barbarous manner in which (the Secretary of State asserted) the war had been conducted, and concluding with the following extraordinary declaration (as emanating from His Majesty's Government) touching the justice of the war, viz. :—

“Through a long series of years the Kafirs had an ample justification of war; they had to resent, and endeavoured justly, though impotently, to avenge a series of encroachments; they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopelessly, of extorting by force that redress which they could not otherwise obtain; and that the

original justice is on the side of the conquered (the Kafirs), and not (of) the victorious party!!”

A communication more cruel, unjust, and insulting to the feelings—not only of the commander, who, wholly intent upon the most pacific and conciliatory measures with the Kafirs, had been suddenly attacked and seen the country placed under his authority and protection invaded, but of the inhabitants, who had not only been engaged in a twelve months' warfare of the most harassing and dangerous character, but who were smarting from a system pursued during *fourteen* years by the local Government never affording them redress for their most serious losses and grievances on this subject—can hardly have been penned by a declared enemy of the country and its Governor; and it at once opened the eyes of the colonists to what they had long suspected, viz., that in the estimation of his then Majesty's Government they were marked as the aggressors in the war and the oppressors of the Kafir race; that the latter, and not “they,” were entitled to sympathy and relief. And that they were not wrong in these conclusions soon became still more apparent, upon their being informed that all their applications for indemnity for the losses they had sustained were rejected; that all the grants of land about to be made to persons, even within the country ceded to the Government ever since the year 1817, were to be revoked and cancelled, and that the Kafirs were to be fully reinstated in the

possession of all the lands which by the terms of the treaty of September, 1835, they had formally ceded to His Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever; and moreover, when they heard that a Lieut.-Governor had been appointed, whose opinions (as publicly expressed in his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons on the line of policy to be observed towards the Kafirs) seemed at least to hold out the prospect that these views of His Majesty's Government would be carried out to the letter.

To expect that an entire population thus insulted and injured should still continue loyally and well-affected towards the Government was as impossible as to expect "that of thorns men should gather figs, or that of a bramble-bush they should gather grapes."

From that moment, then, the farmers throughout the eastern province saw that the whole Hottentot race, who had been their former prædial servants, had been withdrawn from them, and were fast assuming a certain "nationality" within the colony. They had had the few slaves they possessed taken from them at a ridiculous compensation, which several had refused to accept; and they now lastly found their houses and farms burnt and destroyed, their stocks and herds taken from them, without a chance of redress or indemnity; and from the policy at once laid down by the Home Government they further clearly saw that their lives and future pro-

perties would for ever be endangered, and that even the day of their again recovering their former wealth would as certainly be marked by another irruption and the sweeping away of their newly-acquired herds, as effects must follow causes.

From that moment, therefore, it may be said that the determination to quit the land of their fathers became general and universal, and the leading families in the Oliphant's Hoek, Gamtoos River, along the Fish River, and Somerset, forming themselves into little knots, at once prepared for this "Exodus," although there were, no doubt, some persons or families, who joined this emigration, who had also some private or personal cause for thus expatriating, as, for instance, the Greylings, for having been indicted and severely mulcted at the Circuit Court at Uitenhage for contravening the ordinance for the abolition of slavery; W. S. van der Merwe, for having a personal quarrel with the civil commissioner of his district; the late unfortunate Retief, for having been insulted (as he conceived) by the Lieutenant-Governor of the eastern province; and Piet Uys, on account of his wife having been committed, in his absence, by virtue of a warrant of a local magistrate, and taken before him in custody as a prisoner. Yet these were but "drops" in the ocean of emigration, an ocean which, from that moment, began irresistibly to flow into the interior of Africa, and from thence into Natal.

The beginning of the year 1836 was marked by all the farms of those intending emigrants getting into the market. They were readily bought up by numerous speculators at Graham's Town, Somerset, and adjoining places for ridiculously low prices, and everything showed a settled determination to carry out this expatriation on an extensive scale. The local Government did all they could "indirectly," through the magistracy and the clergy, to point out the illegality and dangers of such a step; rumours were indirectly spread that the Government could enforce the provisions of an English writ of *Ne exeat Regno* to prevent this emigration, and for a moment some little hesitation was apparent in their movements, but a reply of the new Lieutenant-Governor, Stockenstrom, to an address from the inhabitants of Uitenhage, in August, 1836, upon his assuming his government, soon removed all doubt on that subject, for in that reply he made use of these remarkable words:—

"It is but candid at once to state that I am not aware of any law which prevents 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!"

This unreserved, though perhaps injudicious, expression of his opinion at once settled all their doubts, and soon after this the first party, of about 200 persons, headed by Hendrik Potgieter, crossed

the Orange River.* Bidding for ever farewell to the Cape Colony they advanced to Thaba 'Nchu, where the Barolong chief, Moroko (who at that time was under the spiritual direction of one whom I am happy to see sitting near me, as a member of this society, the Rev. Mr. Archbell), gave them a most friendly reception, where they obtained every facility in depasturing their cattle.

These were soon followed by a more numerous and wealthy party from Graaff-Reinet, headed by Gert Maritz, and these were again succeeded by other large parties from the Uitenhage and Albany divisions, headed by the old patriarch, Jacobus Uys, by Carl Landman, Gert Rudolph, and others.

Their numbers thus fast increasing in the Barolong territory soon gave rise to divisions, and the older emigrants, making way for the later arrivals, advanced gradually along the banks of the Vaal River (or Ky Gariep), in a northerly direction, until they came into contact with the numerous and powerful tribe of the Matabelee under Mazulekatze.

It is supposed that this sanguinary chieftain, having been frequently attacked by the Zulu and Griqua forces in that direction, was always particularly jealous of any approach from that quarter. But the farmers, of course, unaware of this disposition, con-

* A small party, headed by Carel Trieckard, had preceded these, and they advanced as far as Delagoa Bay, but were seized with the coast fever, and only two survived of that whole party, who got back to this district two years after, and are now still residing here.

tinued gradually to move onwards, quite unsuspecting of danger, when their advanced party was suddenly attacked, and twenty-eight of their number barbarously murdered. After this partial success the Matabelee attacked another small party, equally advancing at a little distance from the former, and these, also being totally unprepared, were unable to offer any effectual resistance, and some twenty-five men and women were also massacred, and their waggons and properties destroyed and plundered; but a few of their party fortunately escaped to warn the numerous little parties, who were still spread about those vast plains, of the impending danger. They had scarcely collected themselves in a "laager"* of about fifty waggons when they were attacked by the whole army of the Matabelee, who rushed in upon them, endeavouring to force themselves through the waggons, and a most desperate struggle ensued, in which the Matabelee were, however, finally repulsed, but not without sweeping away the whole of the cattle belonging to the emigrant farmers, which they had been unable to get within the en-

* These "laagers," or camps, were formed by their waggons being brought up in a square, the poles and waggon "gear" of one waggon being firmly secured under the "perch" of the next waggon; and when time admitted branches of the thorny mimosas were also wattled in under each waggon, so that no entrance could be effected into the enclosure without forcibly tearing up all these impediments. It is clear that where the number of waggons collected is not great the square formed by these waggons is so small that they could barely secure their persons and families within the enclosure, leaving the cattle outside.

campment; and the Matabelee succeeded in thus carrying away 6000 head of cattle and upwards of 40,000 sheep as a poor compensation for the loss of the lives of their best warriors.

From these repeated and desperate attacks it was evident that the emigrants had encountered a most formidable enemy in that quarter, and that all hopes of a peaceable advance in that direction had to be abandoned; but the loss of their cattle prevented them from either advancing or retreating until some messengers, whom they had despatched to Thaba 'Nchu, succeeded in reaching that place and acquainting Moroko and the Rev. Mr. Archbell with their precarious situation. These persons generously procured and despatched a sufficient number of oxen to their encampment, from whence they thus effected their retreat, and returned in safety to Moroko's residence.

Upon bringing this account of their disasters and losses to their fellow-countrymen the more numerous and powerful clans, which had remained peaceably concentrated about Thaba 'Nchu, resolved to take ample revenge for these murders and to recover the cattle stolen from their countrymen, and a party of about 200 warriors, headed by Gerrit Maritz, crossed the Vaal River,* and making a flank movement across

* The Vaal, or Yellow River, by the natives called Ky Gariep, derives its name from the discoloured nature of its stream. It forms at present the northern boundary of the Sovereignty district, and is likely to acquire some celebrity by the recent treaty concluded, by

his western boundaries, attacked one of Mazulekatzes' principal military towns, named Mosega, where they killed several hundreds of his principal warriors, and recovered about 7000 head of cattle, together with the waggons which the Matabelee had taken to that town in triumph, after the attacks they had made upon the first small parties which had incautiously advanced into their territories.

Shortly after their return from this successful retaliation, and while they were discussing their future plans, disunion and rivalry among their leaders were again beginning to show themselves, when the ill-fated Pieter Retief joined them with a small party, and his name and character (while one of the "commandants" appointed by the Government of the eastern frontier) stood deservedly so high that by one consent he was chosen to be their "commandant-general," to whom all the parties, then in those regions, gave in their willing submission.

A few details of the life and history of this first great "martyr" in the settlement of this district may not prove uninteresting.

Descended from one of those French Protestant families which found refuge in the Cape Colony on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, his grandparents had obtained a plot of freehold land in the

having been fixed by the Assistant Commissioners with the Transvaal farmers, as the permanent line of demarcation between Her Majesty's subjects and those to whom (it is said) entire independence has been promised.

beautiful glen of Waggonmakers' Valley, near the Paarl, where both soil and climate had marked the spot as favourable to the cultivation of the orange and the vine, and there his father enjoyed a respectable living by the annual sale of some millions of oranges and a considerable vintage.

Pieter Retief was there born, and brought up by his father with a view to continue that easy and profitable living; but his active and restless disposition led him, as he advanced to manhood, to emancipate himself from the mere drudgery of this rural life, and he first commenced by carrying on some trade with the interior, when the arrival of the first British emigrants into the eastern province in 1820 drew his attention to that part of the colony. The Government requiring some person of activity and means to contract for some time to supply these emigrants with certain allowances and rations until they had been able to provide for their own subsistence, he was introduced and recommended to the Government by my deceased parent as a fit and proper person for that purpose, who, moreover, became his surety for the due and faithful discharge of his contract. This caused his settling down on the frontier, where his attention to his contract, and his liberality of conduct, ingratiated him with the settlers, and established that good feeling which ever afterwards prevailed between them.

After the contract for the supply of these emigrants had ceased he engaged in large contracts for erecting

public buildings for the Government, and at first amassed a very respectable fortune; but the failure of some of his sub-contractors, and the number of his various avocations, afterwards involved him in serious pecuniary difficulties. But this did not in any way affect the estimation in which he was held, both by the community and the Government, having been appointed one of the "commandants" on the frontier, a situation which, although of a somewhat anomalous character, was generally given to persons who, as field-cornets, had rendered faithful services to the country, and was always considered to give the incumbent some kind of magisterial authority in his district. Having returned to his farm, and being altogether engaged in agricultural pursuits in 1834, he had been a very serious loser in the Kafir war which then broke out; and after the peace, which had been concluded towards the end of the year 1835, he saw with dread and fear a system (if not encouraged, at least) marked out by the local authorities of allowing Kafirs again to pass through and congregate at whatever places they thought fit within the colony. He not only strongly opposed this, but apprehended such roving Kafirs and Hottentots wherever he found them lurking about, and whenever they were unable to give an account of themselves. But in sending these persons in custody to the nearest magistrate he found that they were not only immediately liberated, but he was officially censured for taking up persons not

actually apprehended in the commission of crime. He soon saw, from the tone thus assumed by the authorities, that there was no longer hope for the security of property along the frontier, and he determined accordingly to follow the example set by the first migrating farmers. He also joined in some addresses, presented to the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andries Stockenström, complaining of this state of insecurity, which led to a not very dignified correspondence between them, in which the Lieutenant-Governor charged him with misleading others, and threatened him with dismissal from his "purely honorary" situation of commandant. These threats, and the system which he thus clearly saw was about to be again enforced, and which in his opinion (fully confirmed by consequent events) would again expose the frontier to harassing forays, and ultimately to another general war, induced him to sell off all he possessed, and to combine with a few neighbours, with whom (as I have before stated) he joined the emigrant farmers, shortly after Gert Maritz had returned from his successful attack upon Mazulekatze and the Matabelee.

Having now been unanimously elected their commandant-general, Retief immediately set about forming regular treaties of friendship and alliance with all the native chiefs by whom he was surrounded except Mazulekatze. Moroko, Mosesh, Tonana, and Sikon-yella entered apparently with cordiality into all his arrangements; and upon this footing all the emigrants

spread themselves over the lands situated between and along the Modder, the Vet, and the Sand Rivers, and gradually formed themselves into a more settled form of government. Their numbers were about that time also increased by another large clan, headed by the venerable patriarch Jacobus Uys, then about seventy years of age, and his eldest son, Pieter Uys, who, having already visited this district before, cherished the idea of settling down here in preference to going further into the interior of Africa. This party issued a manifesto declaratory of their intention to shape their course towards Natal, and to secede from all those parties who seemed more intent to occupy the banks of the Vaal River, or what is now called the Sovereignty, and even to proceed eastward to Delagoa Bay. This determination of the clans of Uys, Moolman, and Potgieter seems to have induced Retief also to follow their track, and he sent exploring parties from the Sand River, who at length succeeded in finding two or three paths across the Quathlamba or Draaksberg, which might easily be made passable for waggons; for up to that time every attempt to cross that mountain range by waggons from the Zuurberg to the west up to the Olivier's Pass, at the extreme north-east extremity of our district, had failed.

Retief succeeded with his party in crossing at one spot and reached Port Natal in safety, where he met with a hearty reception from the British emigrants, who (strange to say) had also formed themselves into

a little independent community; for, upon Captain Gardiner, of the navy, arriving among them and asserting a magisterial authority over them, under the provisions of an extraordinary law passed by the British legislature, and entitled "the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill," which he promulgated among them, they at once repudiated his interference and maintained their independence from all authority except from such as would emanate from themselves, in consequence of the then Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, having expressly "disclaimed in the most distinct terms any intention on the part of His Majesty's Government to assert any authority over any part of this territory." This mutual feeling of independence seemed to serve as a bond of union between them; and there can be no doubt that if a person like Retief had continued to be the acknowledged head of the Dutch emigrants, that a more firm and lasting tie would have bound them together.

Pieter Retief, however, in the conscientious view which he had always taken of these matters, felt that as both Chaka and Dingaan had nominally given away this territory to various other persons before his arrival, and that the occupation of this country by him and his followers might thereafter subject them to disputes, either with the Zoolah chiefs or with such English emigrants as had received such ill-defined grants from the Zoolah sovereigns, he determined to proceed in person to Dingaan's capital to

negotiate with him a treaty of peace, and obtain a formal cession of such extent of territory as the latter might feel inclined to cede to him and the emigrant farmers. Upon reaching the Zoolah chief's capital, "Umkongloof," he accidentally found there a missionary of the Church of England (the Rev. F. Owen), who materially assisted in apparently disposing the chief to give him a kind reception; and upon being made acquainted with the special object of Retief's mission, he at once promised him a formal cession of this territory upon his first recovering back for him a quantity of cattle which Sikonyella, a Mantatee chief, residing on the sources of the Caledon River, had recently taken from him. Retief accepted these terms, and returning to this district at once called together several of the parties who were preparing to settle down in this territory. They determined upon an attack on Sikonyella, but before doing so sent messengers to him demanding restitution, with a significant notice that it would be enforced; and this communication had the desired effect, for Sikonyella immediately gave up 700 head of cattle, together with sixty horses and some guns, which he and his tribe had at various times captured from small immigrating parties of farmers.

During these proceedings, which took place during the last months of the year 1837, nearly 1000 waggons had already descended and passed down the slopes of the Draaksberg into this district; and the emigrant farmers finding the country entirely denuded of all

population (with the single exception of one small party under the chief Matuan, who now still occupies nearly the same ground), they spread themselves over the whole of the Klip River division down to the Bushman's River, where the remains of thousands of stone kraals clearly indicated that a very dense population must have once been settled down; thus also giving a promise of the great fertility of the soil, as it could not otherwise have maintained so large a population.

Upon Retief's return to that part of this district, on his way to Dingaan with the cattle surrendered by Sikonyella, to be delivered to the former, a sad presentiment seems to have come over many of the heads of the parties, who, however, then still acknowledged Retief as their leader. Gerit Maritz proposed that he should proceed to Dingaan with the cattle recovered, taking only three or four men with him, arguing, very justly, that the insignificance of such a force would be its best safeguard. But Retief appeared to have desired to show Dingaan something like a respectable force, and insisted upon taking some forty or fifty of his best horsemen with him, leaving it, however, optional to any person to accompany him or to remain behind. This only induced an additional number of spirited young men to join, and during the last week in January, 1838, Pieter Retief, accompanied by seventy of the most respectable and picked men from among the emigrants, with about thirty young Hottentots and

servants riding or leading their spare horses, formed an imposing cavalcade, with which he crossed the Umzinjaate (or Buffalo River), and on the 2nd of February arrived at Umkongloof (Dingaan's capital), and delivered over the cattle recovered from Sikonyella, with the receipt of which Dingaan expressed himself highly satisfied; and having collected several of his regiments from the neighbouring kraals, he entertained them for two days with their favourite sham-fights, which give a fearful representation of their mode of warfare. Dingaan had fixed the 4th of February for signing a formal cession of the whole of this district to Pieter Retief, for himself and the emigrant farmers for ever; and the Rev. Mr. Owen, still then residing with Dingaan, was requested to draw out and witness the instrument, which he accordingly did in English, and to this document Dingaan and some of his principal councillors affixed their marks, after the tenor thereof had been fully interpreted to them by the Rev. Mr. Owen. Retief's business being thus satisfactorily ended he made his arrangements to depart the next morning, when Dingaan desired him to enter his kraal once more to take leave of him, requesting, however, that his party should not enter armed, as this was contrary to their usage; and this Retief unguardedly did, leaving all their arms piled up outside of the kraal, while they sent their "achter ryders" to fetch and saddle their horses. Upon approaching Dingaan in his kraal they found him surrounded (as usual) by two