

cases. This was undoubtedly a better system than the one which had prevailed since 1848, but the state of the laws regarding the Kaffir population is yet far from being worthy of the civilising, not to say Christianising, mission of English Government in Africa. A new code of Native law has been published ; the recognised principles of which include "polygamy on the male side, with its accompanying lines of demarcation according to houses" or families by different wives "in parts of the polygamist's property;" also, the incapacity of women to own property, and the absolute subjection of the female sex to the male ; but it is enacted that no marriage shall take place without an official witness, who is to see that the woman has publicly stated her consent. The laws, however, now made statutable, continue to regulate the price of wives at so many head of cattle, according to social rank, paid to the girl's father or other guardian ; and it is said that the rearing of daughters for sale, to such an amount as may be yielded by the number of wives their sire can maintain, is a trade rather briskly carried on in this part of the Queen's dominions. The subject is not agreeable to dwell upon here, but Missionary Societies have now and then addressed Her Majesty's Government in a tone of remonstrance about it.

They have shown that the provision of an "official witness" was illusory as a protection for the female objecting to her marriage, the official witness being in all cases a native, whose prejudices and prepossessions would be against the woman so protesting; and that the registration of polygamous marriages to an unlimited number gives legal sanction to the worst of social evils. It is complained that the laws positively discourage, with reference to these native marriage obligations, any of the converts to Christianity who desire to free themselves from tribal entanglements, and to live in the manner of Europeans. There is one particular obligation imposed on widows upon the death of a childless husband, with a view to "the raising up of seed," which is described by the Wesleyan Missionary Society as "submission to a sad and degraded lot;" but on perusing the text of the existing Code of Native Law, it appears that the widow is supposed not to be under compulsion. There seem, however, to be no efficient means generally afforded to native women, or likely to come within their reach, of obtaining the protection of the British authorities in case of their feeling oppressed by the common usages and practices of Kaffirdom. It is to be feared that the British authorities in Natal are conscious of a want of

strength to achieve the work of social reform upon so huge a mass of barbarism as that province now contains. The will to do so has never been wanting either here or there.

Something more than this may truly be said of the present Lieutenant-Governor. A perusal of his official correspondence from 1875 to 1879 leaves a highly satisfactory impression of the good sense, the fairness, the good-will and moderation of Sir Henry Bulwer's conduct. It was not until the 21st of last September, and then for "strong reasons" which were not fully expressed, that the present Secretary of State, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, made an important change in the Lieutenant-Governor's position. Instead of communicating directly with Her Majesty's Government and receiving his instructions from home, as he and all his predecessors had always done, Sir Henry Bulwer was thenceforth ordered to submit his proceedings to Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape Colony, and High Commissioner. A similar arrangement was made for the British Administrator of the Transvaal, under circumstances which are yet to be described.

## CHAPTER XI.

### OUR CORONATION OF KETCHWHYO: "SOMTSEU" THE KINGMAKER.

Panda's pacific reign.—His relations to the Natal Government.—Rivalry of his sons.—Victory of Ketchwhy in 1856.—He is made heir-apparent and regent.—Mr. Shepstone's visit to Panda in 1861.—The Englishman "represents Chaka."—He becomes "father" of Ketchwhy.—Messages of invitation, 1873.—He is sent as Chief Witness.—The ceremonial.—The proclamation of good laws.—Questionable political efficacy of these proceedings.

HIS Zulu Majesty the Root—which is, as I said, the signification of "Mpanda," and which seems, too, a significant name for the person who represented the royal family of that nation—died on the 18th of October, 1872. He had reigned thirty-three years, during twenty-six of which he was next neighbour to the British Government of Natal, and to the Dutch previously. No fault was ever found with the "loyalty and friendliness" of King Panda; this is the testimony of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who was Natal Secretary for Native Affairs nearly all that time. It is, therefore, quite possible for the English colony

to live at peace with the adjacent powerful Zulu Kingdom for at least a quarter of a century. That is as long a period as the civilised monarchies of Europe are wont to pass without making war upon each other. For they too, like these savage African States of black heathendom, each keep up what Sir Bartle Frere calls "a frightfully efficient man-slaying machine," commonly termed an Army. King Panda maintained one of his own, which he never thought of turning against the white men. It stands further written by Sir T. Shepstone, the only witness of official authority, that "practically, the government of Zulu Land had been in the hands of Cetywayo since his victory in 1856." Ketchwhy, as I prefer to spell him, was installed in that kingdom by the writer of the above statement, then Mr. Shepstone, upon the demise of his father Panda; and the peaceful relations continued to 1878. Past experience, therefore, whatever may have been said or done in these latter days, has proved that it is quite possible for Natal to live at peace during twenty-two years with the Zulus, while ruled by Ketchwhy.

If Mr. Shepstone had not thought so in the year 1873, and for a long time before, and notably in 1861, when he became party to the settlement of the Zulu royal succession upon Ketchwhy, the curious

proceedings I am about to describe would never have taken place. But they did take place, with the special sanction of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin Pine, and to the satisfaction at that time of the official mind in Natal. It has, indeed, always been considered, until a few months ago, that the unique diplomacy of "Somtseu," as the Zulus fondly called him, with his mysterious mastery of the native disposition, had secured a permanent alliance with the natural head of the Zulu race; and thereby an unbounded influence over all the Zulu populations, as well beyond as within the British frontiers. This general belief among the colonists, settlers, missionaries, traders and government officers in Eastern South Africa, kept him and two of his sons in the perpetual enjoyment of very important and responsible posts in the Natal administration, for which they were doubtless singularly qualified. But it has also controlled the exercise of public opinion with regard to colonial affairs. The time seems now come for inquiring whether Sir T. Shepstone's policy, in some respects, may not have been mistaken. His attendance in August and September, 1873, with the expedition sent by the Natal Government to install Ketchwhyoy as King of the Zulus, was but a few months before the lamentable affair of poor old

Langalibalele, which I have related. It was the beginning of the end of a very peculiar system of native management.

The internal condition of the Zulu independent monarchy in the latter part of King Panda's long reign has more than a mere historical interest. That native sovereign, as I narrated in preceding chapters, dethroned his brother Dingaan in 1840 by the assistance of the Dutch Boers under Pretorius, then forming a commonwealth of their own in Natal. He led four thousand Zulu warriors to fight their battles against the perfidious and bloodthirsty tyrant. He then accepted from the Dutch commander a public recognition of himself, Panda, as successor to Dingaan; in consideration of which he granted all the territory of Natal to his Dutch friends and allies. But it does not appear to be quite so clear and certain, from all the records and documents ever published of this transaction, that Panda and his peers and councillors, and the Zulu nation, understood him to be accepting the position of a vassal to the Natal Government. A new King, in any part of the world, may be glad to receive from a foreign State with which he is acting in alliance the formal acknowledgment of his title, without thereby doing homage for his crown, or in any degree compromising his future

independent sovereignty. Sir T. Shepstone's lengthy dissertation upon this subject, printed among our parliamentary papers of 1875, fails to prove that King Panda at any time behaved in a manner implying such an admission of dependence upon foreign patronage, and of the paramount supremacy of the Natal Government. He can only affirm that "Panda entertained a feeling of grateful attachment and loyalty" to the Boers ; and how far his domestic government, milder and more merciful than Dingaan's, was affected by the lessons they taught him, "it is not easy to say." I beg the reader to note this sentence, and recall it to mind hereafter in weighing the merits of Sir Bartle Frere's political arguments to justify our present Zulu war. If Panda was a vassal of the Dutch, his son Ketchwhyó is now a rebellious vassal of the British Government. But I have not been able to find historical evidence in support of that assumption.

The diplomatic talents of Mr. Shepstone, while he was managing affairs for the Natal Government, were steadily applied to foster this view of its relations to Ketchwhyó, or "Cetywayó," with whom we are now at war. It is a question most essential to our fair judgment of the recent causes of quarrel. I therefore desire to throw some light upon it by this

chapter on the ceremonial installation of the King in 1873. It must first be observed that Panda had grown fat and lazy as he grew old. He was not like his imperial predecessor Chaka a warlike conqueror, but more like the Roi d'Yvetôt,

“ Peu connu dans l'histoire ;  
Se levant tard, se couchant tôt,  
Et dormant fort bien sans gloire.”

He could move, it is said, only in a waggon, and needed half a dozen strong men to lift him into it; the harmless pacific monarch! *O si sic omnia!* But he owned a good many wives, and a good many sons. With reference to family matters, there seems to be no doubt that Panda was differently situated from Dingaan and Chaka, the two preceding Zulu Kings. They do not appear at their decease, the one in 1840, the other in 1828, to have left any male children, if any children at all. Upon this topic Mr. Shepstone, whose acquaintance with the Zulu Kingdom began after those dates, mentions a very wonderful report, which he repeats as history. It is that both those infamously cruel despots, each in his own reign, systematically put to death all their children, and all their wives likely to become mothers, in order “to keep down dangerous questions which might arise as to the succession.” Now, I confess myself to be

rather sceptical about the probability of such conduct. Dingaan and Chaka were no doubt capable of any amount of cruelty. Despots in Asia and in Europe, professing Moslem or Christians, not to mention ancient Roman Cæsars, have put wives, sons, and brothers to death from jealousy, or for Court and State reasons. But that a man should thus deliberately resolve to exterminate the whole of his own offspring, to cut off his flesh and blood from an hereditary succession, while he permitted his brothers to live until they actually supplanted him, as in the case of both Chaka and Dingaan—this seems contrary to the ordinary selfish motives of human nature. It is far more likely that all Chaka's sons were killed by order of their uncle Dingaan, and that Dingaan's children perished at the hands of some partisans of their uncle Panda; and that this mythical account of their disappearance was afterwards related to Mr. Shepstone.

Among Panda's grown-up sons, however, in the year 1856, as we read in different accounts of the Zulus, there were two, Umbulazi and Ketchwhy, between whom arose the strife of rival princes for an expected inheritance of power. Each of the King's sons was allowed to form a separate establishment, collecting as many followers as he could in military rule subor-

dinate to the King ; and the retainers of such princes were said to "live under the tiger's tail," while those in the King's immediate service were "under the tiger's head." Ketchwhy, being fired with martial ambition, rallied around him the ardent youth who longed to revive the glories of Chaka's valiant reign. His younger brother Umbulazi was of gentler temper, and was the favourite of their father Panda. Parties were formed among the Zulu nobility, and civil war broke out. In a great battle fought on the banks of the Tugela, where three thousand of Umbulazi's men were killed, his hopes and his life came to an end. It has been said that two of his children, Usikota and Umkungu, escaped over the river into Natal ; so did more than one of his brothers. It is further stated, but not in Sir T. Shepstone's narrative, that a grand national assembly of the Zulus was held in November, 1857, when the chiefs and Indunas agreed to recognise Ketchwhy as heir apparent. We are told how they ordained that he should, through Masipula the Prime Minister, exercise a Regency until his father's death, and should afterwards be King. This is the statement of the Rev. Lewis Grout, the American missionary, then dwelling with the Zulus ; but Sir T. Shepstone, in his elaborate historical treatise, refrains from mentioning the Zulu national assembly and its enact-

ments of 1857. He asserts, on the contrary, how far correctly I know not, that from 1856 to 1861 the Zulus "shrank from nominating a successor" to Panda, who had been deprived of all real power. He says that there was no legal succession until in 1861 the nomination was made in favour of Ketchwhy, by the efforts of himself, Theophilus Shepstone. He did visit the Zulu Court in that year, as an official envoy from the Natal Government, with one of his sons, two other European companions, and some native followers. He did no doubt advise and persuade the King to make his will, and to proclaim that Ketchwhy should be the heir, and should rule meantime in Panda's name. But if this arrangement had really been determined by the men of power in Zulu Land three or four years previously, of which he says nothing, the political consequences of Mr. Shepstone's part in "the formal act" of 1861 would be of less importance. He was there, he says, as "chief witness" to the act. But would this be regarded as a proof of Ketchwhy's vassalage to the British Government?

Here it is needful to examine the description, first given by Mr. Shepstone in a memorandum of June 11, 1873, of the very extraordinary Zulu titles and tokens of dignity conferred upon him during his visit to Panda's Court at Nodwengu in 1861. He went there

to perform an "extremely difficult and somewhat dangerous task," and he was "fortunate enough to be successful." That is, he then "caused to be nominated" the son of Panda, who had defeated and expelled all his rivals five years before, in 1856, and who already held the Zulu Government "in his hands." The only apprehension of an attack upon Ketchwhy's position, as Regent of Zulu Land, would be from those other sons of Panda who had taken refuge in Natal. Mr. Shepstone's mission from Natal in 1861 must therefore have been very acceptable to Ketchwhy, and to the whole party in power. When he arrived, upon that occasion, within ten miles of Panda's residence, he was requested to halt for the adjustment of a question of etiquette. The Zulus were anxious to greet him with the highest possible mark of deference, "the royal salute," which they never used except to the Sovereign. There was a difficulty about this in the mind of some Garter King-at-Arms or other Master of the Ceremonies; and the King's Guards, drawn up in front of the Royal Palace, were reluctant to do such honour to a stranger. "It was decreed, therefore," says Mr. Shepstone, "that I should be looked upon as Chaka, that is, that I should personate and take that chief's rank." This was an amazing contrivance, whether it be regarded from the Zulu or

the Englishman's point of view. Chaka, the ferocious warrior who had founded the Zulu Empire and had died in 1828, has always been worshipped as a national divinity. I believe they fancy his soul to be now inhabiting the scaly form of a monstrous crocodile, lurking in marshes unknown, and sometimes uttering his oracles to the Royal Inyanga, or to the religious king himself. But it is odd to think of a gentleman from Pietermaritzburg, a churchwarden as well as Government official, being hailed as Chaka and the adoptive great ancestor of the reigning family, hence the "father" of King Ketchwhy to this day. Mr. Shepstone indeed confesses that he looked upon it, in 1861, as "a mere temporary expedient to show respect, and to conciliate the arrogance, which was then rampant, of the embodied regiments." It was not till after Panda's death, twelve years later, that this apparently "personal and unimportant matter, whose significance passed away with the occasion," grew into the portentous prerogative of Zulu King-maker.

A question may now occur to the ordinary English politician : Was it only Theophilus Shepstone personally that became in this manner, by what he sometimes calls "my own rank in Zulu Land," the reputed living fountain of Zulu Royalty? According to the

two messengers, Sidindi and Komesiwebu, sent in June, 1873, to conduct him from Pietermaritzburg, "by Zulu law, Mr. Shepstone represents Chaka, and is therefore in the place of Cetywayo's father." Be it so considered, if the Zulus please; but when did Her Majesty's Government undertake to personate Chaka? Neither from the Colonial Office at Westminster or the Queen in Council, nor from the High Commissioner of Her Majesty in South Africa, nor even from the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, came there any sign of assuming that paramount Imperial supremacy over the Zulu kingdom, which has but very recently been alleged. There is no proof whatever of its express acknowledgment by Ketchwhy, any more than by Panda. Sir T. Shepstone's theory of an implied acknowledgment must be tested by his own report, and other documents, showing under what circumstances the installation of the new King took place in 1873.

The Zulu princes and chiefs, Ketchwhy and those about him, sent towards the end of February a first message to the Governor of Natal, formally announcing Panda's death, with a present of four oxen, which they called "the King's head." They were in State mourning, and they expected neighbourly condolence. "The nation," said they, "has suddenly found itself

wandering it knows not whither; it wanders, and wanders, and wanders again, for its guide is no more. Although for many years the King was so ill that he could not move about, his spirit was still there, and by his words the nation was guided, and knew what to do; these have ceased, and none but children are left." Beautiful and affecting language, expressive of the filial affection which Panda's sons thought it decent to show, but not to be taken as a confession of political anarchy or incapacity! The Zulu government was still in the firm hands of Ketchwhy, as it had been since 1856. But they asked Mr. Shepstone, as he had been "chief witness" to Panda's will of 1861, and was a sort of appointed "father" or personal guardian of Panda's children, to come and perform the installation ceremony; "for he knows all about it." They desired also to be in closer unity with the Natal Government. In his answer to this message, the Lieutenant-Governor asked further explanations, but said not a word of claiming or consenting to exercise a superior prerogative over the Zulu Kingdom. A second message arrived on May 3rd, by which the Zulus sought to explain away the circumstance of their having also sent an announcement of the late King's death, with a complimentary gift of two oxen, to the President of the Transvaal

Republic. The statement on record as having been "read over" to these messengers, "and confirmed by them," was drawn up by Mr. Shepstone, and is not attested, like the former message, by several other Government officials. It contains the only express declaration of "the united will of the Zulu people," by whatever right these messengers could declare it; being "that their new King shall be the son of the British Government," whatever that might signify. The Lieutenant-Governor's reply, again, was simply that he and his Government had "no desire to interfere with any arrangement the nation may make with regard to the installation of the successor of the deceased King." A month later came the third message from Zulu Land, that of Sidindi and Komesiwebu above mentioned, who were to fetch Mr. Shepstone without delay. No idea was entertained, on either side, that Ketchwhyho might come to Natal, as a vassal would come to the residence of his feudal superior, to receive the investiture of his fief. Mr. Shepstone was desirous of being sent with a special embassy to Zulu Land. To procure this appointment, he wrote an argumentative memorandum, informing the Natal Government of the high rank and influence he possessed in the neighbouring kingdom, "without effort or merit on my part;" and urging that it was

a grand opportunity. The Zulu population in general would be impressed with a sense of British authority, and would become more estranged from the rival Dutch Government of the Transvaal. Sir Benjamin Pine was readily induced to listen to Mr. Shepstone's argument just then, because the complaints against Langalibalele's tribe was threatening to give some trouble, and it was thought politic to secure the neutrality of the Zulu King.

The Special Embassy was therefore sent into Zulu Land with a certain degree of pomp. The Natal Secretary for Native Affairs was accompanied by his eldest son, Mr. Henrique Shepstone, acting as his secretary, and by Major Durnford, R.E., Lieutenant Clarke, R.A., and Captain Boyes, of the 75th Regiment, with Mr. Behrens, Manager of the Natal Land Company, Mr. Cato, the Norwegian Consul, Bishop Schreuder, of the Norwegian Missionary Station at Etchowe, and a Hanoverian Superintendent Missionary. He had an escort of more than one hundred Natal Volunteers, including the Durban Artillery with two guns, and three hundred Natives ; and he carried a tent and flags and other paraphernalia for the ceremonial of the coronation, with gifts of breech-loading rifles and the articles most likely to please Ketchwhy's taste.

Before crossing the Tugela, Mr. Shepstone sent forward a message saying that he came "at the request of the Zulu nation, to carry out what the Government I represent looks upon as the will of the Zulus. If I learn," he added, "that this has been changed, my presence as Chief Witness will no longer be required, and I shall turn back." He also made a preliminary stipulation, that there should be no blood shed upon this occasion. This was because it had been customary, at the beginning of a new reign, to put to death numbers of persons denounced or suspected as unfriendly to the King who was to be proclaimed, after a public assembly called the Ukubuzana or grand questioning, where mutual accusations were freely interchanged. The acceptance of Mr. Shepstone's conditions was intimated to him by the return of his messengers on the road; and he was also informed that Ketchwhyu had already met the late king's Prime Minister, Masipula, with the head men of the kingdom, who had given him the royal salute. This appeared to Mr. Shepstone an unwarrantable encroachment upon his own privileged office as King-maker of the Zulu nation. He had now reason to suspect that Masipula, who was a Conservative Zulu statesman, averse to calling in the assistance of foreigners to instal a Zulu King, had perpetrated a

bold stroke of policy, intending to get "the services of the Natal Government declined, unless it consented to render them as avowedly secondary and non-essential."

It seems probable enough that this was the intention of Masipula ; and that Ketchwhyó himself would just as soon, but for the exigencies of his immediate situation, have got rid of the ostentatious British patronage he had borrowed to gild his royal title, having already the full reality of power. But Masipula died very suddenly within two days, upon which polite and courteous messages were exchanged ; Mr. Shepstone exacted and received an apology for the Zulus not having waited till his arrival to give the royal salute to their chosen king. He passed on into the valley of the White Umvolosi, the heart of the country, where he saw the historic sites of Umgungundlovu, the residence of Dingaan ; and Isirebe, founded by old Senzangacona, the sire of Chaka, whose last surviving widow, extremely aged, was still living there. Ketchwhyó did not come to Isirebe, as he had agreed, to meet the British envoy, but was at his military kraal of Umlambongwenya, near which the interview soon took place. "He is," according to Sir T. Shepstone, "a man of considerable ability, much force of character, and has a dignified manner ; in all my conver-

sations with him he was remarkably frank and straightforward, and he ranks in every respect far above any Native Chief I have ever had to do with." The whole afternoon was spent in earnest conversation between the two, especially upon the encroachments of the Transvaal Boers on Zulu territory, Ketchwhyu urging the Natal Government to take up his cause. Next day, Mr. Shepstone returned the King's visit, accompanied by Colonel Durnford and Mr. Henrique Shepstone, with the Native Indunas of Natal. The King and the Councillors of the Zulu nation, during five hours, conferred upon the future maintenance of a cordial and intimate friendship between their State and Natal; secondly, the enactment of new laws, to be proclaimed at this Coronation, for the security of every Zulu subject's life except those condemned by open trial for capital crimes, with appeal to the King; thirdly, the continued toleration of the missionaries in Zulu Land; and lastly, some accommodation for labourers of the Amatonga nation travelling through Zulu Land, on their way to employment in Natal. The great public assembly was held on the following day, and many thousands of people were congregated there, but it passed off without loss of life.

The installation or coronation of the new King was performed on Monday, the 1st of September, with as

much artificial solemnity and decorative splendour as Mr. Shepstone's party could furnish out of their portable stores, aided by Mr. John Dunn, a well-known English or Scotch resident among the Zulus, who is almost one of themselves. The tent was pitched in the centre of the Royal Military Kraal, and was decorated with flags, shawls and coloured blankets; on a table there stood a looking-glass, with the fancy head-dress designed for a royal crown after the Zulu fashion. A chair of state was placed for his Majesty; on this lay a scarlet and gold mantle with which he was to be invested, and with the crown or cap, by Mr. Shepstone's hands. All which, says that gentleman, "presented a very tasteful appearance." To the right hand were arrayed the Artillery, Mounted Volunteers, and band of the Maritzburg Rifles; to the left, Mr. Shepstone's native followers. The Zulu Prince, whom he was going to make a King, stood with the Zulu nobles and councillors of state in front of the marquee. A martial host of eight or ten thousand Zulu warriors, mostly young men, kept in strict order by their officers continually beating them with sticks, formed three-fourths of a circle at fifty yards distance.

When Ketchwhyho had received the English gifts, and had examined the breechloaders with due gratifi-

cation, Mr. Shepstone, or "Somtseu," as the Zulus call him, if we should not rather here call him "Chaka," solemnly read a paper of nine questions; to each of which the assembly responded with "audible and hearty assent."

They were as follows:—

"Have not I entered Zulu Land at the request of the Zulu nation, to instal their new King?" (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

"Have not I been requested to come because I was the chief witness to his nomination by his father at Nodwengu?"

"Is not Cetywayo the son that was then nominated, and is it not he whom the Zulus now wish me to instal?"

"Have not you requested me to proclaim new laws, to be administered under the new King, by means of which you hope that the new King will reign peaceably over a contented people and a prosperous country?" (Cheers.) "So say you all?" (Renewed cheering.)

"Have not we agreed, that the life of a man or woman, high or low, is the property of the Country, and that the King has vested in him that property on behalf of the Country?"

"Have not we agreed, that for any man to take life, without the previous knowledge and consent of

the King, is to take that which belongs to the Country, without the Country's consent?"

"Have not we agreed, that every man ought to be allowed to answer for himself before his immediate Head, and if he wishes before the King, any charges brought against him; and that he ought not to be condemned finally before he has had an opportunity of so doing?"

"Have not we agreed, that the punishment of death for every crime destroys a people?"

"Do not I stand here in the place of Cetywayo's father, and so representing the Nation?"

To all these questions, there was a general vehement assent. The doctrine set forth or implied by them, as it appears to me, did not go far to lessen the King's despotic power over the lives of all his subjects. It only forbade the subordinate chiefs to exercise such power, and it was doubtless entirely in accordance with the mind of his Zulu Majesty. But the Magna Charta of that barbarous nation was now to be proclaimed. Sir T. Shepstone remarks, aside, that he had only expected to have to deliver "something in the nature of an ordination sermon, or Bishop's charge to candidates for confirmation;" merely an impressive lesson to influence the conscience of his royal *protégé*, it was hoped, during his future life and reign. But

he now found himself, or imagined himself, invested with the power of fundamental legislation; so he went on to say,

“ I proclaim therefore,

“ 1st. That the indiscriminate shedding of blood shall cease in the land.

“ 2nd. That no Zulu shall be condemned without open trial, and the public examination of witnesses for and against, and that he shall have a right to appeal to the King.

“ 3rd. That no Zulu's life shall be taken without the previous knowledge and consent of the King, after such trial has taken place, and the right of appeal has been allowed to be exercised.

“ 4th. That for minor crimes, the loss of property, all or a portion, shall be substituted for the punishment of death.”

Now, it will probably occur to my readers that, however just and humane is the obvious intention of these rules, they would still leave to an absolute monarch the sole disposal, as trustee “ on behalf of the Country,” of the lives of the people. The only comment which Ketchwhy's Councillors of State thought it needful to make was, that many persons were put to death in Zulu Land for witchcraft, and their accusers were sometimes witch-doctors who

came from Natal. Mr. Shepstone in reply assured them that in Natal those mischievous impostors were punished by the English Government, which did not believe in witchcraft. But so long as the Zulus do believe in it, they persist in listening to the witch-doctors, and it seems to them, no doubt, as to our ancestors in merry England of the olden time, a pious and charitable custom to hunt up suspected wizards and put them to death. No conclusive result was attained or even approached upon this important question of Zulu criminal law.

The ceremonial was then performed, Mr. Shepstone first leading Ketchwhy into the tent, where he was secluded from public view. The chair or throne was set upon a carpet outside. The King-maker privately dressed up the King in his scarlet mantle and splendid head-gear, then led him forth amidst popular acclamations, and seated him upon the chair. A salute was fired by the guns from Durban; the band struck up, and the Zulu soldiery rattled their knobkerries on their shields, rather frightening the horses of the dismounted Natal Volunteers. Heralds went round shouting a proclamation for all the vast multitude to hear, while "Somtseu" made a brief concluding speech to the King, his brothers, and his councillors, and to the other peers of the realm. He afterwards paid

a complimentary visit to the King's sisters, but we are not told anything about those high-born ladies. Ketchwhy was on very good terms with his brother Uhamu, and there is ground for believing that fratricide has in these days ceased to be an established custom of the Zulu royal family. The farewell visit of Mr. Shepstone to his Majesty next day was equally satisfactory; tusks of ivory and some oxen were given, with Ketchwhy's best thanks for the service rendered him upon this signal occasion. The expedition speedily and safely returned to Natal.

Its political results on the whole do not appear so very important as the Natal Government of that date imagined. The Secretary for Native Affairs left Ketchwhy with the understanding simply that "the relations which had subsisted in Panda's time between Natal and the Zulus should continue," but that they would be "more intimate and cordial." There was never any formal or written treaty between them; Mr. Shepstone and Sir Benjamin Pine thought it inexpedient to make one. Ketchwhy wanted an offensive and defensive alliance, and offered them the services of his army. They told him that, when they wanted it, they would send for it, but they must form their own judgment as to his quarrels. He regretted that Christian missionaries had been allowed by his

father to settle in the country. They were good men, he said, and their doctrine might be good for white people, but not for Zulus. He thought a Zulu converted was a Zulu spoiled, and he wished the Christian teachers would depart in peace. As for the passage of foreign labourers through his country on the road to Natal, he consented to allow it, under the care of Mr. John Dunn, who has since been paid £300 a year for this service by the Natal Government. It is, however, alleged that the importation of fire-arms into Zulu Land from Delagoa Bay has derived great facilities from the system of industrial immigration along the coast route. So there was not much substantial advantage got after all by the Special Embassy of 1873. Lord Carnarvon refrained at the time from expressing any decided opinion as to its policy. We shall see what it seemed to be worth the other day in the eyes of Sir Bartle Frere. The singular career of Sir Theophilus Shepstone had yet another phase of surprising action, to be related in my next chapter. He was reputed to have made a King—who has become our most formidable enemy. He next unmade a Republic—whose aggrieved citizens refuse to be our friends.

## CHAPTER XII.

### OUR ANNEXATION OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Queen Victoria recognised the independence of the Republic in 1852.—  
Different character of the Lydenberg district.—English at the Gold-  
fields.—The frontier.—Our Foreign Office and our Colonial Office.  
—The South African Confederation scheme.—Official prejudice and  
fault-finding.—Secocooni.—President Burgers.—Mismanagement of  
the war.—Outcry against the Republic.—Lord Carnarvon decrees  
its downfall.—The Republic finishes its war.—Libels against its  
foreign soldiers.—Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexes the Transvaal.

FAR away there behind the mountain ranges, to the north-west of Natal and Zulu Land, extends the vast upland plain of the Transvaal, a country measuring about 400 miles each way, adjoining the Orange River Free State, and resembling this in the character and history of its Dutch population. They were sister Republics, which had been formed, the one in 1852, the other in 1854, by express conventions made on the part of the British Government with “the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River,” in the former case, and “the inhabitants of the Orange River territory,” in the latter. Her Majesty the Queen thereby solemnly promised “in the fullest manner to gua-

rantee their future independence, and the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves by their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government." Her Majesty also disclaimed thenceforth "all alliances whatever, and with whomsoever, of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River ;" and she pledged her word "that no encroachment shall be made by her Government on the territory beyond." The delegates of the Transvaal Boers, on their part, undertook that no slavery should be permitted or practised in their country. All the other articles of the convention were merely the ordinary rules of mutual civility and administrative convenience between neighbouring independent nations ; as with reference to liberty for traders and other travellers passing to and fro, the extradition of fugitive criminals, the validity of marriage certificates, and the right of any citizens of the one State to sue for justice in law-courts of the other.

It is impossible for any state to possess a more complete and definitive formal recognition of its political independence, than that which was voluntarily and unconditionally bestowed on the Transvaal Republic in 1852, by Queen Victoria ; her Minister of State for the Colonies, now Lord Hampton, having sanctioned the act performed by Sir George Cathcart, as High

Commissioner in South Africa, in ratifying this convention, which had been drawn up at a meeting of the Assistant Commissioners with Andries Pretorius and other Dutchmen on the 17th of January in that year. A similar course was adopted two years afterwards by the abandonment and renunciation of British dominion over the territory situated between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. I happened to be present, as was related in my volume of "Camp Life and Sport in South Africa," with the military escort that accompanied Sir George Clerk, the Special Commissioner of her Majesty's Government, in April, 1854, when he was at Bloemfontein to arrange the business of that cession. The Orange River Free State, which I thus saw ushered into the world, is living and reported to be thriving pretty fairly after a quarter of a century from its birth. The Transvaal Republic, which some time afterwards assumed the name of "The South African Republic," has not been so fortunate; but its constitution was fully as legitimate, if there be any international law out of Europe, and was equally countenanced by the absolute assurances of our own Government.

The Transvaal Dutch Commonwealth, till about two years ago, had a government of its own, in form very like that of the Orange River Free State; with a State

President, elected for a term of five years; an Executive Council, which consisted of the State Secretary and three other councillors; and a Volksraad, or Legislative Council, to which forty-two members were returned by thirteen electoral districts. It had a State revenue of £72,000, sufficing for its ordinary expenditure, but its finances had been thrown into confusion by the events which are here to be related. The European population was scanty for so large a territory; but it was almost twice the number of Europeans that there are in Natal. The Kaffir population was chiefly to be found in those northern and eastern parts of the country, where the Oliphant and other rivers flow to join the Limpopo, which have proved unhealthy for European residents. Some of those districts, being comparatively well watered, well wooded, and well grassed, were occupied by the Boers for a time as agricultural settlements, but were abandoned because of the climate, which is bad for horses as well as for white men. They were also found too distant from roads and markets. The more elevated and level tract of country, almost bare of trees, and having a deficient supply of water, though with a pretty good soil, which lies south of the 25th parallel of latitude, is called the Hooge Veldt, or High Field. It is here that the Boers have their large grazing

farms, seldom less than 6,000 acres for each, on which they rear big herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, with horses, goats, and swine, but grow no crops for sale. The towns of Pretoria, Potchefstrom, Klerksdorp, and Rustenburg are situated in this more salubrious and accessible zone of territory between the Vaal and the Magaliesberg, or upon the slopes of that central range, which divides the streams flowing into the Vaal and Orange from those descending northward to the Limpopo. The lower region of deep valleys, ravines, and forests, called the Bush Veldt, is partly used by the Boers for winter pasturage, driving their cattle thither to graze during four months only of the year. But this region is much overrun or inhabited by several Kaffir tribes, who do not usually make their appearance in the great open plains of the Hooge Veldt.

It is needful to observe such natural differences, as I remarked in my first chapter, because they account for much of the social condition and history of colonial territories. In general, therefore, the Dutch people of the Transvaal dwelt, as they do now, in the central and western districts, leaving the parts about Lydenberg comparatively deserted, till the gold-fields of Pilgrim's Rest and Macmac, some forty miles beyond Lydenberg town, attracted a few hundred English and Scotch diggers. Lydenberg, however, was an

integral portion of the Republican territory, having been peacefully occupied by the Boers in 1854, and formally incorporated with the Transvaal State in 1859 ; but they had retired from the farms and villages, such as Origstadt, which were found unsuitable for their residence.

All that territory of Lydenberg, the north-east quarter of the Transvaal, was held by its Government in virtue of treaties which the Dutch Boers had concluded in 1846 with the King of the Swazies or Amaswazi, and in 1857 with Sequati, the Chief of a Basuto tribe, here called the "Bapedi," which has settled in the Zulu mountain country between the Steelpoort and the Oliphant rivers. These two Kaffir nations, the Swazies to the east along the Drakensberg and continuing northward ranges, and the Bapedi to the north-west in the rugged highlands overlooking the Steelpoort, were those with whom the Dutchmen had to deal. They bought a title to the Lydenberg territory from its native claimants on both sides, for which they paid only a hundred oxen or some such nominal price, as the land was not actually occupied by the natives.

The convention of 1852, by which the political independence of the Transvaal was recognised, had not said a word about restricting this Free State from

any further extension of its territory, northwest or northeast, which its own Legislature might think desirable. It had only bound our own Government to make no encroachment on the vast outer spaces beyond the Transvaal dominion, and to contract no alliance with the native tribes which the Transvaal Republic might have to encounter there. Hence there was no objection raised on our part, twenty years ago, to the peaceable Dutch acquisition of this country which they have named Lydenberg. Its eastern limit touched that of the Portuguese territory attached to Delagoa Bay, and was the subject of a treaty with Portugal which was published in 1871, and of which our Foreign Office might have known. But if indeed we had treated the independent South African Republic, from 1852 to 1877, as our Foreign Office is wont to behave towards similar independent States, the Transvaal would be as free as Switzerland or Holland to the present day. We know quite well how careful is a Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whether it be Lord Granville, or Lord Derby, or Lord Salisbury, if he has occasion for remonstrance with the smallest Mohammedan potentate in Asia, or the pettiest Spanish American Republic; he respects the unquestionable right of self-government. It is well that the wholesome influence of Great Britain should be exerted

with downright frankness and plainness of speech, in rebuking or warning the less enlightened foreign communities ; but "the comity of nations" is the best security for peace, next to strict equity in all international affairs ; and this seems to enjoin that we should allow our neighbour to be master of his own household. The British Foreign Office usually proceeds upon that fair assumption, and it sends to the abode of every foreign nation a diplomatic or consular representative, an English gentleman of high character, who can be trusted to give truthful reports of passing events. There is no class of public servants who can do, in a quiet unobtrusive way, so much real good to mankind as the British Consuls residing in out-of-the-way countries, in corrupt despotic States, or among semi-barbarous populations ; witness such admirable examples as the late Mr. James Finn of Jerusalem, the late Consul Barker at Aleppo, and several others who could be named. And why not have sent a Consul to King Ketchwhy? I may be permitted to add that retired military men are often well qualified for posts in the Consular service, but that there ought to be a more liberal scale of pecuniary allowances and salaries for living in a sort of exile, and sometimes in a bad climate, with so much anxious and harassing work to do.

Returning from this consular digression, let me remark that the Colonial Office does not and cannot behave so fairly towards independent States, whether inhabited by people of European race or by native Africans or Asiatics, as the Foreign Office does. The Colonial Office has no traditional principles of equity and courtesy and "the comity of nations." It has no idea of dealing with other Powers as its equals in rank. It is often seduced from rectitude by schemes of rounding off and consolidating its troublesome provincial dominions, and so rendering their administration, especially for military defences, more compact and easy. It has no diplomatic or consular agents residing among the nations that dwell nearest to our colonies; it has no trustworthy eyes and ears sent abroad to learn what is going on, and so it becomes the dupe of every gossiping or mendacious traveller, every rejected missionary, every disappointed trader, who has an idle tale to tell when he crosses the Border. That is the way in which the British public is so frequently drawn into costly, inglorious, unprofitable wars all round the great Continents where our busy countrymen have settled for commercial or agricultural industry. See how the Ashantee war, for instance, was engendered from a Colonial mess on the Gold Coast; and reflect upon the necessary

inconveniences of this anomalous system! Its effects seem not less deplorable in those cases where, under the shelter of contiguous provincial administrations having little common understanding or sympathy, intriguers and plotters for their own self-interested objects may successfully conspire to undermine a neighbouring foreign State, practising on English credulity with mischievous fictions, by which even the Colonial Office and its Governors or High Commissioners are sometimes deceived. The Foreign Office, let me once more say, could not be so readily abused.

Four or five years ago, the Earl of Carnarvon having succeeded Lord Kimberley as Secretary of State, the scheme of a South African Confederation, to embrace all the different British Colonies and provinces, the two Dutch Republics, and the Kaffir Protectorates, found much favour in the official mind. It was an attempt to imitate the newly-created Dominion of Canada, which is supposed to have bound together all the widely distant provinces of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore. There was to be a similar political union of all that lay between Table Bay and Port Natal and so much of the interior as could be swallowed by the imaginative appetite of territorial aggrandise-

ment in the name of advancing civilisation. But the Colonial Office, and the "Royal Colonial Institute," a society of amateur politicians and statisticians which debates these big questions after dinner at a restaurant in Regent Street, had reckoned without their host. Lord Carnarvon, through Governor Sir Henry Barkly, in May, 1875, somewhat pedantically requested the Cape colonists to arrange for the establishment of the South African Confederation. His Lordship appointed a representative Conference from the several provinces in order to frame its Constitution, and he was so kind as even to nominate or recommend the persons who should represent the Cape Colony. Now, the Capetown Legislature, which deems its parliamentary authority as valid and substantial, within due limits, as that of our House of Commons, did not like this kind of dictation from Downing Street. The old Cape colonists, moreover, especially in the Western provinces, did not think it expedient for their country, which has no trouble with Kaffirs or danger of any, to take upon itself the joint risk, cost, and responsibility of guarding a thousand miles of remote frontiers, as far as the Tugela and the Pongolo, and half-way to the Equator in the unsettled interior region. So they rejected Lord Carnarvon's proposal; and so did both the

Dutch independent States, which would have doubtless been glad of a Customs' Union or Commercial Treaty on fair terms, but were not at all inclined to come again under British rule. Lord Carnarvon, with more zeal than discretion, persisting in his unacceptable project, sent Mr. J. A. Froude, the popular historian, to make speeches in every town of the Colony, advocating the Confederation scheme, in opposition to the decision of its Legislature. The Colonists, again, disliked this pretension of British statesmanship to teach them what was good for them ; a second invitation to a Conference, in 1876, was not less abortive ; only Natal, as might have been expected, would hear of casting in part and lot with all the other provinces. The Transvaal Free State, which in those days, unhappily for its own welfare and safety, was animated by a vain-glorious spirit, hoisting its flag, coining its small sum of gold, and styling itself "South African Republic," would least of all consent to merge its political existence in the projected imperial system. Nor indeed was its sister Dutch commonwealth, the Orange River Free State, then or since then disposed to commit such an act of "happy despatch" upon its own corporation ; but in this case another element of local interest has demanded and obtained satisfaction, in the price

which England had to pay for the arbitrary annexation of the Diamond Fields, now called West Griqua Land. The Transvaal Republic, however, thus came into bad odour among British official persons connected with "the Cape," and an influential part of the English colonial newspaper press. It was stopping the chariot of Empire on the high-road of a South African Dominion.

The correspondence of Sir Henry Barkly with his Secretary of State in London, on the one hand, and with the Administrator, Mr. R. Southey, of West Griqua Land, on the other, in 1875 and 1876, betrays a vehement prejudice, a restless fault-finding and tale-bearing spirit, against the Boers' Government of the Transvaal. Everything they do, and some things which they never did, are made grounds of censorious animadversion, and construed in the worst possible light. Their president, Mr. Thomas Francis Burgers, was certainly then doing many foolish acts, wasting the very limited financial resources of his country, and pawning its credit in Europe for loans upon extravagant terms, and for railway contracts which are not likely to be carried out. But the topics of our High Commissioner's incessant commentary were, of course, such as might be supposed to have some contingent bearing on the interests of our Colonial

Dominion, or upon the condition and treatment of the Kaffir race. He took notice, for example, of the laws in the Transvaal concerning the host of native labourers from the north-east, Swazies, Tongas, Zulus, and Bapedi, who were passing down through that country, since 1873, to work at the Diamond Fields—and to buy guns at Kimberley with the wages that white men paid them. The Dutch Government had taken alarm betimes at this perilous incursion of savage men traversing four or five hundred miles across the length and breadth of its territory. A passport was exacted, with a fee of £1, from each Kaffir tramp entering the country; and what was more, compulsory service for three months within the Transvaal State. This last mentioned imposition may seem to be a harsh one: but it was really intended as a check upon the most dangerous kind of vagabondism in a thinly peopled country, where the farmhouses stand often six or eight miles apart. Now, Sir Henry Barkly took some pains to convince our Government that this amounted to “a system of *quasi* slavery, and in direct conflict with the Convention of 1852;” from which it would follow that the Transvaal Republic had forfeited its right to political existence. The law above described had been in force nearly two years past; but it was proposed in the Volksraad, in

November, 1874, to augment the passport tax, and this debate, though at the President's earnest desire the Volksraad took a more lenient and liberal course, gave occasion to our Governor's officious complaint. There were some complaints less inopportune, but not such as to justify a hostile attitude towards the Republic. A party of French Protestant missionaries, with their native converts from Basuto Land, which is a British protectorate, had in going through the Transvaal been stopped because they had not the required passes and the licences for their guns. The Boers had committed trespasses on the lands of some of the western chiefs, Lopengula, King of the Matabele, or Montsioa of the Barolongs, or Gassibone Botlasitse of the Batlapins, and had transgressed the award made by the late Mr. Keate which defined their southern boundary. Or a Mr. Hampden Smithers, dwelling some years past among the Dutchmen, was aggrieved by the seizure of a yoke of oxen, in compliance with the law, for the public military service. These grave charges were already rife at Cape Town, where Her Majesty's representative, fifteen hundred miles distant, condemned the foreign State which he never saw; but a different cause of anxiety concerning the Transvaal Government arose from its dispute with Ketchwhy and the Zulu Kingdom.

On this side of South Africa, however, the conduct of our affairs was in the hands of Sir Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, whose official correspondence is more agreeable to read than that of Sir Henry Barkly at the Cape. The year 1876 began with symptoms of growing hostility between the Zulus and the Boers, which had probably been kept at rest so long as the Boers hoped to patronise King Ketch-whyo like his father Panda. There was a standing rivalry, as Sir Theophilus Shepstone knew, between the English and the Dutch Governments, regarding the opportunities of exerting political influence over the formidable Zulu Kingdom. Sir Theophilus had won the game, as it then appeared, by his ostentatious performance of the coronation ceremony. The Dutchmen at Pretoria thereupon resumed, not very wisely or seasonably, but in a resentful temper, their controversy with the Zulus upon two old subjects of dispute. These were, in the first place, the alleged claim of the Zulu Kingdom to an imperial supremacy over the Swazies, whom the Transvaal Republic had taken under its protection; and secondly, the Zulu boundary as affected by a former cession of territory, in Panda's reign, on the borders of the Utrecht district, which is nearest to our province of Natal. The latter question has been of greater importance at

the present crisis, as it has led to our war with Ketchwhy in these days. But it was the former, the disputed supremacy over the Swazies, that two years ago threatened to disturb peaceful relations between Zulu Land and the Transvaal.

This affair had long been studied by the Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal. He had, in April, 1874, assisted Sir Benjamin Pine to lay before Her Majesty's Government the state of affairs on the Transvaal border. In 1876, he was in England, conferring much with Lord Carnarvon ; while President Burgers, having returned from his visit of Europe, was getting the Republic into new difficulties upon the other side, that of the Bapedi, whose chief was the redoubtable Secocooni, the son of Sequati, occupying an impregnable mountain fastness to the north-west of Lydenberg. Sir Henry Bulwer, in the meantime, had done his best to preserve tranquillity in Zulu Land, and to dissuade the Boers from provoking hostilities with Ketchwhy, which Sir T. Shepstone thought they did not seriously mean to do.

What they really did, in June of that year, under the direction of Mr. Burgers, was to engage in a most arduous war against Secocooni, to punish him for cattle raids of the Bapedi in the Lydenberg district. It was Mr. Shepstone's opinion that Secocooni was set

on by Ketchwhyto to harass the Boers, on account of their dispute with the Zulu kingdom. The Boers relied upon the active help of the Swazies, a fierce and warlike race, who were to do the worst of the fighting for them. It was mountain warfare, scrambling up rocky heights and storming the native strongholds, which never suited the Dutchmen ; they prefer keeping with their horses and waggons on the open plain. They were not at all ashamed to look on, and let the Swazies alone make the attack. Before the arrival, indeed, of those savage allies, the burgher troops had stormed two or three fortified kraals of the chiefs in alliance with Secocooni. The Swazies came in July, to the number of 2,400, joining a small Dutch force under Commandant Coetze, and on the 14th attacked a strong place on the Speckboom, which Johannes, the brother of Secocooni, held with some 200 men. While the Dutch commander waited below, the savage allies rushed up, fought their way in, and then behaved like savages, killing not only men, but the wives and children of Johannes. That chief, who had been half converted to Christianity, died of his wounds a few days afterwards ; the place had not been thoroughly captured, as the Swazies withdrew very soon when they saw the Dutchmen were not coming up. This was the way in which the war continued to go on ;

the Swazies committed atrocities, while they performed active services; the Boer commanders in general did nothing, good or bad. In fact, the farmers generally disliked the campaign, and wanted to go home to attend to their private affairs; their oxen and horses, which they had been obliged to bring out, were dying fast of the diseases peculiar to that district in the season. They did not care much about conquering Secocooni if they could; and they perceived that the eloquent Mr. Burgers, who had been bred a clergyman, was no fit leader of such an expedition. The President's self-conceit was equal to any rash enterprise; on the 2nd of August, he attempted with 1,400 men to take by assault the tremendous natural fortress of Secocooni. It is described as a triangular enclosure of camel-thorn hedges backed with thick stone walls, occupying a sort of platform at the head of a ravine between precipitous cliffs; and the two paths or lanes of approach were barricaded with stone, and commanded on each side by a series of walled passages, with many compartments resembling pews along the aisles of a church. The Dutchmen, except a very few, refused to attempt the assault when they got near enough to see what sort of a job it was. Her Majesty's 13th Regiment, aided by 300 of the Frontier Light Horse, under the command of Colonel Rowlands,

have since failed to capture this identical Kaffir stronghold, and had to retire after vainly beleaguering it for many weeks. This may be some excuse for the Boers, who were so disgusted with the folly of their President that they at once broke up the army, took their waggons and cattle, and drove home. Mr. Burgers was frantic with shame and grief, begging everybody to kill him on the spot ; then halting at the Steelpoort, in his retreat, to construct a new fort called by his name, he sent a hurried despatch to the Landrost of Lydenberg, asking supplies and reinforcements, but in such incoherent terms as to alarm the people of that town. The enemy had not made the slightest attempt to pursue the retiring army, nor was the country really in much danger of being overrun by the Kaffirs then, or at any time ; the Boers could and would have encountered them with success in the open field, though unable to capture their fortified mountain positions. Fort Burgers, on the Steelpoort, was afterwards garrisoned by the Lydenberg Volunteer Corps, who held it five months, effectually shutting up the enemy's outlet from the highlands, and protecting Lydenberg on the west side.

But the temporary confusion of councils in the Transvaal Government, when the President lost his head, not by decapitation, but through distraction and

dismay, was an opportunity not to be neglected by its political ill-wishers. The cry of public ruin and impending destruction only to be averted by a revolution was instantly raised, but not by Dutch voices ; it was heard in the English language alone. It came from the little coterie of the gold-fields adventurers and of Lydenberg, not above 500 souls in all, who had a newspaper published among them, and correspondence with other colonial papers, as at Kimberley in the diamond fields, and thereby with Capetown journals. The reports were unauthenticated, fragmentary, and desultory ; they grossly distorted the facts which had occurred, and they narrated, as given by some anonymous informants, many things of which no evidence was ever produced. Such anecdotes were collected with eagerness at Capetown, 1,500 miles away, to feed the policy of supplanting the Transvaal Government. It might have been well for the Governor of our Cape Colony to have ordered a personal inquiry, sending a competent man to Pretoria and Lydenberg for the purpose of ascertaining the truth. It was hardly so well to communicate every item of that mischievous back-country newspaper gossip to Her Majesty's Secretary of State in London. If the other Secretary of State, at the Foreign Office, had possessed the advantage of a consular representative in the Transvaal,

no great harm would have been done. But the Colonial Office, as I remarked, is too often thus misled by the want of accurate information beyond colonial frontiers.

The effect upon this occasion was marked by Lord Carnarvon's despatch of September 22nd to Sir Henry Barkly, setting forth his opinion that the Transvaal Republic should be "united with the British Colonies;" that it would no longer be expedient to co-operate with that Government "as a separate State," and that if the Transvaal people would like to be taken under Her Majesty's Government, it was a thing to be done. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was on that same day appointed Special Commissioner to the Transvaal, and was ordered to return to Africa "with large discretionary powers to act in such manner as he may deem in accordance with British interests, and with the general policy of Her Majesty's Government." A writ of annexation, to be served by him on an independent Free State about six months later, was that day put into his pocket in Downing Street!

Meantime, how did it fare in Africa with the people of the Transvaal? The war came to a pause after the defeat of their attack on Secocooni's stronghold on the 2nd of August. Active operations were renewed in the middle of November by the newly created