

So far they had fortunately succeeded in taking up their ground at D'Urban without the slightest opposition, and a few days after their arrival the *Pilot* brig came to anchor in the bay, bringing them an ample supply of stores and provisions (of which they stood much in need), as also two 18-pounders and ammunition; and this vessel was soon afterwards followed by the *Maseppa*, schooner, so that Captain Smith also took possession of the spit (where the present Custom House is now established), and placed a small detachment there to take charge of the goods as they were landed, and from whence he commenced drawing the supplies to the camp as occasion required.

In the meantime the Volksraad (then assembled at Pietermaritzburg), astounded at having been thus cut off from their only seaport, ordered out the whole of their armed burghers, under Andries Pretorius, as commander-in-chief, to the number of 300 or 400 men. Their headquarters were established at Congella, and messages at first, and afterwards letters, passed between Pretorius and Captain Smith, the former insisting upon the troops quitting their position, and the latter demanding that the armed burgher force which was gathering around should be withdrawn. Fourteen days had passed in this state of armed negotiation, when on May 23rd some of Captain Smith's cattle (which had always been grazing on the flats below the Berea Hills) were carried off by some of the herds of the emigrants; and Captain Smith, viewing this as an act of direct hostility, determined

at once to carry out a plan he had projected for some time, grounded (I fear) upon some well-intended but erroneous information he had received from some of the English residents at D'Urban (with whom he was in constant communication), for making a *night attack* upon the emigrants collected at Congella, and thus destroying their camp, waggons, and supplies.

The result of that "untoward expedition" may be best gathered from Captain Smith's own despatch, which I will proceed to give in a condensed form, but in nearly the very words of the writer, as found in his official letter to Colonel Hare, commanding his regiment, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the eastern frontier.

"In my last despatch," he says, "I detailed the various steps taken by the farmers to annoy the troops, and my determination to abstain if possible from hostilities if it could be done without detriment to the honour of the service, etc. ; but the receipt of an insolent letter, demanding that I should instantly quit Natal, followed by the removal, by armed men, of a quantity of cattle belonging to the troops, rendered it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken in order to prevent a repetition of such outrages.

"I therefore determined, after mature consideration, to march a force and attack their camp at the Congella, and *set apart the night* of the 23rd" (the same day the cattle were taken) "to effect that object. As the road to the Congella lies for the most part through thick bush, *I thought it best to cross the sands at low water*, etc.

"Fitting a howitzer in a boat, and leaving it under charge of a sergeant of artillery, *I gave directions to drop down the*

channel to within 500 yards of Congella, and there await the troops, in order that they might form under cover of its fire, aided by two six-pounders, which accompanied the force I took with me."

[N.B.—That force is then stated in detail to have amounted to 140 men.]

The writer goes on:—

"In order to prevent our *movements being discovered*, I put the party in motion at 11 p.m. (*it being a bright moon-light*), and arrived without molestation within nearly 800 yards of the place I proposed to attack.

"To my great *mortification*, I found that the boat had not dropped down the channel, *according to my instructions*; but as I considered it imprudent to wait, I was forced to make the attack without the valuable assistance which a discharge of shot and shells from the howitzer would have afforded me.

"The troops had just moved to where the termination of a range of mangrove bush opened to a level space in front of the Congella, when a heavy and well-directed fire was opened upon us. *A destructive fire from the guns* for a while silenced our opponents; but some of the draught oxen to the guns getting killed, and others wounded and escaping from their trektouws, rushed among the troops, upsetting the limbers, causing much delay in reloading and confusion in the ranks. This circumstance, added to the partial and at length total silence of the guns, being taken advantage of, they again opened a heavy fire, a severe loss resulting to the troops, etc., who reached the camp about two o'clock in the morning in tolerable order, leaving behind them, I regret to say, the *guns*, which the death of the oxen rendered it impossible to remove!"

This is the substance of Captain Smith's own official account; to which he adds:—

“The loss of the Boers it is difficult to estimate, but I am told it has been severe!”

There can be no doubt, however, in any reasonable mind that the whole of this disaster arose from the captain's utter ignorance of the character of the people he was going to attack, and of his want of acquaintance with the particular route he had selected. He admits that he first sent out a piquet to skirt the road in front of his position to *prevent his movements from being discovered*, while he selected a *bright moonlight* for his advance.

Now the fact was that every evening his camp was regularly surrounded by vedettes or guards, placed by the commandant of the emigrant farmers, who watched and reported during the night the most trifling incident that took place; and on the night in question the Field-cornet Joubert, with twenty-four men, had been posted in the woods through which we still have to pass in going to Congella, but which then consisted of far denser bush than they do at present. This party saw and watched the march of the troops; sent word to headquarters at Congella to put the burghers there upon their guard, and as the moon shone with almost the brightness of day, they gradually ensconced themselves each man behind one of the mangrove trees that grew down as far as low-water mark, and there

waited till they distinctly heard the word of command given to the troops to draw up in line, when they commenced and kept up a steady and deliberate fire, chiefly directed at the guns and drivers, and soon killing a promising young officer (Lieut. Wyatt) of the Artillery, who had the charge of the guns. The troops were thus thrown into utter confusion, and hastily fell back; the tide having by that time risen so far as to place them breast-high in water; and the admitted loss of 103 men killed, wounded, and missing out of a party of 140 who had marched out of the camp too clearly showed the fatal effects of the fire to which they had been exposed; while not a single man of the emigrant party had been hurt.

Equally injudicious were the arrangements of the English commander, founded on the support he expected to receive from the howitzer in the boat, for everyone now knows that at low water there is no channel affording sufficient depth of water for a boat with a heavy load to approach the Congella; so that, while the ebb-tide enabled the troops to march, the boat could not possibly accompany them; while, on the other hand, the moment there was sufficient depth of water for the boat to approach, the men would be up to their waists in water, and unable to perform any effectual service, so that it was physically impossible that the one could have acted in support of the other.

But if the planning and execution of this unto-

ward movement are justly open to the severest censure, it is equally due to Captain Smith to add that his exertions, his perseverance, and the example he set in the time of distress entitle him to the greatest praise. Reduced to nearly one half of his original strength by this misfortune, and expecting every moment an attack on his camp, he applied the next morning early for a truce of twenty-four hours, to bring in and bury the dead. This having been readily granted, he was indefatigable in putting his camp into a posture of defence. The numerous waggons he had brought with him were immediately so arranged as to fortify the place, somewhat in the fashion of a Boers' laager, and the soft and sandy nature of the soil enabled him, with the aid of all the non-combatants, to dig a trench and throw up a mound around the camp, by which the troops were in some measure protected. But the commanding officer also perceived that his only chance of relief depended upon the rapid transmission of intelligence to the authorities in the Cape Colony. He consulted some of the principal Englishmen then resident at D'Urban, and he happily found in your present worthy and worshipful mayor (George Cato), a faithful adviser, through whom means were devised to expedite the immediate intelligence to the Cape Colony.

Richard (commonly called Dick) King, then living in a hut at D'Urban, at once offered to take the despatch (of which I have just given the substance)

personally to Graham's Town. The following night he was supplied with two troopers, and the moment night had spread darkness around Mr. Cato got Dick King and the horses across the bay to the bluff, where King, mounting one horse and leading the other, soon crossed the Umlaas, and before daybreak passed the Umcomas, where he was safe from further pursuit, and wended his perilous journey across Kafirland, where we shall leave him for the present.

The emigrant farmers, elated by their first success and the capture of two brass six-pounders, next turned their attention to the supplies which Captain Smith was receiving from the point and the vessels in the bay; and two days after the former night attack they made another on their side, attended with complete success. A detachment of their mounted men went unperceived past the mouth of the Umgeni, skirted the back beach (as it is called) at low water, and suddenly rushing upon the small detachment which was posted at the point, quickly overpowered it, the officer in command having barely time to escape by jumping through the back window of the hut he was occupying. Two men were killed, two more wounded, and the remainder of the detachment were taken prisoners, and, together with most of the English inhabitants of D'Urban (who were naturally inclined to assist Her Majesty's troops), were all brought up to this town of Pietermaritzburg, where the present court-house was converted into a prison, in which they were kept closely confined.

One eighteen-pounder and a great part of the provisions still remaining in the *Pilot* and *Maseppa*, which Captain Smith had not been able to remove, together with many engineers' tools, were thus captured; but fortunately all the ammunition had been previously removed to the camp and secured in a temporary magazine. The vessels at anchor and the point itself were thus taken by the emigrants, and the troops thereby completely cut off from any further communication by sea.

The farmers, having thus possessed themselves of one long eighteen-pounder and two brass six-pounders, commenced regular field-works around the camp, and having brought their guns to bear, carried on for three days a heavy cannonade against the camp, the guns being well handled by a few Germans whom they had enlisted for that service, and who had served in some of the Continental armies before settling in this district. Their fire was answered by a howitzer and an eighteen-pounder, which Captain Smith had been able to get up from the point before its capture. But ammunition and shot soon failing the besiegers, they established a foundry, where the links of a chain cable, taken from the *Maseppa* or *Pilot*, were severed and covered with lead, of which they had a tolerably good supply. But this stock also becoming soon exhausted, as well as their gunpowder, they determined to await the more tedious but more certain effect of a rigid blockade, well knowing that if the troops were effectually deprived of all

external aid, they must succumb to the pressure of famine.

Captain Smith had previously foreseen that this last would prove to be his most serious enemy, and he had therefore provided against it with the utmost care. All the remaining cattle (which he was now unable to send out to graze) and the horses in the camp (for which he no longer had food) were slaughtered and converted into "biltong," and the troops were placed on the shortest allowance possible. Two different sorties, made during the month of June, led to no further result than the loss of a few lives on both sides; but the emaciated forms, the sunken eyes, and the dejected appearance of the soldiers in the camp indicated but too clearly that this state of things could not last much longer. Already had their rations been reduced to the smallest quantity sufficient to sustain life, and for some days the biltong of horseflesh had been issued as their only animal food; and after having been thus hemmed in for thirty days, every hour and minute began to be calculated as to the probability of their receiving timely succour. At length, as darkness set in on the evening of the 24th of June, several rockets and blue-lights, illuminating the sky and hills to seaward, announced that relief was at hand.

At this juncture I shall at present conclude this lecture, as I fear I have already trespassed too long upon your time and patience, and indeed I have found, as I was proceeding, that to give only a

summary of events would far exceed the limits of a single address. If you, then, continue to feel an interest in the subject, I intend, a few days hence, to conclude this portion of history in another lecture in this place, when I propose to exhibit to you the last acts of the drama in which many fierce passions and contests were still displayed, but ending in the final submission of this country to Her Majesty's authority.

LECTURE V.

SUBMISSION TO THE CROWN

I STATED in my last lecture that Captain Smith, after his disastrous defeat at the Congella, had found in the present worthy mayor of D'Urban (Mr. George Cato) a faithful adviser, and in Richard King an energetic, public-spirited messenger, who, without taking any selfish advantage of the circumstances, responded at once to his call, and went off to announce the fatal result of the night attack on the Congella to the authorities in the Cape Colony. It was evident that the only chance of relief depended on the speed with which that intelligence was conveyed, and Dick King (as he is commonly called), feeling the importance of this mission, got through the Amabaka* and Amaponda countries at the extreme peril of his life, and on the ninth day reached Graham's Town in an almost exhausted state. On the receipt of this sad intelligence the

* He was surrounded by the Amabakas, who, mistaking him at first for a Dutch emigrant farmer, were about to take revenge upon him for the attack made upon them by Pretorius; but he, happily, could make himself understood, and explained his errand, upon which they allowed him to pass.

Lieutenant-Governor on the frontier (Colonel Hare) immediately despatched the grenadier company of the 27th Regiment to Port Elizabeth, where they were embarked in the schooner the *Conch*, then fortunately lying there at anchor, under the command of our present port-captain (Captain Bell), who had already visited, and was well acquainted with, the harbour of Natal; and Sir George Napier, upon receiving the same painful account at Cape Town, had fortunately at his disposal the 25th Regiment, which was then only awaiting transports to take them on to India, but which might not be expected for some weeks. Admiral Percy (the admiral on the station) at once gave up his flagship, the *Southampton*, of fifty guns, for the proposed expedition; and my worthy and excellent brother, Colonel (now Sir Josias Cloete), having been placed in command of the whole force, the 25th Regiment were marched down and embarked at Simon's Town, and in an incredibly short space of time, on the 24th June (exactly one month from the day of Captain Smith's disaster), the *Southampton* arrived off the bar and found the *Conch*, which had anchored off the bay the day preceding, and as the evening fell rockets and blue-lights were immediately thrown up to cheer the besieged with the prospect of instant relief.

The next day, every arrangement being made to effect a landing, the *Southampton* brought up as close to the beach as she could with safety approach, and

a favourable south-east breeze having just sprung up Captain Bell, in the *Conch*, led the way over the bar having all the man-of-war boats in tow, the last of which, as they got on the bar, cast off their lines and landed, and attacked the Bluff, where the emigrant farmers had planted two ship guns with a small force to defend the approach to the bay. But Captain Wells, of the 25th Regiment, with his small party soon effected a landing and captured their guns, while the *Conch* and the remaining boats were exposed to a severe cross-fire as they entered the port; but the tide and breeze had wafted them in so rapidly that with the trifling loss of two killed and four wounded the main body, under the command of Colonel Cloete and Major D'Urban, made good their landing near the old custom-house, from whence the emigrant farmers were soon completely driven away, their flag taken down and captured, and their whole force pursued towards the Congella, thus placing Colonel Cloete in communication with Captain Smith, and the whole of the country within the Berea Hills in his possession. The next day, hearing that some of the farmers were still gathered at the Congella, Colonel Cloete advanced with 200 men and drove them from that position, when they retired to Cowie's farm, at the foot of the hill which now encloses the rising Pine Town, to the southward. But now the commanding officer found himself placed in a most anxious position; the gentle south-east breeze which had wafted them

on shore on the 25th of June increased the same evening into a violent and (at that season of the year) very unusual gale from the south-east. The *Southampton*, which had so gallantly placed itself as near as possible to the bar to aid in the landing of the troops, after drifting awhile, was obliged to put to sea with the loss of some of her anchors, having with difficulty weathered the dangerous Bluff, and was driven about for four or five days without a chance of returning to the anchorage. The supplies on board the *Conch* and those found at the Congella were quite insufficient to supply food for the six or seven hundred men now under his command, and Colonel Cloete thus availed himself of the only means he had at hand to ensure some supplies. A number of petty Kafir chieftains, attracted by the hostilities which had been going on for more than a month, immediately repaired to the camp, tendering their ready assistance, and Colonel Cloete requested them to supply the troops as soon as possible with some cattle, both for slaughter and for drawing his field-guns, if further hostilities had to be carried on. These Kafirs soon spread about, and in search of cattle a party of these appears to have visited two farms, situate between the Umlaas and the Llovo rivers (now forming part of the Umlaazi location), and there meeting two very respectable farmers, Van Rooyen and Oosthuysen, who were known for their very peaceable disposition, murdered them in cold blood, but refrained from

any act of violence to their wives and children, who escaped to the camp of the emigrants, and filled it with dismay and horror at the idea that the Kafirs had been incited to commit these murders upon the farmers. Colonel Cloete, on hearing this report, at once issued a public notice, solemnly disavowing having given even an implied sanction to such excesses; but at the same time warned the emigrants that it was quite impossible for him to prevent these outrages, so long as they continued in open rebellion against Her Majesty's authority.

The latter were, however, so disconcerted by these murders, and they gave rise to such a state of panic, that all those farmers who were still residing on their homesteads at once fled with their families and flocks to this town of Pietermaritzburg, which became the scene of the utmost confusion.

The Volksraad held an extraordinary meeting on a Sunday in the church-building (the court-hall being considered too small to hold the whole of the public), to take into consideration the present aspect of affairs. Mr. Boshof was called to the chair, but it was quite impossible for him to preserve anything like regularity in their proceedings. The most violent attacks and recriminations ensued, which occupied the whole day, until, towards the approach of the evening, the strength of the loudest declaimers being somewhat exhausted, Mr. John van der Plank (who, with Mr. Mesham and Thomas Sheers, were the only Englishmen who had been allowed to be

at liberty) proposed a written resolution to the effect:—

“That in the present state of affairs it was expedient and necessary to propose to Col. Cloete the following terms of peace:—

“1. That there should be granted a general amnesty to all emigrant farmers who had engaged in these hostilities.

“2. That Col. Cloete should put an end to, and support them in, any attack from the Kafirs.”

The chairman thereupon ordered the doors to be closed to the public, and having put these resolutions to the Volksraad, they, by a large majority, adopted them as a basis of negotiation with Col. Cloete, and appointed a deputation, consisting of the Chairman, Mr. Van der Plank, Mr. Zietsman, and two more of the Council, to proceed to D'Urban to enter upon the terms of this pacification, but so impressed were the Council, and even their chairman, of the succour they were to receive from the King of Holland, and of the effect which their petitions, entrusted to Mr. Smellekamp, were to have, that the deputation was directed first to make their stand on the submission they had proffered of this country to Holland, conceiving that this would be held even by Col. Cloete as a bar to any treaty with Her Majesty.

The deputation met Col. Cloete at Cowie's Hills, whither he had already advanced with a small party, but such were the difficulties of obtaining cattle for transport that on that score alone he could not

possibly have made a further advance. There the chairman (Mr. Boshof) opened his negotiations, but on mentioning the difficulty of their position by their submission to the King of Holland, Col. Cloete at once dismissed this plea with ridicule, and stated that he had already prepared in writing the only terms which he was willing to grant them. These were read to them, and the deputation did not appear to object to their tenor, but stating that they could only be sanctioned by the Volksraad at their special meeting, they suggested that by Col. Cloete's presence at Pietermaritzburg this was likely to be accomplished far more readily and satisfactorily than by constant deputations or correspondence. Col. Cloete at once adopted that suggestion, both with a view of bringing these matters to a speedy issue, by showing them this mark of his confidence and power, and furthermore (and indeed chiefly) with a view of obtaining by ocular proof and inspection a thorough knowledge of the country and of the roads and passes from the bay to this town, regarding which they were all at the camp in the utmost ignorance.

Col. Cloete accordingly soon followed the deputation to this place, accompanied by Lieut. Napier as his aide-de-camp, Lieut. Fuller of the Engineers, and Lieut. Maclean of the Artillery. He was received with every mark of respect, and a meeting of the Volksraad was specially convened for the 5th July, 1842, when they formally tendered to

Col. Cloete the following written deed of submission, signed by Mr. Boshof, as their chairman, and twelve members of the Volksraad. It was to this effect :—

“We, the undersigned, duly authorised by the emigrant farmers of Pietermaritzburg, Natal, and the adjacent country, do hereby tender for them and ourselves our solemn declaration of submission to the authority of Her Majesty the Queen of England.

“And we do further accept and subscribe to the following terms that have been required :—

“1st. The immediate release of all prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians ;

“2nd. The giving up of all cannon in our possession, those taken as well as others, with the ammunition and stores belonging to them ; and

“3rd. The restitution of all public and private property in our possession, which had been confiscated.

“Signed by J. Boshof, President, and 12 members.”

Upon this document being delivered to Col. Cloete, the guns which had been brought up here being surrendered, and the prisoners, who had undergone a strict, and occasionally a severe, imprisonment in the court-hall for six weeks, being immediately released,—Col. Cloete granted them in writing the following terms, viz. :—

“1st. Under the authority of His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope he agreed to grant them :—

“1. A general amnesty or free pardon to all persons who have been engaged in resisting Her Majesty's troops and authority, with the exception of Joachim Prinsloo,

A. W. Pretorius, J. J. Burger, Michael van Breda, and Servaas van Breda, whose cases were to be left for the special consideration of his Excellency the Governor."

Colonel Cloete, however, after signing and interchanging these documents, became so satisfied that Andries W. Pretorius, although then their military commander, had so powerfully exerted his influence to bring about this pacification by satisfying the great majority of the utter hopelessness of further resistance, that he withdrew his name from the list of the proscribed, leaving the four others to await His Excellency's decision.

He further declared,—

"2. To respect all private property, whether houses, goods, or chattels.

"3. That the emigrant farmers were at liberty to return unmolested to their farms, with their guns and horses.

"4. That the farmers would be protected against any attack of the Zoolahs or native tribes.

"5. That the tenure of their lands would not be interfered with, but must be left for the final determination and settlement of Her Majesty's Government.

"6. That the existing administration and civil institutions, under acknowledgment of Her Majesty's supremacy, shall not be interfered with till the pleasure of Her Majesty shall be known. But that the Volksraad was not to extend any jurisdiction to Port Natal, which was to be placed for the present under the exclusive control of the military commandant of Her Majesty's troops. The limits of Port Natal being defined by the Umlazi River to the west, the Umgane to the east, and a line along the ridges

and crest of the Berea Hills, joining those two rivers to the north.

“7. That the Kafirs shall for the present remain in the unmolested occupation of the grounds upon which they were upon the arrival of Her Majesty’s troops, subject to such future arrangements as the Government may find necessary to make for general security.

“8. That the port and custom dues remain to the Crown, and are to be left at the disposal of Her Majesty’s Government.”

The principal and most effective force under Col. Cloete’s command, consisting of the 25th Regiment, being urgently required for India, was thereupon immediately embarked on board of the *Southampton*, in which Col. Cloete also returned to Cape Town, leaving the command of Port Natal and the country within the limits of the Berea, as heretofore defined, and as entirely excluded from any interference from the Volksraad, under the command of Capt. Smith.

The whole of the proceedings of Col. Cloete were entirely approved of by His Excellency, and subsequently by Her Majesty’s ministers, and no one, possessed of a dispassionate and unprejudiced mind, can fail to appreciate how satisfactorily, in the space of two weeks, he had accomplished the settlement of this very difficult question, and saved this country, as well as Her Majesty’s arms, the sad consequences of an unnatural civil war.

But there were not wanting in and about the camp, and among the persons who had undergone the

hardships of imprisonment, several who deeply regretted that no opportunity had been afforded them of satisfying or (rather) glutting their feelings of revenge. These represented the settlement as not only inconclusive and unsatisfactory, but as also keeping up a spirit of enmity towards the emigrant farmers. They made every little complaint the theme for a renewal of hostilities with them, as all supplies having to be brought from Port Natal, some intercourse was necessarily kept up with this town and Port Natal. The circulation by the Volksraad of their title deeds to different farmers, which had been struck off on a small American press at the Umlazi station many months before the outbreak of hostilities, and which, prefaced by styling the Volksraad "The Hon'ble Volksraad, as having Supreme Power in the Government of the Republic of the Dutch South African Emigrants at Natal," was made the text of a violent and angry correspondence between Captain Smith and the Volksraad, and matters were gradually leading both parties to such an estrangement that no doubt they would soon have ended again in open hostility but for my arrival as commissioner for this district in the beginning of June, 1843, of which I shall now proceed to detail the circumstances.

In discussing with Mr. Boshof and some of the most enlightened members of the Volksraad the manner in which the final arrangements for the settlement of this district could be best effected

(for neither Colonel Cloete nor His Excellency the Governor had at that time any authority to enter upon any definite arrangements involving the permanent occupation of the country), they had suggested that the best mode of attaining that object would be by the appointment of a special Commissioner, with whom these matters could be finally settled; and Colonel Cloete conveyed this their wish to His Excellency Sir George Napier, who, in transmitting an account of all these stirring events to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, also referred to that suggestion of Her Majesty's Government if it should be determined upon to take formal possession of the country.

Nine months were, however, allowed to pass, leaving all these matters in a state of the most painful suspense; and indeed an opinion was getting rapidly prevalent that Her Majesty's Government would still eschew all interference in the administration of this country, when, on the 1st May, 1843, I received a note from His Excellency Sir G. Napier, stating that he had just received an important despatch on the subject, and, having determined to offer me to go to Port Natal as Commissioner, he wished me to come and peruse the despatch. I immediately repaired to Government House, and upon its perusal was so forcibly struck by the liberal and enlightened policy which Lord Stanley (then Secretary for the Colonies) had laid down for the settlement and future administration of this district,

that I expressed myself very confident of the result of a mission which would announce such principles to the inhabitants; and I willingly gave up temporarily my profession, and accepted the commission, little aware, however, of the additional difficulties which at that very moment were arising within this district to oppose or prevent the attainment of such an object.

A meeting of the Legislative Council was called for the 4th May, at which His Excellency read an able minute, setting forth the substance of the Secretary of State's despatch; and on the 12th of May my official appointment was announced in a proclamation, which fully set forth the extent of my authority and duties, and the conditions expressly required from the inhabitants before they were to be considered entitled to the privileges vouchsafed to them by Her Majesty's Government.

The *Cleopatra* frigate soon after brought me to this place, when, on landing at the bay, I was informed by the commandant that a fortnight before the Dutch schooner *Brasilia* had again made her appearance off the bar, having the notorious Mr. Smellekamp and a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church and a schoolmaster on board, and wishing to communicate with the emigrants, but that he had refused them all intercourse with the shore, and had ordered the vessel away with all on board, at which he, Major Smith (for the defence of the camp had earned him a brevet majority),

understood that great excitement prevailed at Pietermaritzburg. I felt the necessity of immediately checking that ebullition, and I sent off instantly an express to the Volksraad announcing my arrival, and on the third day after my landing arrived at Pietermaritzburg. Mr. Boshof, Mr. Zietsman, and two or three others came to meet me on my approach to the town, and in the evening I received the visits of some of the members of the Volksraad, with whom I made the arrangements for holding a meeting in the court-hall. The next morning on entering the court-room I found about 400 or 500 persons assembled in and around, almost closing up every approach towards it, even every window. Mr. Stephanus Maritz, sen., presided on the occasion, and to the meeting I opened my commission and gave an outline of the duties upon which I was about to enter. After being listened to with great attention for nearly an hour that I addressed the meeting, a notorious character, Anton Fick, arose, stating that in the name of the "public" he held a document, which he desired to present to me. On asking him the nature of the document he stated that it contained a resolution not to enter into any negotiations with me, until they (the public) had had intercourse with the persons on board the *Brazilia*, and had ascertained the replies from the King of Holland and his ministers as to their relations with that country.

I at first declined receiving or hearing any such

document read, but finding the meeting much excited on the subject, I agreed to its being read, under the express condition of my being at liberty to answer it directly, if I deemed it advisable ; and with this stipulation he proceeded to read a long, rambling statement of all the grievances and hardships of the emigrants to obtain possession of this country, full of complaints at the conduct of Major Smith in not allowing their clergyman and schoolmaster to join them, nor even to allow them to hear the replies from Holland to the treaties they had proposed, etc. ; the whole ending in a series of resolutions expressive of their determination not to enter into any arrangements with me until these functionaries were restored to them, and they had communicated with the *Brasilia*.

I thereupon answered these resolutions immediately by pointing out that, at my departure from the Cape, nothing had been known of the *Brasilia* visiting this coast ; that the angry tone of their late intercourse with the commandant had, no doubt, led to his prohibiting any communication with the vessel, but that his proceedings were necessarily unknown to the authorities at the Cape, and that I had, as Commissioner, no concern in these matters, except to assure them that if the *Brasilia* had touched at the Cape no doubt an authority would have been given to these functionaries to land ; and I further pointed out the extreme folly of expecting any support from the King of Holland, with the hope of which they

were still so impressed. This proposal from the "public" having been thus set at rest, I addressed myself to the Volksraad, and requested of them to know how and in what manner they would signify their acceptance or rejection of the conditions I had laid before them; when their chairman, after due consultation on that point, declared that there were only at that moment some half-dozen members of the Volksraad present, that the decision of such an important question required their full attendance, and that their ordinary quarterly meeting being fixed for the first week of August, they desired an adjournment of the question till that date, when a full attendance of all the members would be specially called for.

This appeared so reasonable that I at once assented to that adjournment, intending to devote the intermediate time in inspecting and registering farms and lands in and about D'Urban, from which the influence and authority of the Volksraad had been expressly excluded by the treaty with my brother, Sir Josias Cloete.

I, however, remained here (at Pietermaritzburg) a few days longer to explain more fully to the most respectable inhabitants the policy of Her Majesty's Government; and during that time I received the undoubted information that the "war party" here (at the head of which Commandant Gert Rudolph had placed himself) had sent expresses forthwith into the present Sovereignty and Transvaal country,

representing that they were about being attacked by Her Majesty's troops, and strongly urging the commandants of those districts to be here with all the armed force they could collect by the beginning of August, when they expected an outbreak of hostilities; and at the same time I received a memorial signed by the principal inhabitants of this town, intimating their dread of these hostilities, and soliciting the support of the Government against any violence which they apprehended in case they were to show their loyalty to the Government or disapprobation of these violent proceedings. This intelligence I immediately transmitted to His Excellency, and returned to D'Urban, where the registration of lands fully engaged my time during the months of June and July, when on the 21st July, Her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt* (the first Government steamer employed upon our coast, and subsequently lost on Cape Receif) arrived at Port Natal with a detachment of the 45th Regiment and two guns, which His Excellency had despatched immediately on the receipt of my communication as to my first reception here, and the expected meeting in August.

With this accession of force I had flattered myself that Major Smith would have been enabled to advance upon this town before any burgher force could have arrived from behind the Draaksberg; that he might thus have imparted such a confidence in the inhabitants, in and about the town, as

to ensure their presence at the meeting undeterred by the menaces of those who were bent upon war; but Major Smith declined, on what the Czar terms "strategic grounds," making the advance; and his determination (although at the time deeply regretted by me) only tended in its results to lead to a far more satisfactory conclusion of this political drama.

I had, however, determined personally to be present here, and I accordingly intimated this intention to the Volksraad, and arrived on the 6th of August on the Uysdorns hill.* I was soon met by an advanced guard of some twenty men, and near the town by about eighty or a hundred more mounted persons, all, however, unarmed, but on reaching my residence at the house of Messrs. Behrens (now part of the present Colonial Office), I was waited upon by Commandant Mocke and five or six other commandants, and about twenty field-cornets from behind the Draaksberg, who, with about 800 or 1000 men, had marched into the town a few days before and had encamped on the market-square, where about twenty waggons were ranged, containing all their arms, ammunition, and supplies. The commandants, severally, at once offered me a guard for my personal protection, which I, however, civilly declined, expressing my entire conviction that I

* This hill is about five miles from Pietermaritzburg, remarkable for being densely covered with the thorny "mimosa," and where the clan of "Uys" had made their first encampment.

needed no such protection ; but I certainly found the town in a state of confusion and excitement, which it is quite impossible to describe.

The proceedings of the Volksraad had commenced the day before my arrival, when, under the influence of the "war party," the commandants and field-cornets from beyond the Draaksberg had insisted upon holding a "combined" Council of delegates from the two districts on this and that beyond the mountain (as explained in my first lecture); and that this combined Council should consist of sixty members, for the palpable object thus to give a preponderating number of votes on any question to their numerous party. This they had succeeded in carrying, and the moment they had been elected and taken their seats the notorious Mr. Fick commenced a personal attack upon Mr. Boshof of the most virulent character, charging him with having betrayed their Council, as they termed it, and with having falsified a document (referred to in my previous lecture), by which the members of the Volksraad had tendered their submission to Her Majesty's authority in July, 1842.

It appeared that on that occasion Mr. Boshof having been the chief (if not the only) person who could fitly embody their resolutions in writing, had had the labour of drawing out and engrossing all the documents, when some duplicates or triplicates having been required of this treaty, one or two of the country members, who were anxious to leave

the town and return to their families, had signed one of the copies of the document in blank, which Mr. Boshof subsequently had to fill in.

This had maliciously been perverted into his having got some members to sign a document of which they knew not the contents, and was made the handle of the most malignant attacks upon his person and character; but, fortunately, the members whose convenience he had consulted in taking their signatures before he had been able to make all the copies were present, and at once completely explained and refuted this base calumny; while Mr. Boshof's whole career was so unassailable that all these objections were overruled, and he was allowed to take his seat in the Council, where they were well aware that he could not fail to exert a commanding influence.

One entire day was occupied with this preliminary wrangle, and the parties broke up late at night to recommence their deliberations the next morning early. During that night, however, a party of the most violent and unprincipled ruffians among them held a secret meeting in one of the huts about the "vley"* in this town, where they resolved upon coming armed to the meeting of the Volksraad the next morning, there to bring about a scuffle or outbreak, in the course of which they would make an attack upon (or, in plainer language, assassinate) Boshof, Pretorius, and two others, whom they con-

* A swampy part of the town, at that time almost uninhabited.

sidered the principal heads of the peace or submission party. Andries Pretorius, who on that occasion proved himself the true benefactor of this country, and who by his scouts kept a watchful eye upon all the proceedings of every party, got very early intelligence of this plot, and he accordingly came to the meeting also secretly armed and surrounded by numerous and powerful clans; and as the business of the meeting was about to commence, seeing the party mustering, whom he knew had been hatching this atrocious conspiracy, he addressed the meeting in a strain of impassioned extemporaneous eloquence not unworthy of Cicero himself, and hardly surpassed by the latter in his first "Catilinaria," which, if worked up by a Sallust or Livy, would have handed down his name to posterity as a great orator; in the course of which he informed the chairman and the meeting of a foul conspiracy, which he knew had been planned against the friends of peace and good order, and that he could at once point out the principal ruffians; but he disdained to hand down their names to everlasting infamy, and (looking to the knot where they were chiefly collected), stated that their looks already betrayed the guilt of their consciences; that he dared them to show the arms which he knew they were secretly hiding in their bosoms; that if force and violence were intended he and his friends were fully prepared to repel it; but if not lost to all sense of shame, he advised them to hide their diminished heads, and to

retire from a conflict where reason and temper were required and not brute force, and thus save themselves from the everlasting infamy which would attach upon their names if they once commenced upon any act of open violence.

Never were the following lines of the immortal poet more applicable than to the position in which these persons then appeared :—

“ Thus conscience does make cowards of us all,
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought ;
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action ” :

for not one ventured to answer the challenge. The whole of that clique, who soon betrayed themselves by their manner and countenance, silently dropped off from the assembly, and the meeting subsided at once into more order and decorum than had been hitherto observed. Stephanus Maritz, sen., particularly distinguished himself by the temper, tact, and judgment which he displayed on that memorable occasion : he very adroitly got a preliminary question to be mooted in how far the inhabitants from beyond the Draaksberg had a right to vote on this question, viz., whether they were to be affected by any arrangement with me, as they had not been parties to the treaty with Col. Cloete ; and a deputation from the Volksraad waited on me at Mr. Behren's residence, where I was anxiously waiting the result of this

meeting to obtain a formal answer to a question, "How far my authority was to extend, or how far Her Majesty meant to assert her supremacy over this country?" Although I was then but a few yards from the court hall and square where those exciting events were taking place, I was naturally kept in ignorance of what was passing at the very moment. As I had determined, as yet, not to take any part in those proceedings, having only informed the chairman that I was here ready to answer any questions they might wish to put, and thus not being aware of the exact purport and object of the question when put to me, I yet candidly informed them that by my instructions the future boundaries of this district had been left entirely to my decision and report; that I was, however, fully aware that Her Majesty's Government did not wish in any way to extend her authority over vast extents of country where an effectual protection to life and property could not be secured to the inhabitants, and that I did not therefore hesitate to declare at once that I was fully prepared to recommend that the extent of this district should be bounded on the north by the natural Quathlamba range of mountains, and not to extend beyond it.

This answer had a great effect upon the deliberations of the Volksraad. A resolution was thereupon put and carried, declaring that, as the inhabitants beyond the Quathlamba or Draaksberg mountains were not to be affected by any of my proceedings,

their representatives now here had no right to vote on questions which did not affect them; and some of the commandants and representatives from beyond the Sovereignty even joined in that resolution, seeing that they would have considerable difficulty in carrying their original intention. The second day's proceedings then closed late at night by the whole of the members who had taken their seats as representing the Winburg and (now) Sovereignty territory, withdrawing from the Volksraad; and Commandant Mocke, accompanied by De Kock, Du Plooy, and several other field-cornets, called upon me the same evening to bid me farewell, Mocke declaring with a bitterness of feeling (which clearly betrayed the disappointment and vexation he felt) that he never again would have anything to do with Natal and its affairs, that he had been grossly deceived by the representations he had received, and that he would now order his men peaceably to withdraw. This order seemed to meet with the most implicit obedience. The next day passed by in their making preparations for their departure, and the following day the whole of that division, about 700 or 800 strong, wended their way over the town-hill on their return to the Sovereignty, encountering great hardships on the road from snowstorms and scarcity of provisions.

On the third day of the meeting of the Volksraad its members were thus reduced to the twenty-four members representing the Council for this district

only; and the calm and temperate tone adopted at that meeting seemed at once to give promise of a peaceful and satisfactory conclusion to their deliberations.

Dr. Poortman happened to have received a letter from some friend in Holland, in which, alluding to the letters brought over by Smellekamp, the writer informed him of the delusion which had been practised upon them here; and after this letter had been submitted to the closest scrutiny by the post-mark being examined, no doubt remained as to its genuineness, and they appeared at last to become satisfied that all hope of succour or support from Holland was at an end, when they took into consideration the terms of Lord Stanley's despatch of the 13th December, 1842, which I had brought with me, and of which I had made a translation, so far as to show the sound reasoning and the liberal policy by which Her Majesty's Government were actuated in their adoption of this territory.

I had caused several copies to be made of this extract, which I had circulated among them, and a perusal thereof, even now, no doubt, interest my auditors, and confirm the opinion I had formed on that subject.

One part of that despatch is to this effect, viz. :—

“The question then remains, in what manner to deal with the district and the numerous population thus brought again into submission, and under allegiance to Her Majesty.

“Various courses may be pursued, the supremacy of the

British crown having been established : the existing population might be permitted to remain and conduct their own affairs, withdrawing the British troops, and thus neither exercising practical control over them, or affording them efficient protection.

“They may be removed and compelled to return under the pressure of an overwhelming military force, such as would leave no alternative but those of submission or extermination.

“The emigrants may be summoned to return within the settled limits of the colony of the Cape, deprived of all protection, in the event of their refusal, against the hostility of the Zoolahs and other tribes, and of the Kafirs within their own boundaries, and further, if deemed expedient, cut off from all supplies by sea, and all regular and uninterrupted communication by land ; or, lastly, they may be taken under the protection of the British crown, their district recognised and adopted as a British Colony, and such institutions established, under British authority, as Her Majesty may think fit.

“All these courses are open to adoption, and all require thus to be maturely and carefully weighed.

“Two other courses, indeed, there are, to neither of which, however, could Her Majesty's servants for a moment listen : the one, to admit the independence of the emigrants, and to disclaim all responsibility respecting them ; the other, to permit them to come under the protection or dominion of any foreign power.

“1. The first course of the four to which I have adverted is open to very obvious objections. Virtually, though not nominally, it would be conferring independence on the emigrants, and the British Government would, in the face of the civilised world, make itself responsible for the conduct of its subjects, whom, nevertheless, it neither assumed

to control by legislation, nor to protect by military support. I fear, moreover, that in the present state of the population, many of their acts, whether towards each other, towards the native tribes within their limits, or towards those who surround them, might be such as the British Government could neither approve nor permit; that disunion and jealousies among themselves would require the intervention of some supreme authority, and that Her Majesty could not safely entrust the emigrant farmers with the unchecked management of the Kafirs within their territory, nor repose entire confidence in the moderation and temper with which they might repel the aggressions or avenge the occasional depredations of the border tribes.

“2. I confess, if there were any reasonable probability of inducing the body of the emigrants to return within the settled limits of the colony, under your government, either voluntarily or after a reasonable time, by such methods of compulsion as I have already indicated, such would be the result, which, as you are already aware, Her Majesty’s Government would most willingly see accomplished.

“But you and Col. Cloete concur in representing, in the strongest terms, the impossibility of inducing any considerable numbers of these emigrants voluntarily to return to the colony for the sake of British protection; and in your despatches of the 25th of July and the 24th of August you assign very strong reasons why, on this subject, no intermediate mode of compulsion should be adopted.

“Her Majesty’s Government have carefully weighed the arguments which you have urged and the difficulties which you have suggested in opposition to such a measure, and I am bound to acknowledge that they appear to us to be almost, if not entirely, conclusive.

“But it appears to us that there are reasons at least equally strong against the third course suggested, that of the

employment against the Boers of a force sufficient to compel their return, or to exterminate them.

“That such a course is within our power, there can be no doubt ; but notwithstanding all the faults of which the emigrants have been guilty, I cannot be insensible to their good qualities, nor to the past hardships which they have undergone ; nor can I reconcile it to my sense, either of humanity or policy, to employ a large British force in the extirpation of a body of industrious colonists, professing allegiance to the British crown, and inviting the savage tribes surrounding them to join in the exterminating process. Measures so extreme could be justified only by a necessity which I am happy to think does not in this case exist.

“There remains then only to be considered the question of the recognition of the territory of Port Natal as a British colony, or part of a British colony.

* * * *

“The Commissioner will be authorised to call together the principal emigrant farmers and others, and inform them that Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to bury in oblivion past transactions, and desirous of being enabled to rely upon their present assurances of dutiful obedience and loyalty, is anxious to place the institutions of the colony upon such a footing, consistent with the maintenance of her royal authority, as may be most acceptable to the bulk of her subjects. The Commissioner is therefore to be authorised to invite the unreserved expression of their opinions and wishes, in respect to the judicial and other local institutions, under which they may desire to be placed, with an assurance that such expressions, when submitted to Her Majesty, shall receive Her Majesty's most favourable consideration.

“He will cause it to be distinctly understood, however, that this authority does not extend to the question of legislation ; on which Her Majesty reserves to herself the most entire freedom of action.

“I think it probable, looking to the nature of the population, that they will desire those institutions to be founded on the Dutch, rather than on the English, model, and however little some of those institutions may be suited to a more advanced state of civilisation, it is the desire of Her Majesty’s Government that in this respect the contentment of the emigrants rather than the abstract merits of the institutions should guide our decision.”

The principles thus laid down as to the future policy of Her Majesty’s Government were so sensible, and approved themselves so entirely to their own wants and wishes, that the meeting resolved at once to adopt them ; but a difficulty then arose as to the manner in which this adoption should be penned, and a deputation accordingly again waited upon me, expressive of their desire to know how their submission had best be worded. I at once referred them to the proclamation of His Excellency Sir G. Napier of the 12th May, which, indeed, only embodied the precise terms of Lord Stanley’s despatch, and informed them that no deed of submission would be accepted by me which did not embrace and express their entire acceptance of the three conditions set forth in that proclamation, and I referred them to these words, as set forth in that proclamation, viz. :—

“It is also necessary that the Commissioner should most explicitly make known to the emigrants, that what-

ever may be the institutions ultimately sanctioned, these conditions are actually essential :—

“1. That there shall 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, shall be extended impartially to all alike.

“2. That no aggression shall 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, is absolutely unlawful, as in every other portion of Her Majesty’s dominions.

“You will take care that it be distinctly understood that these three conditions are indispensable preliminaries to the permission which it is proposed to give to the emigrants to occupy the territory of Port Natal, and to enjoy therein a settled government under British protection ; and I trust that no difficulty will be found in obtaining the willing acquiescence of the emigrants in stipulations so reasonable, and in our own judgment not more called for by humanity and justice, than essential to the peace and good order of the district.”

Another deputation soon after followed, expressive of the entire concurrence of the Volksraad in the second and third conditions, but stating that they still thought that the first clause should be modified in some shape ; it was evident from this that they were still inclined to suggest some special reservation in regard to the rights or liberties of the Kafirs,

and to lay the foundation for separate class-legislation for these; but I repelled all idea of such a nature by at once declaring that I would not admit the slightest departure from those terms, and at length towards the evening the chairman, together with a deputation from the Council, handed me the following declaration, which expressed in the following words their entire and unconditional acceptance of all the terms prescribed by His Excellency.

The document, as translated, runs thus :—

“PIETERMARITZBURG, 8th August.

“SIR,—We, the undersigned members and representatives of the Volksraad, having had in consideration the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor, dated 12th May last, do hereby declare to have agreed to the conditions set forth in the sixth article of the said proclamation, and to accept the same.

Signed by,

J. MARITZ, <i>President</i>	A. J. SPIES
M. J. POTGIETER	P. G. HUMAN
P. R. OTTO	J. A. KRIEL
P. M. ZIETSMAN	M. A. VAN AARDT
B. POORTMAN	G. C. VILJOEN
M. J. PRETORIUS	GERT SNYMAN
J. A. CILLIERS	H. J. VAN DEN BERG
G. R. VAN ROOVEN	A. Z. VISAGE
G. J. NAUDE	M. PRINSLOO
C. F. ROTMAN	C. A. RUTHMAN
L. J. MEYER	N. J. S. BASSON
G. F. POTGIETER	J. BODENSTEIN, <i>Sec. of</i>
P. R. NEL	<i>the Volksraad.</i>

“Addressed to the Hon’ble H. CLOETE,
Her Majesty’s Commissioner.”

It will be thus seen that this stormy meeting held in this town in August, 1843, after being protracted for three days, had ended in all the twenty-four members of the Volksraad unanimously signing this formal deed; and when it is considered that although Pretorius, Boshof, Zietsman the elder, and several others of the most respectable inhabitants who had no seat in the Volksraad, had yet expressed their entire concurrence in this Proclamation, no doubt can be entertained that this solemn deed of submission to, and recognition of, Her Majesty's authority had been obtained by the deliberate and unanimous voice of all those who had really any stake or interest in the country; and with every friend of humanity it became a matter of heartfelt satisfaction, and of gratitude to the Great Disposer of human affairs, that this had been brought about by a perfectly free and unbiassed judgment of the constituted authorities at the time, without any threats or pressure from without; but I cannot close this lecture without recording my sincere acknowledgment that this peaceable and satisfactory termination of the broils of the inhabitants with the Government had thus been chiefly effected by the influence of (the now deceased) Andries Pretorius, of Stephanus Maritz, of Mr. Boshof, of Dr. Poortman, and the Zietsmans, father and son, who proved themselves true friends of the welfare of this country, which (despite many difficulties with which it has had to contend) has made

during these last twelve years a steady progress in social, agricultural, and commercial improvement.

These persons chiefly opened the eyes of their countrymen to the delusion under which they had long laboured, either as to their power of self-government and independence, or the still more vain hope of foreign support; and I trust I may now venture to express my sincere thankfulness to them for the aid they afforded me during those trying scenes.

You have now been informed of the true state of things in this district from its early formation until the formal submission of its inhabitants to Her Majesty's authority; you will perceive how errors and faults, committed on both sides, threatened at one time to plunge this country into an interminable civil war, and how this was most providentially averted, chiefly by the influence of reason and good sense actuating the minds of the leading men in this community, who became fully impressed that Her Majesty's Government, bound to assert its authority and dignity on the one hand, was yet inclined to confer upon them every advantage consistent with true liberty; for liberty (we jurists know) does not consist in doing everything any individual in society pleases, but only in doing that which is not contrary to law and higher authority — "*nisi quod vi aut jure prohibeatur*"; and I cannot give

you a more striking proof of the effect which the dissemination of those principles of Her Majesty's Government produced, even upon those who, "with curses loud and deep," had broken up from the deliberations of the Volksraad, and had returned to their homes in the Sovereignty, than that four months after these occurrences had taken place I was agreeably surprised by a deputation arriving here, headed by the two most influential inhabitants of the Modder and Caledon rivers, Van den Heever and Overholster, who presented me a memorial, signed by 500 actual landholders in that district, soliciting that I might also extend my labours to the country from the Draaksberg to the banks of the Orange River, and that a very large majority of the inhabitants there were willing also to subscribe to the same terms as the inhabitants of this district.

I at once informed them that I had personally no objection to proceed to their country and arrange matters there in the same way as I was doing here, but that the decision on this memorial must rest altogether with the Governor of the Cape Colony, to whom the memorial would be transmitted. This I accordingly did; but in the meantime "a new king arose in Egypt who knew not Joseph," or, in a plainer language, another Governor (Sir Peregrine Maitland) had come out and superseded Sir George Napier, whose period of holding a government, under the Queen's regulations, had long expired.

This Governor, who probably felt no such deep interest in these matters or countries as his predecessor, or had received more stringent rules to carry out, simply replied "that the application could not be entertained."

It is therefore vain now to indulge in speculations how the affairs of the Orange River Territory would have proceeded if the same policy had been followed out towards them; but the following little anecdote will show the zeal and prudence with which that deputation had performed the trust confided to them. Some days before their arrival at this place we had heard a report that a deputation was on its way here, but that they had been stopped and waylaid by some of the "Ultra-Radical party" behind the mountain. On their presenting themselves to me I alluded to this report, and begged to be informed whether there was any truth in it, when old Overholster replied that there was some truth in it, that the signing of this memorial and its object were necessarily known throughout the country, and that at the Sand River Drift (which they were obliged to cross on their way here), an armed party from the neighbourhood had surrounded them, and declaring them "traitors" to their country had positively and violently threatened to attack them unless they delivered up the memorial to them. But Overholster proceeded: "We had also anticipated and provided for such an occurrence, for after a show of resistance

we somewhat reluctantly took out of the front chest of my waggon the memorial which had been placed there, and which they carried off in triumph; but at the same time we had had a duplicate prepared of the same document, and signed by all the 500 landowners as the other; this duplicate I kept in the bedding of my 'katel,' and now deliver with its seals quite intact."

This little incident shows at least the earnestness with which they had set about to have the same boon conferred on them as had been granted to the inhabitants of this district; and the latter would be ungrateful indeed if they failed now to acknowledge and be thankful for the very many blessings which have been vouchsafed to them as a community during the last twelve years.

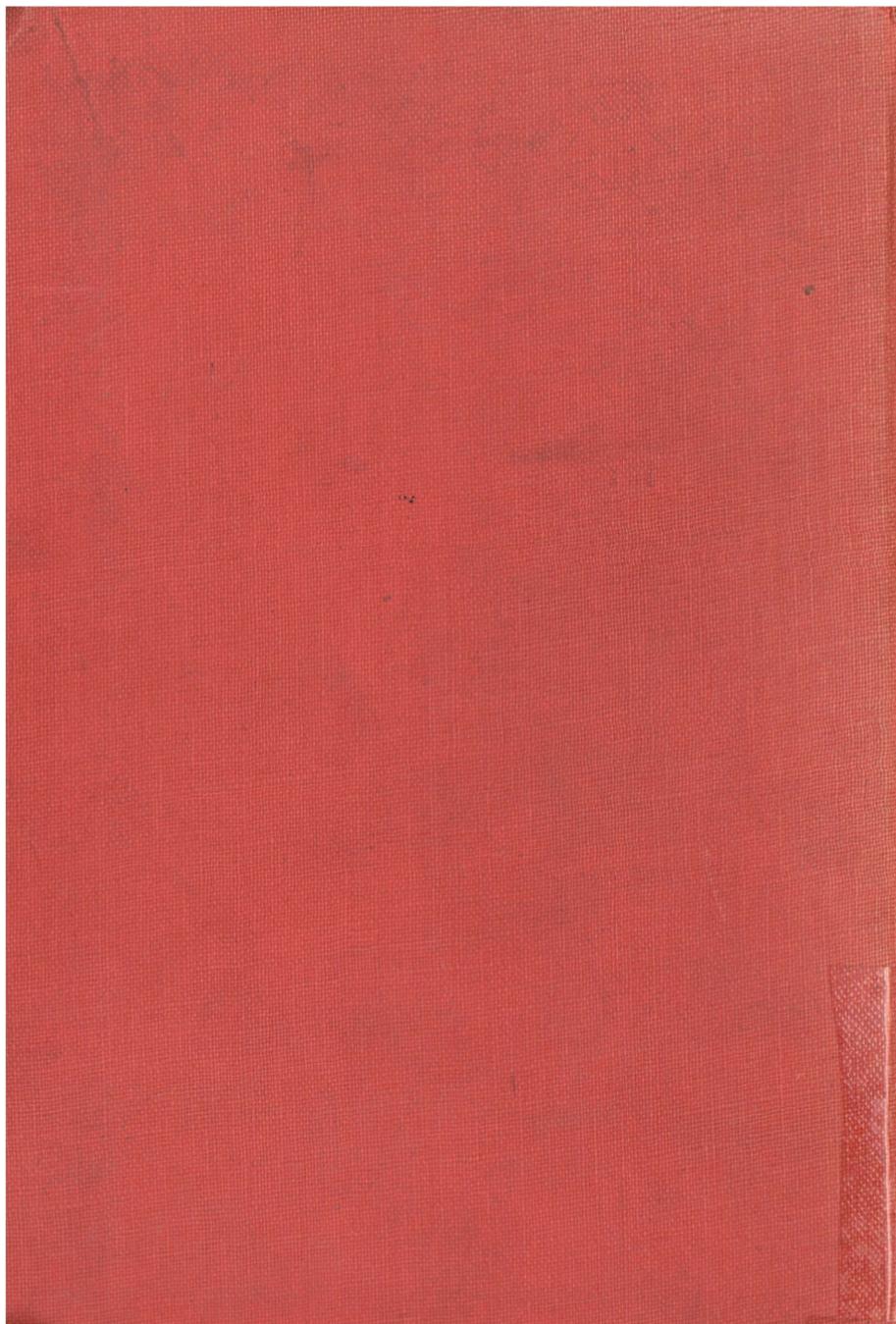
I fear, at least, that I am not only deeply indebted to those influential persons whose names I have just given as the real benefactors of their country; but, independent of this feeling, I could not but be sensible every day during the momentous events by which I was surrounded, that there was a Divinity throughout, watchful of the interests of this favoured country, and whose right hand was then, and has ever since been, protecting it from the horrors of the savage wars by which the Cape frontier and the Sovereignty have been afflicted; that here, at least, during all those years, neither war, famine, nor pestilence has afflicted the country; but, on the contrary, with whatever difficulties the

first introduction of a settled government may have been beset, it has slowly but surely progressed in the development of every resource from which the true prosperity of a country depends.

Everywhere around us we perceive striking signs of improvement, both in our *social, moral, agricultural*, and even *political* relations; and the inestimable blessing of peace, which we have so long enjoyed, only requires to be continued to bring these advantages into full maturity.

As I shall probably within a few days terminate all further connection with the Natal district, in bidding you an affectionate farewell I may, then, be permitted, I trust, to express a hope that you may not only long continue in the enjoyment of those blessings, but that, by your public acts as a community, and by your conduct in the relations of private life, you may render yourselves worthy of the continuance of those blessings from the Divine Disposer of events.

Esto perpetua!



THE HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT
BOER
TREK

HON. H.
CLOETE, LL.D.