

ruary, 1854, Sir George Clerk made over to them the Government of the country, in a Convention which was legally carried out by a Royal Order in Council on the 8th of April, 1854. The terms of the Convention were as follows :—

“ 1. Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner, in entering into a Convention for finally transferring the government of the Orange River Territory to the representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it, guarantees, on the part of Her Majesty’s Government, the future independence of that country and its government ; and that after the necessary preliminary arrangements for making over the same between Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner and the said representatives shall have been completed, the inhabitants of the country shall then be free ; and that this independence shall, without unnecessary delay, be confirmed and ratified by an instrument, promulgated in such form and substance as Her Majesty may approve, finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them, to all intents and purposes, a free and independent people, and their Government to be treated and considered thenceforth as a free and independent Government.

“ 2. The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok ; and Her Majesty’s Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government.

“ 3. With regard to the treaty existing between the British Government and the chief, Captain Adam Kok, some modification of it is indispensable. Contrary to the provisions of that treaty, the sale of lands in the inalienable territory has been of frequent occurrence, and the principal object of the treaty thus disregarded. Her Majesty’s Government, therefore, intends to remove all restrictions preventing Grikwas from selling their lands ; and measures are in progress for the purpose of affording every facility for such transactions—the chief, Adam Kok, having, for himself, concurred in and sanctioned the same. And with regard to those further alterations arising out of the proposed revision of relations with Captain Adam Kok, in con-

sequence of the aforesaid sales of land having from time to time been effected in the inalienable territory, contrary to the stipulations of the Maitland Treaty, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, personally, without any unnecessary loss of time, to establish the affairs in Griqualand on a footing suitable to the just expectations of all parties.

" 4. After the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Government from the Orange River Territory, the new Orange River Government shall not permit any vexatious proceedings towards those of Her Majesty's present subjects remaining within the Orange River Territory who may heretofore have been acting under the authority of Her Majesty's Government, for or on account of any acts lawfully done by them—that is, under the law as it existed during the occupation of the Orange River Territory by the British Government. Such persons shall be considered to be guaranteed in the possession of their estates by the new Orange River Government.

" Also, with regard to those of Her Majesty's present subjects who may prefer to return under the dominion and authority of Her Majesty to remaining where they now are, as subjects of the Orange River Government, such persons shall enjoy full right and facility for the transfer of their properties, should they desire to leave the country under the Orange River Government, at any subsequent period within three years from the date of this Convention.

" 5. Her Majesty's Government and the Orange River Government shall, within their respective territories, mutually use every exertion for the suppression of crime, and keeping the peace, by apprehending and delivering up all criminals who may have escaped or fled from justice either way across the Orange River; and the courts, as well the British as those of the Orange River Government, shall be mutually open and available to the inhabitants of both territories for all lawful processes. And all summonses for witnesses, directed either way across the Orange River, shall be countersigned by the magistrates of both Governments respectively, to compel the attendance of such witnesses when and where they may be required, thus affording to the community north of the Orange

River every assistance from the British courts, and giving, on the other hand, assurance to such colonial merchants and traders as have naturally entered into credit transactions in the Orange River Territory during its occupation by the British Government, and to whom, in many cases, debts may be owing, every facility for the recovery of just claims in the courts of the Orange River Government. And Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend the adoption of the like reciprocal privileges by the Government of Natal in its relations with the Orange River Government.

“6. Certificates issued by the proper authorities, as well in the Colonies and Possessions of Her Majesty as in the Orange River Territory, shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle heirs of lawful marriages, and legatees, to receive portions and legacies accruing to them respectively, either within the jurisdiction of the British or Orange River Government.

“7. The Orange River Government shall, as hitherto, permit no slavery, or trade in slaves, in their territory north of the Orange River.

“8. The Orange River Government shall have freedom to purchase their supplies of ammunition in any British colony or possession in South Africa, subject to the laws provided for the regulation of the sale and transit of ammunition in such colonies and possessions; and Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend to the Colonial Government that privileges of a liberal character, in connection with import duties generally, be granted to the Orange River Government, as measures in regard to which it is entitled to be treated with every indulgence, in consideration of its peculiar position and distance from the seaports.

“9. In order to promote mutual facilities and liberty to traders and travellers, as well in the British possessions as in those of the Orange River Government, and it being the earnest wish of Her Majesty's Government that a friendly intercourse between these territories should at all times subsist, and be promoted by every possible arrangement, a consul or agent of the British Government, whose especial attention shall be directed to the promotion of these desirable objects, will be

stationed within the colony, near to the frontier, to whom access at all times may readily be had by the inhabitants on both sides of the Orange River, for advice and information, as circumstances may require."

Immediately after the promulgation of this Convention, a provisional Government was organized, consisting of the following Boers:—J. P. Hofman, President; A. Standers, Groenendal, Du Plooy, Sinde, J. Ventey, and Du Fort, members; who issued a circular announcing the good news to their fellow Burghers, and then drew up a Republican constitution, vesting the power in a Volksraad and State President. The first troubles of the new Government were in connection with the Griquas and Basutos. The former denied the right of the Orange Free State to their District; but it was found, on inquiry, that all lands sold by Griquas to white people would, in virtue of an arrangement made with the Special Commissioner, come under the Free State Government. Thus, as most of the Griquas continued to sell their lands unknown to the chiefs, at last they were completely supplanted, and their country was divided into Districts and governed and taxed by Free State officials. Against these proceedings, the Griquas appealed to the Governor, who, on referring the question home, was instructed to find some other suitable place for their location, and move those who desired it. This was done by obtaining a suitable tract of country between the Umzunkulu and Umzimvubu Rivers, between Natal and the Cape Colony, into which they afterwards moved in 1860; and their settlement, "Nomansland," now Griqualand East, was subsequently annexed to the Cape in 1875.

The difficulty with Moshesh was much greater, and arose about the boundary line, which had previously been arranged by Major Warden, so as to leave the white men where they were, and the natives where they were. This agreement was declared by Moshesh to be no longer binding when the English left the country; and he therefore claimed paramount rights over all the neighbouring Districts. Sir G. Grey succeeded in averting war until 1858, when hostilities broke out. Peace, however, was quickly made up again by Sir George's arbitration.

But the aggressions of the Basuto State increased and led to another war in 1864; and to yet another in 1866, when, after eleven months' severe fighting, Moshesh was beaten, sued for peace, and ceded a large portion of the disputed country to the Burghers. The murder of a trader by the Basutos in 1867 again led to renewed hostilities, which lasted until the 12th of March, 1868. Sir P. Wodehouse had tendered his services to arrange a peace; a proposal which the Burghers were not at all anxious to accept, as they then had Moshesh at their feet, and resolved entirely to crush him and his people, so as to prevent their arising again in the future. Sir P. Wodehouse then acceded to Moshesh's repeated requests for the Basutos to be allowed to come under the British flag; and he proclaimed them British subjects, just as the Burgher commander had penetrated close to Moshesh's chief stronghold, Thaba Bossigo having everywhere been victorious in their advance. This somewhat annoyed the Free State, as they regarded Sir P. Wodehouse's action as a breach of the Convention of 1854, and the Volksraad sent a deputation to the English to protest against this step. Kindly, but firmly, they were distinctly told that the step was not taken out of any hostility to their State, but purely for the future benefit of South Africa. A definite boundary line was then agreed to between all parties and confirmed by the Convention of Aliwal North, entered into on the 12th of March, 1869; and it has remained as then settled ever since.

There was only one other source of trouble after this time, which arose through grants of farms, in the Griqua territory of the chief, Waterboer, having been conceded by the British Resident, in 1848-52, at Bloemfontein, to any European applying for them—he not having then any knowledge of Waterboer's claim thereto. After the relinquishment of the country by the British, Waterboer complained to the Free State Government; and the matter would doubtless have been easily settled, had not diamonds been discovered all over his District. Thousands of adventurers and diggers from all parts of the world at once rushed in. The Free State then sent a magistrate over the District which it claimed, and the Transvaal

Republic did the same with regard to those parts north of the Vaal River. Waterboer himself then reasserted his rights, claimed the protection of the English Government, and ceded his District to the Government, who proclaimed it British territory on October 27, 1871, as the province of Griqualand West, and appointed officials to carry on the government, reserving the question of the settlement of boundaries to be determined by arbitration. To this the Free State objected; but in 1876 the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Carnarvon, invited President Brand to visit England to settle the dispute personally; and the result thereof was the payment of £90,000 by Her Majesty's Government as settlement in full of all claims. As an additional proof of good friendship towards the Free State a further sum of £15,000 was offered towards the construction of railways in that territory. The good understanding then come to between the two Governments was productive of much good at the time, and has lasted until the present; having only been partially interrupted for the few months during the recent struggle in the Transvaal—in the settlement of which, however, the Orange Free State President took a prominent and peaceful part.

President Brand was elected third President of the Orange Free State in 1864, after the resignation and return to the Transvaal of M. W. Pretorius, who had succeeded the first President, Mr. Boshoff. The Orange Free State consists of about 70,000 square miles, and had in 1854 about 25,000 inhabitants, of whom more than half were of European descent.

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSSVAAL FOUNDED.

Character of Transvaal Boers—Their Attempts at Government—Native Laws—Potgieter and Makapan's Tragedy—Internecine Strife—Death of A. Pretorius—Election of his Son as President—His Transfer to Bloemfontein—Party Divisions against W. M. Pretorius' Return—Boundary Proclamations—Consequent Disputes and Arbitrations—Their Results—Pretorius Resigns—Discovery of Gold Fields—Influx of Miners, &c.—Want of firm Government—Election of Rev. T. F. Burger—"Grondwet" of 1858—Burger's Officials.

HAVING thus brought that part of the early history of the Boers, which was connected with the Cape Colony, and with the foundation successively of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, down to the point where the British Government granted to both the latter their independence, I now come, in the natural sequence of things, to the more immediate description of the foundation, progress, fall, and final resurrection of the Transvaal and its people—the real subject-matter of this work; and if at times I am too prolix with details, too dry with statistics, or too strong with my language and condemnation, the importance of the subject, not only to the Transvaal Boers, but to the British South African Colonies and the Empire generally, must plead as my excuse for endeavouring—while placing before my readers both sides of the question—to make clear "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Those who have followed me so far in the Boer peregrinations will easily understand that the class of men who peopled the Transvaal and first erected a government of their own, were more unsettled, less educated, and more narrow-minded than their compatriots, who had been satisfied to remain in the Cape, Orange Free State, or Natal. In addition to those who "trekked" northward at the time of the great exodus, there were many of a lawless, daring and sometimes criminal

character, either roving about or already settled down in the more retired portions of the State. Furthermore, adventurers from every part of South Africa, and other countries, flocked into it as the rumours spread about of gold and diamonds being found there. I trust, therefore, that I shall not be thought to malign the Boers, or their early governmental institutions, in thus drawing attention to what were doubtless important drawbacks to their first attempts at law and order. Added to this, it must not be forgotten that the white population was small, and much scattered over an extent of country larger than France—nearly 120,000 square miles—separated from each other by impassable country, no roads, and numerous tribes of natives, all jealous of the white man's encroachments. So that it need surprise no one to find that it took years even to establish a Government at all, much less get it to work properly under difficulties before which many other nations would have shrunk. The Boers also dreaded the further interference of the British nation, and were chary of intercourse with the surrounding countries, even going so far as to prevent missionaries going up north among the savage tribes. One of their fundamental laws in the constitution of the Republic was to the effect "that the people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with white inhabitants, neither in State nor Church"; and when it is remembered that the conduct of the natives, and their mismanagement by the British authorities at the Cape, were among the principal causes of the Boer exodus northwards, it will not be surprising that they should make common cause against all Kaffirs, and in pursuance of their old and—when properly carried out—successful policy of extermination, should regard the natives as an entirely inferior race, only fit for slavery.

Even Mr. Noble, who certainly is no champion of the Boers, though thoroughly impartial in all his historical statements about them, says:—"They made little scruple about obtaining native children, sometimes as captives of war, sometimes by purchase from the natives, and sometimes by mere violence. The children so procured were indentured (or as it is called 'Inbocked') up to the age of twenty-two or twenty-five

years"—and as the Kaffirs rarely knew their age, this indentureship lasted as long as the master pleased.—“It was a common practice on the Border in the early days of the Cape Colony, but it was liable to abuse, especially in a state of society untrammelled by authority, and not very solicitous as to the rights, nor very careful as to the lives, of the aborigines. Acts of cruelty and wrong were thus committed which provoked retaliation, and hostilities with the savage tribes around them frequently occurred, requiring the whole community to unite for mutual defence. *The wonder is that so few outrages* have been recorded in connection with the collisions inevitable between these two races, situated on the margin of civilization in the wilderness.”

Some two years after the Sand River Convention, one of these collisions occurred, in 1854, which for cruelty and ferocity on both sides is, I am glad to say, the only one of the kind that I have ever heard of, or History repeats; and, therefore, I give it at length, as illustrative of my foregoing remarks. On one of the numerous hunting and trading expeditions, so much in vogue among the early Boers, who also found them very profitable, a man named Herman Potgieter, a brother of the celebrated commandant—well known previously among the Kaffir tribes to the north, and not above an occasional raid, and indiscriminate slaughter and capture of the children for sale to the traders on the East coast—was passing the kraals of a native chief named Makapan, who had previously suffered from such raids, when the party was set upon, tortured, and murdered with most savage cruelty. Potgieter himself was pinned to the ground with assegais and skinned alive. On the receipt of this news at Potchefstroom a large commando was got together, under M. W. Pretorius, son of the old “Voor trekker,” and was joined by another force under Mr. P. G. Potgieter, a nephew of the murdered man, from the districts of Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg, making a total of over 500 mounted men, with 116 waggons and two field pieces. The two parties combined, and soon followed up Makapan and his tribe, who had retired to some large caves immediately on the advance of the Boer commando. Here a collision took place,

resulting in the defeat of the Kaffirs, who retired still further into the caves, which were dark, and over 500 yards in length by 100 in breadth. Thither the Boers dared not follow them, so other plans were devised and carried out. First, an attempt was made to blast the rocks above, and fill up the entrances or crush the Kaffirs; but it failed through the slate formation of the rocks not proving suitable for such operations. Next, orders were given to besiege the caves, and guard all the entrances, shooting down all that appeared, in order to starve out the besieged. Notwithstanding every precaution, and constant watch day and night, in which both sides lost men, including Potgieter's nephew, no effect was produced; so after eight days it was finally determined to block up all the entrances with wood and stone. This work lasted three weeks, and employed nearly all the men and fifty teams of oxen. Many of the poor wretches thus blocked up soon began to suffer from thirst; but they were ruthlessly killed whenever they showed themselves. At last, so many died within that the stench, even in the open air outside, was unbearable; and nearly 1,000 were killed outside as well. This state of things lasted nearly a month, during which the Kaffirs just managed to exist on the stores of food and water which they had taken in with them on their retreat. At last opposition gradually diminished, and the stench from within increased; and upon the final advance of the Boers, unopposed, it was found that nearly the whole tribe was destroyed. Their object fully accomplished, the Boers returned home; and for many years afterwards the white men were unmolested in that region. Sad as it is, yet I think the above description teaches a lesson, and shows us that savages must be fought, to a great extent, with their own weapons. It was only by so doing that the few Boers in the Transvaal were then enabled to maintain their position amid hordes of savages: whereas, in later years it has required a large army to effect, with much greater loss of time and material, that which a few mounted Boers, fighting on a different system, used to do in a comparatively short but summary way.

The Transvaal Boers, though able to keep down the natives

in their country, were yet unable to prevent differences among themselves ; and for many years the country had no central government at all worthy of the name, but was split up among them in four sections. Old Andries Pretorius had a large section united under his sway around the Magaliesburg. Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg had also each a kind of semi-government of their own ; while another party, to the south, remained independent of all the others. The old Pretorius died in 1853, advising with his last breath the " fathers of the land " to give up party strife, become united, and encourage religion and education. His son, W. M. Pretorius (one of the now well-known Triumvirate) became President, and in a manner succeeded in uniting the different parties. But for many years the power of the central authority at Potchefstrom was weak in establishing peace and preserving order, in proportion as the distance from its seat increased. Considering the vast extent of country included in its area, and the difficulties caused by a small and widely-separated population, the progress of the country, even in those days, was remarkable ; and though not so great or so steadily progressive as that of its sister State south of the Vaal, yet it was sufficient to show what could be done with the country under a settled and respected form of Government.

The First President of the Free State, M. Boshoff, having died in 1859, the people, by a large majority, elected Mr. W. M. Pretorius out of four candidates, to succeed him ; and with the consent of all parties Mr. Pretorius left Potchefstrom and proceeded to Bloemfontein, where he remained until 1863, endeavouring meanwhile to carry out his pet scheme of uniting the two Republics under one strong Government. This, however, found favour neither with the Home authorities, who stated that they considered such a proceeding would annul the Conventions of 1852 and 1854, nor with the Free Staters themselves, who had begun thoroughly to appreciate the blessings of a good Government, and who knew that many of the Transvaalers were not so enlightened, and were opposed to the action of any authority whatever. So the scheme dropped then, but has been renewed more lately, and it is, in my

opinion, one of the certainties and necessities of the future. The dissensions in the Transvaal, which had increased during Mr. Pretorius' absence in the Free State, were so great that he was compelled to return to Potchefstrom in 1863. Meanwhile, each party had tried successively to obtain paramount authority, and various leaders were put forward from time to time, and displaced through the temporarily united efforts of the others. Actual strife occasionally broke out between the various factions, and on one occasion in 1863, at Pretoria, two rival parties took the field armed, the one under Paul Kruger and the other under Commandant Schoeman. The former was the recognized head of the "Doppers," who were a narrow-minded religious sect; while those under the latter were more advanced and liberal in their opinions. Kruger's force occupied Pretoria, then a small village; while Schoeman was in laager outside. They had constant skirmishes at long distances, several night alarms, and sentry drills; but no actual collision took place, and the whole affair ended in smoke, or rather a kind of patched-up reconciliation.

This state of things of course obstructed the progress of the country, and Mr. Pretorius was again made President; when, unfortunately, in 1868, he issued a Proclamation describing the boundaries of the Transvaal, and caused such a disturbance with "British, Boers, and Blacks," that he had to resign. The boundaries, as then claimed, were: on the North, the Limpopo or Crocodile River; on the East—by friendly treaty with the Portuguese—the Lebomba Mountains; on the South, the Vaal River; and on the West, the Hatt River. To all these, however, objections were made, and the British Government even refused to recognize in any way whatever the validity of such a proclamation. Many native chiefs between the Oliphants River and the Limpopo, forming the District of Zoutpansberg, protested; and this brought things to such a crisis that the Dutch town of Schoemansdal, in Lat. 23° S. Long. 30° E., was abandoned, while in the south-east a strip of land on the Zulu Border, between the Blood and Pongola Rivers, was claimed by each nation, until at last the Zulu King Cetwyayo requested the Natal Government to take it over as a

barrier against encroachment by the Transvaal. This was not carried out, but a commission was appointed to take the evidence of Dutch and Zulus, and upon the basis of the evidence therein given Sir Bartle Frere awarded nearly all the portion in dispute to the Zulu nation, who, however, lost it again the same year during the war with the British. Again, in the south, the actual course of the Vaal River, from its source, was in dispute between the sister Republics; but this was referred to and settled amicably by the Governor of Natal, Mr. Keate. The same gentleman was made the referee in the proceedings, then under arbitration by the British Government, of the claims of Waterboer, the Griqua chief, to what is now known as the Bloemhof District. The arbitrators not being able to agree, the final award was left to Governor Keate, who decided against the Republic. Sir H. Barkly, then Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, accepted the Griquas as British subjects by a Proclamation in 1871—an act which was much disliked by the Transvaal and Free State Burghers, and protested against by them as another breach of the Sand River Convention of 1852. Let that be as it may, the direct consequence to the President Pretorius was fatal, as the Volksraad repudiated his acquiescence in both the arbitration and award, and questioned his right to act alone for his Government. After such a step there was nothing left but for him to resign, which he did. The British authorities, however, refused to listen to the repudiation and protest of the Volksraad, and have abided by the Keate award ever since. But the subject is still a constant source of discontent and grumbling, and combined with the “Frere Zulu award,” and other matters in connection with the Northern tribes, has been made use of in the recent disturbances for recalling wrongs and the attainment of redress.

Meanwhile, owing to the discoveries—by Karl Mauch, the traveller; H. Hartley, the hunter; Thomas Baines, the geographer, and others, from 1865 to 1872—of large quantities of gold in the north-west of the Transvaal, on the Tati River, at Marabastad, and later on at Leydenburg—while even still further to the north and east, in Umahbiland and Sofala, the

presence of large gold-fields was discovered and heard of—large numbers of miners, settlers, and adventurers, followed by traders and storekeepers, poured in from all sides; and, whether they liked it or not, the Boers had to make the best of matters. The Government at first tried to stop the immigration, then, finding that useless, to restrain it; but all to no avail. New towns sprang up, properties hitherto valueless were sold for large prices, speculators bought up vast tracts of land, while trade increased, and a newer, more liberal and powerful system of government was wanted. The people themselves were either unable or unwilling to choose another President from among their own ranks, when Pretorius resigned; so they took the advice of many of their Cape friends and selected the Rev. Thomas François Burgers—a clergyman born at the Cape but educated in Holland, belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, and pastor of Hanover, Cape Colony. This gentleman accepted the office, and was sworn in as State President for five years in 1872. Like the Orange Free State under John Brand, the Transvaal then entered upon a new existence, one which, however, from various causes, which I shall indicate hereafter, did not possess in itself the elements of the success which has attended the new career of its sister Republic.

The earliest constitution of the Republican Government of the Transvaal under Pretorius' Presidentship, or “Grondwet,” as it is called among them, was proclaimed on the 18th of February, 1858, but had received from time to time many alterations by the resolutions of the Volksraad, in whom the powers of Government were vested. This Volksraad was composed of forty-two members; three members for each of the twelve Districts:—Potchefstrom, Pretoria, Rustenberg, Heidelberg, Marico, Wakkerstrom, Middelberg, Leydenberg, Utrecht, Walesberg, Zoutpansberg and Bloemhof; and six separate members for the following chief towns—Potchefstrom, Pretoria, Rustenberg, Leydenberg and Gold Fields (two). The qualification for a seat in the Volksraad was Burghership for three years, possession of landed property, and being a member of a Protestant church. To be a Burgher necessitated a residence of one year in the country, and the possession of taxed pro-

perty; or, in the case of an alien, a payment of £7 10s., and taking the oath of allegiance to the Republican Government. The administration of Government was performed by an Executive Council, including the State President, elected for five years, State Secretary, also elected for five years, and three unofficial members, chosen by the Volksraad. A Landdrost, or magistrate, was appointed to each District, who had a clerk and other officials under him. The Court of Appeal, or Supreme Court, at that time consisted of three Landdrosts and a jury of twelve Burghers; but this was changed by President Burgers. All the male Burghers between sixteen and sixty were liable to compulsory military service, and non-resident owners of land, in the event of war, had to pay a war-tax. While on commando the Burghers armed themselves and provided means of transport; but they were entitled to share all captured cattle, &c., between them, after deducting certain shares for the State. A paper currency had been issued in 1865, at a great discount, and the credit of the State was undoubtedly very low when President Burgers took office.

It may be as well, at the end of this chapter, to give the list of the State appointments and their occupants at this time, as it will be of value in tracing future events. They were as follows:—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

State President.—T. F. Burgers, LL.D.

State Secretary.—N. J. R. Swart.

Members.—S. J. P. Kruger, C. Joubert, and J. C. Holtshausen (later on Joseph Fourie).

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(Volksraad).

President.—C. J. Bodienstien.

Secretary.—T. G. C. Van Leenhof.

First Government Secretary.—H. Stiemens.

Second ,, ,, C. Van Böschoten.

Third ,, ,, H. Stiemens, jun.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

Treasurer General.—H. Van Breda.

Attorney General.—Dr. E. F. P. Jorriksen.

Postmaster General.—J. De Vogel (later on F. Jeppe).

Auditor General and Orphan Master.—H. C. Bergsma.

Inspector of Education.—J. W. Van Gorkom.

Registrar General.—J. J. Meintjes.

Surveyor General.—S. Melville (later on M. Forsmann).

Chief of Artillery.—Captain O. Riedel.

Commandant.—A. Aylward.

Landdrosts.—Potchefstrom ; Pretoria ; Rustenberg ; Heidelberg ; Leydenberg (Mr. Coopen, and then Mr. Roth) ; Middelberg ; Wakkerstrom ; Nazareth (newly formed) ; Marico ; Utrecht ; Walesberg ; Zoutpansberg ; Bloemhof, or Christiana.

Native Commissioner, New Scotland.—Mr. Bell.

Consul General, England.—J. J. Pratt.

„ „ *Holland.*—A. Roland Holst.

„ „ *France.*—J. De Mosenthal.

Portuguese Consul General at Potchefstrom.—Chevalier O. W. A. Forssman.

Belgian Consul General at Pretoria.—Baron de Sélvs-Fanson.

The Revenue in 1872 was £40,988, and the expenditure £35,714. The ordinary Revenue was derived from quit rents on farms, sale of State lands, licenses, stamps, and fees, a waggon duty on traders passing through the State, an import duty on goods imported, and several other minor sources.

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSVAAL PROGRESS.

New Progressive Policy—Cape Loan—Railway Scheme to Delagoa Bay—Journey to Europe—Portuguese Assistance—Loan floated in Holland—Prospectus and President's Letter—Native Troubles again—Secocoeni—His District, Tribe and Allies—Gold Discoveries and Influx of People—Collision with "Johannes"—War declared against the Bapedi—Failure of Attack—Dispersal of Commando—Volksraad Convened—Leydenberg Volunteer Corps started—Secocoeni held in Check—Sues for Peace—Gold-Fields Dispute—Arrival of Captain Clarke, R.A.

PRESIDENT BURGERS inaugurated his term of office by introducing several sweeping reforms and many new ideas after the system of more civilized governments—not before they were needed, it is true; but, as after events proved, in too wholesale a manner to be understood or appreciated by the greater portion of the old Boer element. For a time, however, this new order of things went well, and the astonishment or doubt of the older men was more than counterbalanced by the success attendant on the first initiation of the new policy, and the support given thereto by the Government officials and the more enlightened Burghers. With the approval and consent of the Volksraad, a loan of £60,000 was obtained from the Cape Commercial Bank at Cape Town, at six per cent., for the purpose of redeeming at par the paper money issued by the Pretorius Government in 1865, and then at a low discount; although when some of these £1 notes were called up and burnt, some time previously (their value then being about five shillings each), many of the Boers and "Doppers" crowded round and wrathfully exclaimed against "such a wilful waste of the money of the country." Postage stamps were also issued; a Judge was appointed for the Supreme Court, and the laws were revised by a Barrister from the Cape; all public

lands were surveyed; schemes were proposed for the promotion of education and religion; and gold produced in the country was coined for the Republic. The new President's most important and far-sighted step was, however, the authority to effect a loan of half a million sterling for the construction of a railway from Pretoria to the Portuguese Port at Delagoa Bay, on the 3ft. 6in. gauge. This scheme had been materially forwarded by the advice and assistance of Mr. G. P. Moodie, C.E., a member of Government. This gentleman, after three journeys, all made on foot, was successful in finding out a healthy route, along the line of hills sloping gradually to the seaward. The line from Pretoria to New Scotland and the Drakensberg was easy and fairly level, while easy gradients could be secured thence by the Lebomba to Delagoa Bay. The distances are, from Pretoria to New Scotland, 130 miles, and thence 110 miles to the sea, or about 240 miles in all. The object of this proposed railway was twofold: firstly, it was to open up the great mineral resources of the Transvaal, already well known and established; and, secondly, to enable the country to import its own goods without the payment of such heavy duties and expenses as were levied at the Cape and Natal Ports, and of which duties none ever came into the hands of the Transvaal Government.

The scheme, if properly carried out, was at once seen to be the death-blow to the overberg and inland trade of both Natal and the Cape; and, accordingly, great opposition was shown to the execution of the work by both these Colonies. Nothing daunted, but backed up by the reports of good engineers, the wishes of his Government, and the friendly reciprocal feelings shown by the Portuguese Government, the President, duly authorized, left for Europe in 1875. He was duly received at the British Court as the recognized Head of the Transvaal or South African Republic. He concluded a treaty with Portugal, by which that Government was to subsidize the railway to the whole amount of its cost from Delagoa Bay to the limit of their territory; and also arranged in Holland for the issue of a railway loan of £500,000, at six per cent. of which £90,000 was at once subscribed for on the terms offered.

In consequence of the success of the loan, much of the material required for the railway was ordered in Europe by the President, who then set out on his return journey, with the good wishes of the European Powers with whom he had come in contact. But he returned to the Transvaal only to find affairs there generally in a dreadful state. Previously to his accession to the Presidentship, there had not been very many internal troubles with the natives since the difficulty about the Border, which occurred under Pretorius. It is true there had been one or two outbreaks on the part of a chief named Mapoch, who lived within the Border, but he had been easily reduced to submission on both occasions, and was then completely quiet on his own mountain. Thefts of cattle also were of common occurrence, and it was principally through them that the first campaign was undertaken by a Transvaal commando against Secocoeni. This chief, originally a Basuto, was the son of Sequati, chief of the Bapedi, who occupied the mountainous fever-stricken district about Leydenberg, and whose territory was within the Border, but had been considered as an independent native reserve. Sequati, who had always been friendly with the Boers, occupied this land by treaty, and its boundaries were then the Steelpoort and Oliphants Rivers. After Sequati's death, Secocoeni became anxious to enlarge his tribe and influence, and encouraged refugees to come into his district, under their own chiefs and laws. In this way, and through sickness having caused most of the Boers to evacuate the lands surrounding—the town of Orijstadt being entirely deserted from that cause alone—Secocoeni was for a long time enabled to encroach over the Transvaal boundaries without coming into actual collision with the Boers. Among many refugees who joined him, from time to time, the principal chief was Umsoet, who had quarrelled with his own tribe, the Amaswazi, and brought in nearly 300 fighting men with him. Other parties came from the Mambeyers, Mopolaner and Knobkose Kaffir tribes; and by this means Secocoeni was gradually able to surround himself, at any rate, along the southern Border of his territory from the Speckboom River to Mapoch's reserve, by a formidable living barrier, which, however, soon came into contact with the Boers,

causing the war which followed, and ending in the final capture of himself and break-up of the Bapedi.

The cattle thefts, which were of common occurrence, and a frequent cause of conflicts, were sometimes encouraged with a purpose, as will be seen from the following extract from Baines' "Gold Regions of S.E. Africa":—"I was speaking to a friend respecting the new discoveries, and we both agreed that it would be very wrong to make war upon the natives and take the gold-fields away from them. 'But,' said my friend, 'I would work with foresight (*voorzigtigheid*). I would send cattle farmers to graze their herds near the borders, and the Kaffirs would be sure to steal them; but if not, the owner could come away, and he could even withdraw his herdsmen, and let them run day and night, then the Kaffirs could not resist the temptation. We could then go in and claim the stolen cattle, and if the Kaffirs resisted and made war, of course they would lose their country.'" Baines, however, adds:—"This idea of justice to the native is held by, I hope, only a few among them; and I have never heard of my friend's diplomacy being carried into execution, and am happy to say the occupation of the gold-fields is being carried on without the necessity for any policy that is not fair to both sides."

The discovery of gold in 1871 brought into the district large numbers of all classes of men, and frightened both Boers and Blacks. Of course explorations went on, and parties prospected in Secocoeni's country, as well as beyond the Transvaal bounds in other directions. About this time also some German missionaries, having been unable to convert Secocoeni, left his reserve and settled themselves on a fine station between Leydenberg and the Speckboom River; while, close by, a petty chief, named Johannes, a so-called convert, also established himself in a strong position, from which he could visit the mission station, or steal cattle, whichever suited his disposition. Early in 1876, things had come to such a pass that Johannes prevented some Boers from cutting wood on a farm to which the Kaffirs had no legal claim, and further resisted the authorities. It was then reported to the Government that this rebellion on Johannes' part was prompted by Secocoeni; and when news

reached them that the mission station had been burnt down, and some of the mission Kaffirs killed, war was declared against the aggressors, much against Mr. Burgers' own will, and although the country was not prepared for any such war. Added to this, however, it must not be forgotten that Umsoet, and other petty chiefs under Secocoeni, had constantly stolen cattle; and when remonstrances were sent to him he undertook to return the cattle on condition that his right to the whole district of Leydenberg was admitted. A large commando of Burghers and native allies at once marched against the Kaffirs, under several commandants, and accompanied by the President himself. The whole force was hastily gathered together, and in no fit state to keep the field long, especially as the wet or fever season was just commencing. Its strength amounted to over 2,000 Boers, the same number of native allies, and about 500 waggons. The commando took some Border kraals, killed Johannes, and then marched in two divisions to attack Secocoeni's town at Thaba Mosegu. A night attack was made, but for various reasons failed, and the combined forces then withdrew to the camp. A large meeting was held and a resolution passed to discontinue the war at that time; and, with the exception of a very few, the main body refused to attack again, and retired to their homes. The President was then in a fix. As to the charges of cowardice made against the Boers, and other reports much circulated at the time, it would be useless to inquire into them. Let the whole of the facts, at the time, be considered, and the subsequent events taken into account, and I think people will be able to form a fair opinion for themselves. There is one point, however, which I wish to point out, viz. :— That the return home of the commando was not regarded as a retreat by the Kaffirs themselves, who otherwise would have attacked them on their march back to camp. On the contrary, far from being able or willing to attack the Boers, and invade the Transvaal, it was fully two months after the retreat of the commando, and when the conduct of the war was entrusted only to volunteers, that the Kaffirs mustered up courage to make an unsuccessful attack on one of the outlying forts situated in their own country.

After the resolution come to by the farmers not to continue the war at that time, owing to a variety of causes, among which the principal were scarcity of provisions and ammunition, and the known dangerous approach of the sickly season, the President had no other course open than to summon the Volksraad and point out to them the danger of the situation. During the previous year, 1875, while President Burgers was away in Europe, financial matters had not progressed well. Although the revenue, £69,928, balanced the expenditure, £69,593, yet the increased taxation had produced great dissatisfaction among the older Boers, who had always been opposed to taxes of any kind, looking upon them as oppressive acts. When, therefore, besides this increased and heavy taxation, special demands were made for a war-tax of £10 on every farm, many simply refused to pay at all, and all obedience to the law and the constituted authorities ceased. The Government soon found itself in difficulties, without funds or adequate means of compelling the payment of the just taxes levied by order of the Volksraad, the salaries of the public officials remaining unpaid—even that of the President—and the interest of the public debt also in arrears. Altogether it was felt that the exigencies of the case demanded quick and strong remedies, unless the State was to be allowed to drift into national bankruptcy and an overwhelming internal war.

Meanwhile, after the withdrawal of the Boer commando, the President received an offer from Captain Von Schlieckmann, an officer in the Prussian service, of great bravery and acknowledged ability, to raise a corps of volunteers to occupy the frontier by means of a chain of detached forts, to harass the enemy so as to prevent their making any incursions from their stronghold on the surrounding country, and by means of incessant patrols and night attacks, and combined movements, to prevent Secocoeni getting together, during the spring and summer, any stock of food sufficient to enable him to engage in a second campaign. This offer was closed with thankfulness by the President and the farmers, who could not possibly be expected to invest Secocoeni's stronghold during the sickly season, or until the winter enabled them to attack him again.

Power to raise and equip such a force was given to Von Schlieckmann, who set about the congenial task at once. Over a hundred men were raised at the Diamond Fields and elsewhere, Government to find them salted horses, rifles, ammunition, food, and equipments, with £5 per month per man, and at the end of the war a free gift of a farm each of 4,000 acres was promised on condition of occupation by themselves or substitutes for five years. The corps consisted of a commandant, four lieutenants, an artillery officer, a doctor, 108 men, and about 70 horses. Von Schlieckmann got a few men together at the time, and proceeded at once to the Steelpoort River, where he built the first fort, called Fort Burgers, a six-angled redoubt, near the confluence of the Steelpoort and Speckboom Rivers. In the meanwhile Lieutenant A. Aylward—afterwards Commandant—brought up the recruits from the Diamond Fields. They were armed at Pretoria with Westley-Richards rifles, and sent off by the President at once to the front, with nine waggons loaded with ammunition, food, and necessaries. The Government had, however, been unable to secure the salted horses, but promised to send them up afterwards; while the Treasury was so empty that the Government could only contribute to the military chest the sum of £25 in small silver. The work done by this corps of Leydenberg Volunteers—assisted by a Swazie contingent under Eckersley—the death of Von Schlieckmann, and all the other interesting details of their fun and fights, are they not well described in Aylward's "Transvaal of To-day"? Suffice it for me to say that by their actions they undoubtedly kept Secocoeni in check, and brought about an offer of submission from that chief which was accepted on the 12th of February, 1877. Peace was then proclaimed along the Border, and arrangements were made for the delivery of the 2,000 head of cattle promised by Secocoeni, and for his recognition of the suzerainty of the Republic. The fever then broke out among the corps, many of whom had been sent to garrison other forts further advanced in the country, and they were ordered back to Krugers Post and Leydenberg. Part of another force of volunteers, under Captain Van Deventer, was recalled from Fort Weeber to

garrison Pretoria, then in an uproar through the arrival of Sir Theophilus Shepstone as Her Majesty's High Commissioner. At the Gold Fields a conflict nearly broke out between the British and Republican parties, the former wishing to be governed by an authority that could protect them, and the latter resenting the interference of outsiders while they were doing their best with the force at their command to arrange matters suitably for all. By the exercise of a little tact and judicious management on the part of the authorities, an outbreak was avoided, and Leydenberg remained quiet until the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir T. Shepstone on the 12th of April, when the Leydenberg Volunteer Corps was disbanded by Captain Clarke, R.A., the new Gold-Fields Commissioner.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRANSVAAL ANNEXATION.

Confederation Schemes—Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Froude—Cape Hostility—South African Conference in London—Burgers' Helplessness—Extraordinary Session of Volksraad—Sir Theophilus Shepstone's Arrival—His Policy and Acts—Transvaal Annexation—Protest of Volksraad and President—Deputation to England—New Government Officials—Raising Native Police Force—Great Discontent and Danger—Second Proclamation—Return of Deputation—Memorial got up—Second Deputation despatched—Distinguished Visitors—Anthony Trollope—Sir A. Cunynghame—Re-commencement of Native Hostilities.

AT the time the Transvaal was thus getting into difficulties, in 1876-7, the British Government were again directing their attention to a scheme of confederation of all the Colonies and States in South Africa. This was no new idea, as, so far back as the year 1858, the Volksraad of the Orange Free State passed a resolution:—"That the Raad feels itself in unison with a large number of the Burghers who have already approached it by memorial, convinced that a union or alliance with the Cape Colony either on the plan of federation or otherwise is desirable; and resolves that his Honour the State President (Mr. Boshoff) be requested to correspond with his Excellency the Governor on that subject, in order thus to ascertain whether the Cape Parliament will declare itself inclined for such a union, and whether the Colonial Government would receive a commission from this State, if possible, at one of the towns on the Eastern Province, who, together with that Government, or with a commission to be appointed by it, shall draft the preliminary terms of such a union, to be thereafter submitted for the approval of both Governments." The then Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, and the Secretary of State in England were both most favourably inclined to the idea, and a scheme was ably drawn out by Sir George for the

realization of a federal union; but political events happened to prevent its acceptance, and Sir George was removed to another sphere. Earl Carnarvon took office as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1874, and directed all his efforts to arouse a feeling in favour of confederation among the South African Colonies and States. But matters were again nipped in the bud by the action of the Cape Responsible Ministry and their House of Assembly, who almost unanimously rejected the idea, and refused even to consider the matter by sending Delegates to England, as was done by Natal and the Orange Free State to a conference which took place in 1876.

The history of the South African Conference is as follows:— In 1875 Earl Carnarvon wrote a despatch to Sir H. Barkly, the Cape Governor, in which he proposed a conference of Delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal, Griqualand, Orange Free State and Transvaal Republics, to discuss—Firstly, the advisability of a common native policy; and secondly, the confederation of all the Colonies and States under the British Imperial authority. The despatch, after referring to the various causes which had given rise to such a proposal, and urging its acceptance upon those interested, nominated Mr. Froude, the historian, as a representative of the British Government, and commended him to the Cape Government as being eminently fitted to assist their conferences both by his strong interest in all Colonial questions and the particular attention he had already paid to those of South Africa especially. This step of Lord Carnarvon's excited great dissatisfaction on the part of the Cape Government; and when Mr. Froude arrived in Cape Town the proposal for a conference was already declined. But, as many of the Colonial papers and Colonists seemed to favour the scheme, Mr. Froude lectured on its merits at a series of public meetings. This course was thought by many to have been unconstitutional, and against the spirit of the Responsible Government granted to the Cape. Mr. Froude then returned to England. In 1876, when President Brand had come over, to settle the claims of the Orange Free State with regard to the Diamond Fields, and Mr. Molteno, the Cape Colonial Prime Minister, was also there, to arrange for

the future government of Griqualand West, Lord Carnarvon suggested a conference on South African affairs. This Conference was held at the Colonial Office in August, 1876, presided over by Earl Carnarvon, and attended by President Brand—who, however, was precluded by his instructions from the Volksraad from taking any active part in the discussion. Sir T. Shepstone, Messrs. Akerman and Robinson, two Delegates from Natal, and Mr. Froude, nominated by the Colonial Minister as the representative for Griqualand West (the Diamond Fields), were also present. Mr. Molteno did not attend, having no authority to do so. There were several sittings, and the results are now published and known through the medium of the Blue Books. In the result, Sir H. Barkly, being unable to persuade the Cape Government to look upon the Confederation Scheme with any degree of favour, was replaced by Sir H. B. E. Frere, from whom great things were expected. His instructions were most definite and peremptory, and large discretionary powers were given him, as High Commissioner over all British South Africa. The annexation of the Transvaal, the Gaika and Galeka wars at the Cape, the Zulu, Morosi, and Secocoeni campaigns followed, and for the time completely set aside the great Confederation Scheme, which is now, I venture to say, farther off realization than ever, owing to the vacillating policies of the successive Home Governments and their Colonial Secretaries of State.

Matters were in this state in Great Britain and South Africa when, in the Transvaal, seeing that desperate measures were required, President Burgers again summoned the Volksraad in extraordinary session, in February, 1877, and put the alternatives clearly before the members—Either there must be a prompt reform of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches, and the inhabitants must unite cordially and vigorously in acting up to the necessities of the case, and support by every means in their power their own elected Government; or they would have to accept Lord Carnarvon's proposals for confederation, or see the State drift into bankruptcy, anarchy, and internal disruption. While these important questions were actually under deliberation, Sir T. Shepstone—a curious coincidence—arrived at Pretoria as a Special Commissioner (vague and dreaded

name to South Africans) with a staff and a small escort of Natal mounted police. His Excellency stated that he was deputed by the Imperial Government to confer with the Transvaal authorities on the subject of Confederation, and especially with regard to the conduct of native affairs, which threatened, unless vigorously treated, to involve the whole of South Africa in a general native war. Here was a chance for agitators, speculators, and others. Meetings were organized; pressure was brought to bear; the most absurd and untruthful rumours were spread about; and memorials and addresses were presented to the Government to prevent civil war, and other horrors too numerous to mention, by accepting confederation with or annexation to the British Empire. Petitions also were got up and signed by the British part of the population, praying Sir T. Shepstone to take over the country without any more to-do, and to proclaim it British territory at once, on the ground that some of the conditions of the Convention of 1852 had been broken, viz.: that slavery had been permitted, and that neither law nor order existed to protect foreign interests, then represented as being very great. The large majority of the Volksraad were of the old "Voortrekker" stamp, and did not in any way wish again to come under British rule; but, on the other hand, they professed themselves as unable to solve the difficult problem of self-government on a new, thorough, and strong basis. Therefore, while still in doubt, and surrounding events on the Borders and elsewhere proving the danger of a reign of terror, Sir T. Shepstone stepped in, issued a Proclamation in virtue of his authority, as shown by his commission of appointment (see Appendix A); hoisted the British flag, and annexed the country; sending up Captain Clarke, R.A., as Special Commissioner to the Gold Fields and Native Races in the North-East.

These high-handed, but, no doubt, from his own point of view, perfectly necessary acts, met with no resistance from the Boers. The Government contented itself with issuing a protest, and passing a resolution to send Delegates to England and other countries to protest against the annexation. This was followed by a similar protest from the President (see Appendix

B). Granted the necessity for annexation, no time could have been better chosen, no opportunity more ably seized, no action more carefully considered or carried out, than the steps taken by Sir T. Shepstone and his subordinates in proclaiming the Transvaal British Territory, in the manner and at the time they did. And, had the promises then made been carried out and kept in the same spirit and manner, I, for one, am positive—and many think with me—that no active steps would have ever been taken by the Transvaal Boers for the forcible recovery of their country. Their subsequent actions and moderation during the next three years show this, and prove, if proof were necessary, that had a Royal Commission sat in Pretoria in 1877, or a different policy been carried out by Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Owen Lanyon, the recent terrible events would never have occurred to deepen the feelings of race hatred between Dutch South Africans and British, already bitter enough.

For some time, immediately following the annexation, affairs progressed quietly enough, and the officers appointed by the Administration managed matters expeditiously and carefully. Colonel Brooke, R.E., was Chief of the Staff; Melmoth Osborn, Government Secretary, and Mr. Henderson, a well-known Natal man, Treasurer General; while Captain Clarke assumed the reins of Government in the North-East or Leydenberg District. Reviews—for the 1-13th P.A.L.I. were sent up to garrison the town of Pretoria, and were quickly joined by a body of Mounted Infantry, under Captain Carrington—balls, and other gaieties followed each other in quick rotation; large numbers of new people came into the country; merchants, speculators, capitalists arrived, together with the usual assortment of loafers and place-hunters—always at hand when changes take place—and general prosperity seemed to have set in. But after the appointment of Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen, as Delegates of the "Protest Commission," with whom was associated Mr. W. Eduard Bok, a clever Hollander, as Secretary, the principal part of the Boers retired to their farms and awaited, with what patience they could, the result of their Deputation to England. The Landdrosts and other officials of the late Government were retained in their offices, upon taking the oath of allegiance to

Her Majesty's Government. So far so good ; and had matters been allowed so to continue, all would have been well. But, unfortunately, though doubtless owing to the exigencies of the peculiar circumstances of the position in which the Administrator was placed, Sir T. Shepstone appointed many of his staff and friends to offices unknown to the constitution of the old Government, giving powers of a large extent, and almost irresponsible nature, to men who, to say the least of it, knew little or nothing of the Boers and the Natives in those parts. The men thus appointed, though no doubt able and anxious to do their duty, were crippled by want of local knowledge and that lack of sympathy with those under them, which could only be expected as natural under the circumstances. Other mistakes of a similar nature occurred here and there, and are certainly to be regarded as the cause of much discontent and subsequent expression of hostile feelings by the Boers. While to prevent such public expressions of their wrongs, and the right of petitioning for their removal, Sir T. Shepstone issued a second Proclamation (see Appendix C), in which he stated his opinion that any attempts to re-open the Annexation question would be considered as seditious, and as attempts at rebellion, and be treated as such. But, in addition to these matters, a Native police force of 200 Natal Kaffirs was raised by Sir T. Shepstone, and sent up, under the command of Mr. L. Lloyd, to Captain Clarke, at Leydenberg, to be used as a check to Secocoeni and other neighbouring predatory chiefs. This was looked upon by many with anger and by all with suspicion, as being illegal and unnecessary. It alarmed the Boers, who objected to the raising and arming of any Native force out of the State for service in that State, unless authorized by law. Moreover, it looked like an attempt to bring in Shepstone's old allies, the Zulus, to overawe the Boers—an idea not without some truth in it, as was evidenced by the subsequent disclosures of Magema and Bishop Colenso ; but to what extent it was true I have no means of judging. Anyhow, the Native police force was a mistake, and soon led to other misfortunes.

Meanwhile, the deputation, Messrs. Kruger, Jorissen, and Bok, returned from England, at the end of the year, and imme-

diately reported to their fellow-countrymen their entire failure. They therefore drew up the following Memorial, and sent it to England with another Deputation, consisting of Messrs Kruger, Joubert and Bok:—

“ To Lord Carnarvon, Minister for the Colonies in England. Pretoria, January 7, 1878.—We, the undersigned White Inhabitants of the Transvaal, having this day received report from our Deputation sent to England, consisting of the Honourable S. J. P. Kruger, Vice-President of the South African Republic, and Dr. E. F. P. Jorissen, State Attorney, with the view to get back our independence, of which we have been deprived on the 12th of April, 1877, have learned with deep regret that they have not been able to obtain that object. It pains them so much the more, because it appears most clearly from the documents produced by the Deputation, that the loss of their independence is entirely and solely due to the false and incorrect representations of the position said to have existed here, as given by people who acted from selfish motives—in a word, by calumny. The fact, however, that the Government in England had been so totally misinformed about the real sentiments of the vast majority of the population, inspires the undersigned with courage to venture another attempt, and to show by their signatures that by far the great majority is opposed to the British Sovereignty. We cannot yet dismiss this matter before we have tried the last means to obtain our end by peaceable measures, according to protest dated April 11, 1877. The undersigned cannot yet believe that it could be England’s will and desire to reign over a people that will not be subject to any power whatsoever. They much rather believe the words addressed to them to-day by Mr. S. J. P. Kruger, member of the Deputation, when he said: ‘Brethren, people in England really do not know the actual position here; and I am fully convinced that England’s First Minister, Lord Carnarvon, acted in good faith when he spoke in his despatch to the Deputation of that insignificant minority.’ It is therefore with great modesty, but at the same time with fervent earnestness, that we entreat your Lordship to restore to us our country—that country which we love as our lives, and for

which we always were and still are prepared every day to sacrifice our lives. May it therefore please your Lordship to be moved by our numerous signatures, and to restore to us our country. Signed by 6,591 qualified electors of the South African Republic, the original, with signatures attached, being in the possession of the Deputation, and open for the inspection of Her Majesty's Government. In addition to the above, memorials with 301 signatures were obtained, which were informally sent in, and thus have not been counted. Signed, S. J. P. Kruger, P. J. Joubert, Delegates; W. Ed. Bok, Secretary; T. Shepstone, Administrator."

The annexation brought the Transvaal into much prominence in Europe and elsewhere for the time. Among the many distinguished visitors who travelled through it may be mentioned Mr. Anthony Trollope, since called the "Historian of the Annexation;" Colonel Warren, R.E., C.B., the Administrator of Griqualand West, after Sir Owen Lanyon's removal to Pretoria; Major Ravenscroft, well known in the Diamond Fields; Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, K.C.B., Commanding the Troops at the Cape, with his aide-de-camp, poor Coghill, killed afterwards at Isandwhlana; and, of course, Sir T. Shepstone himself, and Judge Coetzee, made the tour of the whole of the Districts in fulfilment of their purely official duties. In speaking of the Administrator's visit to Leydenberg, after that of the General, Aylward, in his book, says:—"The same sort of reception, but colder, was accorded to Sir T. Shepstone, on his arrival, six weeks afterwards. He had not the sportsman's jollity, the winning ways, the hearty manner, or the golden tongue of Her Majesty's Military Representative. He was a crafty-looking and silent man, who never used an unnecessary word or gesture. He was undemonstrative; and, rightly or wrongly, the people believed him to be utterly insincere. Had he not been accompanied by that jovial officer, Captain Carrington, with his troop of Mounted Infantry; Dr. Ash, 13th Regiment; and Lieutenant Brown, 1-24th Regiment, his Excellency's visit would have been an utter failure." Shortly after the Administrator had left Leydenberg, Mr. Bell, the Native Commissioner at New Scotland, was brutally murdered,

82 *With the Boers in the Transvaal.*

and the Natives began to get restless, to such an extent that Captain Clarke had to take some steps, and remonstrate with Secocoeni, which, not being successful, led to the second Secocoeni war.

CHAPTER IX.

TRANSVAAL AND SECOCOENI.

Second War with Secocoeni—Captain Clarke's Policy and Failure—Reinforcements of Volunteers—Masselloom Massacre—Fever Season sets in—Regulars garrison Towns—Temporary Cessation of Hostilities—Steps to confine Secocoeni—Aylward's Summary of Affairs—Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Chelmsford—Zulu and Dutch disputed Boundary Commission—Final Award and Details—*Ad interim* Steps in Transvaal—Return of the Second Boer Deputation from England—Their Interview with Sir Bartle Frere—Colonel Sir O. Lanyon's Appointment as Administrator—Departure of Sir T. Shepstone for England—Zulu War—Boer Meetings and Measures—Sir Bartle Frere's Journey to Pretoria—Interview with Boer Farmers—Subsequent Steps and Recommendation.

SECOCOENI'S submission to President Burgers was, curiously enough, coincident with the despatch of a message to Sir T. Shepstone, to the effect that the Boers were killing his people, and that he wished "Somptsen" (Shepstone's Kaffir name) to save him. Some Commissioners, Dutch and English, including Captain Clarke and Mr. Haggard, were then sent up to him to arrange terms of peace; and to them he admitted "that he had no crops, and had lost fourteen of his own family and nearly 2,000 of his people." After the annexation, Captain Clarke was so convinced of Secocoeni's desire for peace that he disbanded the Leydenberg Volunteer Corps, before obtaining any guarantees for the maintenance of peace or the payment of the war indemnity of 2,000 head of cattle. Fort Burgers was left in charge of only an Assistant Native Commissioner, Mr. George Eckersley, and his orderly; while Fort Weeber, on the West side of the Zulu Mountains, was also left to another Assistant Native Commissioner, Captain Diedricht. Not long afterwards, it was found that Secocoeni was evading the payment of the war indemnity; while reports were sent in to Captain Clarke that messengers had been noticed passing to

and from Zululand; and that Masselleroom, or Legolani, Secocoeni's sister, was harassing Native tribes who were British subjects. Later on, Sir T. Shepstone himself was told by all the officials in the District that Secocoeni would make war again as soon as he had sufficient provisions and supplies. Smuggling and gun-running were very prevalent at the time at Leydenberg; and, owing to the absence of any armed force, no steps could be taken effectively to stop it, or to give the protection to the District and Border farmers so much needed in the then state of affairs. In addition to this, the sale of fire-arms to the Natives, hitherto always strictly prohibited by the Boers, was allowed at the Diamond Fields, where Natives from all parts came to work with the sole object of gaining sufficient to purchase guns, and then returning home. The consequence of this was that in five years nearly half a million stand of arms were sold to the Natives in and around the Transvaal—the Zulus obtaining theirs through other methods, better known than appreciated, in Natal and the Portuguese settlements.

Sir T. Shepstone, after thus settling everything to his satisfaction with Secocoeni, left for Utrecht and Natal, accompanied by Captain Clarke, who was desirous of immediately proceeding farther into Natal for the purpose of raising the Native police force, of which I have spoken previously. Not many days after their departure the chief, Mapoch, who, since his defeat by the Boers, had been fairly loyal and quiet, murdered three British subjects. Thereupon the Landdrost sent a sheriff, though with orders not to provoke hostilities, to demand the murderers. They were given up to him, but on account of the defiant action and words of the other Kaffirs, and the want of a small mounted force, he was unable to bring the men away. This was quickly followed by the murder of Mr. Bell, in New Scotland, by some natives in his own District, and although afterwards Mabekana, his murderer, was caught, tried and hanged, yet the moral effect produced at the time by such an outrage was, to say the least, disastrous to British prestige. After repeated applications to Captain Clarke, then in Natal, by all the officials, some of whose lives were openly threatened, that officer authorized the raising of twenty-five provisional

policemen, who were sent up to Fort Weeber to overawe Legolani, and aid the Assistant Commissioner in maintaining a semblance of his authority. Captain Clarke himself then arrived with his Natal-Zulu police, dressed, drilled and armed. This not only frightened all the neighbouring tribes, whether friendly or otherwise, but effectually prevented any help coming from the Swazies, hitherto the Boers' allies, who objected very justly to this arming of their hereditary enemies. Captain Clarke went on to Fort Weeber, and tried to check Secocoeni and his sister. But one day, while riding with an orderly near the Fort, he met some of Legolani's men armed with guns, whom he disarmed, and compelled to surrender their guns to some followers of Pogwani, a British Native ally, always at war with Legolani. This was the spark to the touch-hole. Mr. Eckersley, who had with him four white men and twelve Natives, was at once surrounded at Fort Burgers by an *impi* of 500 men under Secocoeni's brother; another *impi* occupied the pass between the Fort and Ougstadt; a third threatened Kruger's Fort; while the fourth and largest invaded the Waterfall Valley, between Fort Weeber and Leydenberg. Though thus surrounded and cut off, Eckersley gallantly effected his retreat by the aid of some of the Native police, sent for that purpose by the Landdrost Roth of Leydenberg. The outlying farmers were attacked and had to fly to places of safety; while Captain Clarke, with Acting Native Commissioner Schultz, evacuated Fort Weeber *pro tem.*, and brought back the small garrison, leaving however some powder and other property, which the enemy captured. The Provisional police, increased to fifty-six men, only half of whom were mounted, were stationed in the best positions; while Eckersley was sent to guard the Waterfall District with sixteen whites and sixteen of Windvogel's men. Captain Clarke himself, with the Zulu police under Lieutenant Lloyd, returned to Fort Weeber, where he was to have been met by a Volunteer force of 150 men with guns, promised from Pretoria. But he only obtained about fifty of these three weeks afterwards, and they were neither armed nor provisioned, which accordingly had to be done from Leydenberg. Captain Clarke was also promised the assistance of Mapoch in his operations;

but the Swazies, jealous of the employment of the Zulu police, refused any help at this crisis.

In the town of Leydenberg itself there were only twelve policemen, five Volunteer Artillerymen and forty special constables. The fever season was again commencing, and Secocoeni was becoming daily more and more defiant. Captain Clarke soon had to abandon Fort Weeber, having so many men sick. Even the Native allies suffered, and a large hospital established at Leydenberg was soon filled. Notwithstanding all these difficulties Captain Clarke occasionally made raids on the enemy; and on one occasion he attacked and almost captured Legolani's chief town. But after four hours' fighting, in which he lost some policemen, two white officers, and several men wounded, he was obliged to retire, with a capture of over 200 head of cattle and goats. The Zulu police here first showed their worthlessness and freedom from control when excited in the heat of battle. They bayoneted and thrust into the flames of the burning huts all the Natives they met, without distinction of age or sex, with a barbarity seldom shown or allowed by the Natives when allied with the whites. Their officers were badly wounded and powerless to prevent the massacre. On the following day, the stronghold was again attacked by Captain Clarke with his Bechuana allies, who had fled on the previous occasion, and necessitated his retreat. The attack was successful, and Legolani's tribe was at length broken up, all her cattle, with 150 men, women and children being captured, while Legolani and a few of her warriors joined Secocoeni. After this, Captain Clarke built another advanced post, called Fort Mamelube, and was further reinforced by volunteers from Pretoria and the Diamond Fields; while Leydenberg and Middleberg were garrisoned by some companies of the 1-13th P.A.L.I., sent up at once for the purpose. Every effort was now made to finish the war and bring Secocoeni to submission before the winter season ended and the rains began, which is generally about August, lasting to January or February.

About the end of July, 1878, Captain Clarke's position and force were, as given by Aylward, as follows:—"There were about 250 Europeans, with six guns, 100 Zulu police, 408

Kaffirs under Mr. Taunton, and a mixed body of 110 men, under Mr. Eckersley. The stations were Forts Weeber, Mamelube, and Faugh-a-ballagh, and a camp of the Diamond Fields Horse at Droars River, with the Infantry base at Middleberg and Leydenberg." Several lamentable *contretemps* now happened in quick succession, Secocoeni's men cutting off cattle-guards, horses and cattle, at the advanced Fort; while the Native allies broke out into open mutiny, and were followed by the Zulu police. These occurrences might have had serious results but for the opportune arrival of some of Carrington's Mounted Infantry. Later on, the Frontier Light Horse joined the force in September, having come up from the old Colony; and the 80th reinforced the garrison at Pretoria. But no combined movement was effected, and the wet season set in leaving Secocoeni on the offensive. The position of affairs at that time is so aptly and truthfully described by Aylward in his book (page 260) that I cannot do better than reproduce it here. He says, writing at the end of 1878:—"The state of our Kaffir relations at the time of my writing is thus roughly stated: We are all but at war with the Zulus of Zululand; have offended the Amaswazies; are fighting with Secocoeni (at a cost of £12,000 a month); have had to disband our paid Kaffir forces for mutiny; and have in fact no assistance to hope for, save from Mr. Eckersley, who was insulted by raw Natalians being preferred to and placed over him and Windvogel's little band. In addition to this, the Border for 1,200 miles is hostile and watchful; the white population of the Transvaal is decreasing; the volunteers are dissatisfied, and desertions are terribly frequent from the regulars. The Boers, whose territory we have annexed, will not help us, and the country is not worth the price that must be paid for it. There are now troops also in Pondoland, whose marching expenses alone amount to £25,000 a month. Our South African policy promises to satisfy nobody, but to cost us millions."

Meanwhile, Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor, and Lord Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief, having successfully finished the Gaika and Galeka War at the Cape, in which they were materially assisted by the Fingoes, came round to Natal late in

1878 and prepared for the Zulu Campaign, then clearly looming in the distance. Sending up the 80th and some irregulars to the Transvaal to keep matters quiet there while settling the Zulu question, and being followed by the other forces thus released from the Cape and by the regiments then in Natal. Previous to this, however, I ought here to mention that shortly after the annexation, a Commission was sent up in February, 1878, from Natal to Rorke's Drift, consisting of the Attorney-General, Mr. Gallwey, the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. John Shepstone, and Colonel Durnford, R.E., with a secretary and short-hand reporter. The object was to inquire into the relative claims of the Boers and the Zulus to the disputed territory between the Blood and Pongola Rivers. Their report was sent to Sir Bartle Frere to decide upon while he was in Natal. His award, then made known, gave the greater portion of the land in dispute to the Zulus, with the exception of the Districts immediately surrounding Utrecht and Luneberg. The boundary then laid down—being the Blood River, from its junction with the Buffalo to its source, thence in a straight line N.W. to Kruger's Beacon, and from there again for a short distance north to the source of the Pongola—was constituted the northern boundary of the Zulu nation. This boundary was however altered again, after the close of the Zulu war, of which every one knows the history now by heart, and which therefore needs no description of my own in this work. This very boundary question had been an important one for many years previously, giving rise to a series of quarrels, cattle thefts and reprisals, on the part of the Boer inhabitants and the Zulus, both of whom claimed the ground; and no definite settlement could ever be come to about it during the reign of the Transvaal Republican Government, although the matter was finally referred to the Natal Government for inquiry and report. Up to the end of 1877 Sir T. Shepstone, previously Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and the installer and personal friend of Cetwayo, the Zulu king, had always sided with them in the quarrel, believing that the Boers had gradually encroached upon the land. But after his journey to Utrecht, and subsequent interviews with Boers and Zulus, and

the high-handed proceedings and threats of the Zulu Prime Minister and other Zulu chiefs at a meeting held on the Blood River on the 18th of October, 1877, he came to the conclusion that the Boers had right and justice on their side. He therefore so represented the case to the Natal Government and Earl Carnarvon, and stated that every beacon then standing had been erected by the Boers in the presence of the Zulu chiefs and on the spots pointed out by them. This of course gave rise to much discontent; and the subsequent acts and threats of Cetuyayo caused the abandonment of the disputed territory by the Boers, who were heavy losers thereby. They considered themselves again unfairly treated by the British Government, in not having their rights granted to them and protection ensured from the threats of the Zulu king; while they themselves were prevented from taking any steps of self-protection or retaliation, but were told that if they waited patiently all would come right in the end. Thus was another pretext afforded to the Boers for widening the breach already existent and quite large enough.

Towards the end of 1878, the second Boer Deputation, consisting of Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Bok, returned from England, having been again unsuccessful in getting any satisfactory promises from the then Secretary of State for the Colonies; but having met with much kindness and sympathy from many of the English, and inhabitants of other European countries. The able, though somewhat prolix letter, written by them, in refutation of Sir T. Shepstone's annexation Proclamation and subsequent acts, will be found in Appendix D, and puts their side of the question fairly and straightforwardly before all the world. Their return to South Africa was almost coincident with Sir Bartle Frere's visit to Natal, and they had the satisfaction of a long interview and explanation with his Excellency at the Government House, Pietermaritzburg. This took place on February 4, 1879, and there were present the three deputies, his Excellency and Staff, including the Rev. Mr. Stegmann, a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church at Cape Town, an able, practical and liberal-minded man, whose presence was deemed of great value to Sir Bartle Frere in his meetings with

the Transvaal Boers. A verbatim report of this important meeting was taken at the time and published in the Colonial Press immediately afterwards ; and as I shall have to refer to the proceedings thereat in another chapter, it will be unnecessary to give the account *in extenso* here. Suffice it to say that its tenor did not allay in the slightest degree the bitter feelings of discontent still slumbering in the breasts of the Transvaal Boers, and shown occasionally at meetings held in various parts of the country. Those meetings, though orderly enough in themselves, were yet productive of much evil in the existing state of affairs, and ought—if the Government had been strong enough and wise enough—in its own interests to have been put down with a strong hand from the commencement. Several large meetings were held early in 1879, and at one a mutual oath of allegiance was taken by those then present, binding them to co-operate in every way, and by any means, to obtain their freedom and recover their country.

It was at this critical time in the internal affairs of the Transvaal that Colonel Lanyon—Administrator of the Diamond Fields, or Griqualand West as it is called—was appointed to the same office and title in the Transvaal, in succession to Sir T. Shepstone, who was desirous (or had been desired) to relinquish his temporarily assumed office. Colonel Lanyon arrived at Pretoria, March 4th ; and to many, even at that time, it seemed a questionable and even dangerous policy to appoint a military man, an entire stranger both to the country and people, to such an irresponsible, nay even autocratic, position as was that of an Administrator, after the repeated official promises of Sir T. Shepstone, that the Boers should be governed by their own laws and legislature under a separate form of government. Hitherto it had needed all the tact and intimate personal knowledge and friendship of Sir T. Shepstone—himself a colonist—with the assistance of the leading Boers, to prevent any actual outbreak or resort to arms on the part of the disaffected. But the return and failure of the Deputation, combined with the appointment of Colonel Lanyon to be their Governor, caused alarm, even in the minds of the most hopeful of the Boers, at the manifest and numerous signs of a coming storm, evident throughout the

Transvaal. The advent in Natal of Sir Bartle Frere, as High Commissioner, and of General Lord Chelmsford, Commanding the troops in South Africa, in order to bring Cetuywayo to reason, accompanied, as they were, by a large body of troops from the Cape—just released from the Gaika and Galeka campaigns—also gave rise to a feeling of uncertainty, as to whether the military demonstration was made only for the purpose of overawing the Zulu nation. And it speaks well for the Boers, that, when war was decided upon against Cetuywayo, many of them put aside their grievances for the time, and formed a gallant corps of guides and irregulars, and placed themselves under Colonel (now General Sir) Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B., then commanding a column operating in the North-west of Zululand, with his head-quarters at Utrecht, in the Transvaal. Of what service they were, and how the life of their brave leader, Piet Uys, was lost at Zlobane, every one is aware. The preliminary negotiations with Cetuywayo having had no definite and satisfactory result, war was proclaimed, and our troops marched into Zululand, early in January, 1879, in four columns. Sir Bartle Frere, then leaving the future conduct of the war entirely in Lord Chelmsford's hands, left Natal at the end of March for Pretoria, with his Staff and an escort of twenty troopers of the Maritzburg Horse, which he, however, left behind at Newcastle, journeying on to Pretoria with only his Staff, and reaching there on the 10th of April.

Colonel Lanyon had been in office about a month, Sir T. Shepstone having left shortly after his arrival for England, *via* the Free State and Natal; while Colonel Rowlands, V.C., C.B., was appointed Commandant of the Transvaal, and had to superintend the execution of such a distribution of the troops and Volunteers as would confine Secocoeni to his own mountain, and check the border raids of Umbelini and other predatory chiefs, situated in the Utrecht, Wakkerstrom, and New Scotland Districts. This he managed as well as could be expected, with the 80th Regiment and several Volunteer corps, the 13th Regiment having been sent down from Pretoria to join Colonel Wood's column on their advance into Zululand. Previous to Sir Bartle Frere's arrival at Pretoria, the Boers had been

assembled for three weeks, in number about 4,000, and held a large meeting close to the town at Kleinfontein, on the 18th of March, which lasted a week, and during which Colonel Lanyon had gone out on one occasion to meet and confer with them. Nothing was, however, decided upon, as they wished to meet Sir Bartle Frere himself, and have a conference face to face on the subject. On the 12th, two days after Sir Bartle's arrival at Pretoria, he went alone into their large camp—notwithstanding the danger, which was represented as being very great by the officials in Pretoria—with only a few members of his Staff, and had a long personal interview with the leaders of the people, at which it was decided to send no more deputations, but to get up another memorial, and leave its transmission to England accompanied with any recommendations thereon entirely in Sir Bartle Frere's hands. The adoption of this moderate and sensible course was due solely to the sympathetic and straightforward manner of Sir Bartle himself; who, while distinctly stating that he could not give them any hope of the past being recalled, or what was done being undone, yet expressed his feeling that the Boers had many grievances, which might and ought to be redressed; and that he considered all the expectations and promises held out to them in the time of annexation had not been fulfilled. Foremost among these engagements was the gift of really representative institutions, which he then and has since advocated repeatedly and consistently up to the present time.

Sir Bartle Frere sent the memorial home, together with his views thereon, and a sketch of the constitution, which in his opinion should be granted and would be accepted by the Boers. His official connection with the Transvaal ceased entirely in June, shortly after his return to the Cape. It is only fair to him to show that, having had no voice in the matter of the annexation or any of the measures connected therewith, he could but deal simply with the state of affairs as he found them at the time of his visit, and could only act on the instructions from home, together with the oft-repeated official statements of the Government, that under no circumstances whatever could the act of annexation be revoked. I think it will be admitted

by all, including the Boers themselves, that he took a fair and liberal view of the question ; and, had his views, together with Sir T. Shepstone's promises, been carried out in a spirit of conciliation by a competent official, there can be little doubt that the Transvaal would still have remained a British colony, a valuable addition to the Empire, and a united and prosperous country, and that the recent disastrous war would never have occurred.

It is perfectly true that, at the time of Colonel Lanyon's appointment, the Boers had nothing personal to say against himself or his antecedents ; but the mere fact of any purely military man being placed over them in succession to Sir T. Shepstone, and at a time when none of their undoubted grievances had been redressed, must be admitted by all as a sad mistake, and one which—judging by the previous experiences of the British Government in placing military men in Civil appointments throughout South Africa, and even in America a century before—most people would naturally have thought they would have carefully avoided, at any rate, in the special and peculiar circumstances of the Transvaal and its rough but ready inhabitants at that period.

CHAPTER X.

LANYON'S TRANSVAAL.

Sir Owen Lanyon's Difficulty—Arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Finish of the Zulu War—Aylward's Memorandum to Sir Garnet—Successful Attack on Secocoeni—Dispersal of his Tribe and Surrender of Himself—Sir Garnet at Pretoria—Great Boer Meeting, December 10-17, 1879—Arrest of Pretorius and Bok—Secocoeni and Erasmus—Arrest of the latter and some Natives—Sir Garnet's Gift of a Constitution—Government Statement—Reversal of Annexation now Impossible—Ill-chosen Officials—Prohibition of Public Meetings—Apparent Calm before the Storm—Agitation Abroad—Mr. Gladstone's Statements—Boers determine to be no longer misunderstood—Resolve to pay no more Taxes—Publication of same in Dutch Papers—Arrest of Mr. J. F. Celliers, Editor of the *Volkstem*—Sir Owen Lanyon's Views in so doing—Jeppe's Official Almanac Statements.

MATTERS remained in a very unsatisfactory state during the year 1879 throughout the whole of the Transvaal; and, although the Government of Sir O. Lanyon, aided by the efforts of Mr. Kruger—who remained in office under the British rule—and Dr. Jorissen—who also retained his office of "Staats Pro-cureur," or Attorney-General under the new *régime*—was enabled to keep things outwardly quiet; and, by the presence of a strong military force and the consequent introduction of much capital into the country, to produce a sort of favourable reaction in the financial state of affairs, aided materially by the forcible collection of overdue taxes, &c., nevertheless, it was well known that matters were not quite so rose-coloured as they appeared. The termination of the Zulu War, and the subsequent action of the British Government, were looked forward to with much anxiety by all South Africans in general, and by the Transvaalers in particular. The changing fortunes of the Zulu War, together with the numerous exciting events which occurred at that time, gave people plenty to think

about, and, even in the Transvaal, produced, *pro tem.*, a feeling of sympathy with their Natal and colonial brethren. This was added to and intensified by a decided feeling of insecurity for themselves, in the event of the Native tribes uniting in one common attack against the hated white invaders of their land.

The monotonous course of the Zulu War, varied, as it occasionally was by brilliant flashes, produced no decided effect on the position of affairs in the Transvaal, until the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley, and the return home of Lord Chelmsford. Then the people awoke to a sense of their position, and knowing of old Sir Garnet's decisive and autocratic way of dealing with things (as exhibited in Natal five years before), they dreaded his advent and looked doubtfully and despondently to the future. They had repeatedly done everything they could, in a legal and peaceable manner, to gain their point—by deputations, memorials, and the payment of taxes, under protest—and to obtain the redress of their grievances. But now, what with a military Administrator, and another still greater military High Commissioner at hand, backed up by a large military force, with no mediator whatever between themselves and the Government, who refused to treat with them directly, it was felt that unless a vigorous stand was made, or they could gain over Sir Garnet to their way of thinking, their liberties would be still farther curtailed, and the hope of eventual freedom farther off than ever. Sir Garnet Wolseley, after the capture of Cetywayo and the division of Zululand into thirteen sub-districts, sent most of the troops back to England again, and proceeded himself to the Transvaal with a small column for the subjection of Secocoeni. He reached Utrecht on September 11th, having pushed on in order to be near at hand in case of active resistance at Wesselstrom, as threatened by a party of Boers, who were to be summoned before the Landdrost, for non-payment of taxes, on the 10th of September. While there, he received an interesting, exhaustive and able communication on the state of the Transvaal from the pen of Mr. A. Aylward, whose name and position have been mentioned in some previous chapters in this work. In this statement, after drawing attention to the bitter feelings of the Boers at

the misrepresentations made about them and their motives by interested officials and speculators, and through a portion of the Cape Press, Mr. Aylward sharply criticized the stories then current about slavery and treason, and showed in what way Colonel Lanyon had lost the Boer confidence. He then proceeded to suggest that, as the Boer Committee was then in session, a Commission should be appointed, and inquiry made throughout the State, as to the grievances and wishes of *the majority*. The Commission to visit each District in turn, and Boer delegates, with their witnesses, to be allowed to appear before the Commission and give evidence. He concluded by drawing attention to the earnestness and good faith of the Boer malcontents, to their large numbers and obstinate determination to recover their independence at any cost. To this the following answer was returned, and it is a very useful indication of Sir Garnet's opinions at that period:—"Utrecht, Transvaal, September 10, 1879.—SIR,—I am directed by General Sir Garnet Wolseley to acknowledge, and to thank you, for your interesting memorandum of the 26th ultimo, on the subject of the affairs of the Transvaal territory. His Excellency desires me to inform you, in reply, that he is glad he is able to take a less gloomy view of the position of matters in the Transvaal than has been accepted by you. His Excellency's knowledge of the Dutch causes him to think very highly of their solid good sense, which he feels sure will prevent them from being led into rebellious acts by the violence of a small party of self-seeking intriguers. I have, &c., ST. LEGER A. HERBERT, Private Secretary."

When Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Utrecht, with the 80th Regiment and two guns of the R.A., he found it garrisoned by the 2-24th Regiment and the head-quarters of the 1st Dragoon Guards. He immediately sent forward a detachment of 100 men and three officers to Wesselstrom in case of any outbreak. Nothing, however, occurred, and after a short stay in Utrecht, being warmly welcomed by the inhabitants, and having several important interviews with the leading Dutch residents, Sir Garnet left for Pretoria, which he reached on the 27th of September, and left again in October for Middleberg, where

the expedition against Secocoeni was being organized under the command of Colonel Baker Russell. It consisted of the 21st, 80th, and 94th Regiments, Mounted Infantry, a squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards, Ferreira's and Raaf's Volunteer Horse, a large Native contingent, and some Artillery. Forts Weeber and Burgers (already mentioned in connection with the previous war against Secocoeni) were made the advanced posts, with Leydenberg as the base of supplies; and all the forces were encamped there by the end of October. Considerable delay then took place in connection with supplies, convoys, and general organization, including the building of other advanced forts, &c., &c.; and things were not in complete readiness for a combined forward movement until the 20th of November. But it was not until the 23rd that active fighting was commenced by a successful attack on Umkuana's town, one of the enemy's advanced posts. This was speedily followed by the capture of successive positions, the water Koppie, Secocoeni's town, and finally of the fighting Koppie, which was the chief's stronghold. The crowning assault took place on the 28th, and was completely successful; excepting that Secocoeni escaped for a time, and managed to seek shelter in a cave some distance off. The force attacked in two columns, the former consisting of 1,800 Europeans and 2,000 Natives; the latter of 400 Europeans and 6,000 Natives. Their loss was three officers killed, five wounded, and a few non-commissioned officers and men. After the action, the fighting Koppie was completely surrounded, and in a short time over 500 natives came out and surrendered; while, a day or two after, Commandant Ferreira, with his mounted corps, succeeded in surrounding the cave where Secocoeni was hiding, about twelve miles from the stronghold, and was reinforced by the Leydenberg Mounted Rifles, Eckersley's Native contingent, and a company of Infantry. On December 2nd Secocoeni surrendered to Ferreira, who brought him to General Sir Garnet Wolseley, and he was then sent to Pretoria as a prisoner and lodged in gaol. His capture and the dispersal of his tribe, in which the Swazie contingent took such a prominent part, removed the last of the Native hindrances to the complete

internal tranquillization of the north-eastern portion of the Transvaal, and brought the active services of the troops to a quick and honourable close.

Shortly afterwards all the troops reassembled at Pretoria, then garrisoned by the 58th Regiment, where on the 10th of December Sir Garnet held a grand review and sham fight by the troops, over 3,000 in number; decorating on that occasion Captain Cecil D'Arcy, commanding Frontier Light Horse, with the well-earned Victoria Cross. This campaign against Secocoeni was finished about the same time as the Cape Colonial forces attacked and carried Morosi's mountain in Basutoland, after making several previous attempts; which, certainly, together with the successful termination of the Zulu War, did much to restore the prestige of British supremacy in South Africa. After this, in accordance with his instructions from the Home Government, Sir Garnet Wolseley entered upon the consideration of the question of the Boer grievances, and the best method of allaying their fears, alleviating their position, and healing their wounded feelings. Where, when, and from whom he got his information I know not; but there is every reason to believe that he was unfortunate in his choice of advisers, ill-informed as to the number, nature, and reality of the Boer grievances, too hopeful of his own power of healing up difficulties, and too hasty in his conclusions and acts. It is indisputable that a very general opinion prevailed at the time among even Sir Garnet's Staff and other officials as to the undoubted necessity (from their point of view) for a despotic rule over the Transvaal, even by force of arms, if necessary. There is ample evidence to show conclusively that Sir Bartle Frere's Civil policy of conciliation and the redress of grievances, without the absolute relinquishment of the territory, was throughout totally opposed to the military-sided view of the question, taken up by Sir Garnet Wolseley, his advisers, and, I regret to say, by a large section of the British and Colonial Press.

A Boer mass meeting was held on the 10th to 17th of December, 1879, at which the people assembled together, for the third time hoisted the flag of the South African Republic,

and passed resolutions to the following effect:—That, there being no hope of recovering their independence by peaceful means, the Volksraad should be convened, and a strong form of the South African Republic should be instituted—and the people swore to co-operate for that purpose and defend their rights until death. The outcome of this was the immediate arrest of the President, M. W. Pretorius, and the Secretary, Mr. Bok. Mr. Pretorius was arrested at Potchefstroom on the 4th of January, and Mr. Bok at Pretoria on the 5th. They were both allowed out on bail of £3,000 each. They were charged with high treason; although the meeting had declared that the actual carrying out of the resolutions should be delayed until they had been communicated to the British Government by Sir G. Wolseley; and a deputation was sent to the Cape to ask for their sympathy and help, as well as to unite in preventing the confederation of all the States and Colonies in South Africa, until their grievances were redressed. Sir Garnet, however, seemed to think better of his hasty proceedings, and after a short detention Pretorius and Bok were released and their trial for high treason dropped through. The 80th Regiment, which, after being eighteen months in the Transvaal, had just left Pretoria on the 26th of December, 1879, were in Potchefstroom at the time, and were detained there in consequence of the attitude assumed by the Boers after the arrest of Pretorius and Bok. Kruger, Joubert, and S. Prinsloo were also to have been arrested, but for some reason or other the arrests did not take place.

About the same time another important link in the chain of Boer grievances occurred in this wise. After the surrender of Secocoeni and his conveyance to Pretoria gaol, he made a statement against Mr. Abel Erasmus, the leading Boer in the Leydenberg District, incriminating him for treasonable correspondence and negotiations; and for inciting Secocoeni not to submit to the Government and pay the fine imposed on him, but to fight; as the Boers were going to fight the English and turn them out of the country. Upon this statement being verified on oath before the Secretary for Native Affairs, translated, and then signed by Secocoeni, the Government issued