

tenant Long's force consisted of fifty men and ten Volunteers. On the 4th of March the Boers managed to set fire to one of the buildings in the fort, it being a thatched roof; the troops put it out in twenty minutes, under a heavy fire from the Boers. They intended to try it on again next morning, the 5th, but Lieutenant Long had stripped the roof of thatch during the night, and the men shouted for them to come on. They cut off the water from the fort, but Lieutenant Long had sunk and struck water; they were obliged to let it run again, as the townspeople were suffering from want of it. Mrs. Long was the only lady in the fort, but she proved most useful in attending on the sick and wounded. Warrant Officer Parsons, of the Commissariat, distinguished himself on two separate occasions, by going out of the fort and throwing hand grenades into the enemy's positions, which created a great diversion.

On the 30th of March the news of the peace reached them, and the Boers at once went to their homes. The soldiers, however, were rather riotous, their first act being to pull down the Republican flag and destroy it; but a new flag was made at the expense of the officer commanding and put up again by the soldiers. There was no Government, no law, and no order for some time afterwards. Several of the soldiers were arrested, brought to Pretoria, and tried, receiving various severe sentences, which were, however, mitigated in every case by General Wood, on account of their previous bravery in defending the fort. Lieutenant Long was so disgusted with the whole proceeding that he resigned his commission, but not before receiving due credit, as is shown in the following General Order, published in Pretoria on the arrival there of his small but gallant detachment:—"The Colonel Commanding, having received detailed accounts of the fort at Leydenberg, wishes to congratulate Lieutenant Long and his gallant little garrison of the 94th Foot, for the heroic and gallant defence made for so long a period against a determined and able foe, many times their own number, and under circumstances of great privation and difficulty. The indomitable courage, great endurance, and intelligent co-operation shown throughout by all has been remarkable, while the ready resources and conspicuous ability displayed by

Lieutenant Long in the conduct of his communications with the enemy entitle him to the highest praise. Isolated in position, 108 miles from Pretoria, surrounded and attacked on all sides, the little garrison have well upheld the honour of England and the gallant 94th, and afforded to the Service a brilliant example of what British soldiers can achieve when well commanded." The casualties during the siege were : killed, three ; wounded, nineteen, between the 6th of January and 31st of March, 1881.

The account of the siege at Marabastadt was given by Captain W. Sampson, late of Nours's Horse, who visited the place after the peace, and ascertained the following details :—

"Marabastadt, though called a village, has never been proclaimed or laid out as a township. The 'village' consists of some seven or eight houses; the district is, however, a very populous one. Since the Secocoeni war a company of the 94th have been stationed there, and the reason is apparent when there are no less than 336,000 Kaffirs in the Zoutpansberg District, and 170,000 in that adjoining, the Waterberg District. Sixty men under Captain Brooke and Lieutenant Jones formed the garrison, aided by thirty Volunteers and fifty half-castes under Captain Thompson, when the war broke out. The fort was put in the best state of defence that circumstances would permit. Fortunately the races were being held at the time the news of the Bronkhorst Spruit arrived, and the English inhabitants of the neighbourhood who were present readily responded to the call of Captain Brooke to aid in the defence. The site of the fort is by no means a good one, being commanded by ridges 800 yards distant from all sides. The campaign was opened by Captain Thompson, who was attacked by the Boers when patrolling in the neighbourhood of Upsalt. He was forced to retire on the fort, with one Volunteer wounded, and one Bastard killed and four wounded. The Boers then threw up three laagers and closely invested the place. Having obtained two ship's carronades from the residence of Commissioner Dahl, they commenced firing on the fort, using as missiles iron taken from the Erstelling Gold Mining Company's works. Captain Brooke took possession of one of the hills at the rear of the fort, and held that position some time, but the Boers with their guns shelled our men out of it, killing Colour-Sergeant Frilge, who was in command of the party. Much to the astonishment of our garrison the enemy did not occupy this position that we evacuated; they must have feared dynamite. The fire of the Boers with their carronades was really very good, even at over a thousand yards. Every now and again our men had to make a sortie to drive them out of range. Well off for arms, ammunition, and provisions, our men worked cheerily. The Boers, had they possessed much energy, might have cut off the water supply by diverting the stream; but in case of contingencies our garrison dug a well and made a covered way to it, so that there was really no fear of the supply failing. The fort held out till the despatches were received announcing the peace. Had the Boers occupied the position on the hill that our men were driven out of, it might have fared badly with the brave little garrison."

At Middleberg, in consequence of the absence of any troops and the scarcity of provisions, the inhabitants decided not to offer any resistance to the Boers, who flocked in large numbers daily after the 22nd of December. Many of the English were, however, taken prisoners, but afterwards released on parole not to leave the town without passes. Stores were also largely "commandeered," but no great damage was done by the Boers, who were commanded by Commandant Grove. Two Englishmen, Messrs. Walker and Cumming, the former Assistant Surveyor to Mr. Rissik, and the latter Clerk to the Native Reserve Commission, both working in the neighbourhood, got a pass one day to go out to a farm three miles off, and finding the road clear, with two good horses, a compass, and three revolvers, they rode off determined to try and reach Delagoa Bay and then by sea to Natal. After an adventurous journey of seventeen days, having left Middleberg on the 25th of February, they reached Delagoa Bay on foot, having had to leave their horses knocked up behind. They were kindly treated by the Kaffirs *en route*, and visited the Swazie King, who gave them carriers. They crossed three large rivers—the Usuto, Limpopo, and Umvaloosi—in a small "dug-out" (a log of wood hollowed out) two at a time, and proceeded to another river by noon near Delagoa Bay. When they arrived at Delagoa Bay they were kindly received by Mr. Menlove's assistant; after a little delay they obtained passage by the Union Company's steamer *Natal*, and arrived in Durban on the morning of the 17th of March.

At Rustenberg and Wakkerstrom also a successful defence was maintained by the British and loyalists, and the Boers were kept at bay until the armistice and the subsequent peace Convention. There were no circumstances of exceptional importance to record; but I am unable to give any details, not having been supplied with the information promised me, in time for publication herewith.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

Sir E. Wood's New Staff Appointments—Sir F. Roberts and Suite—Arrival of Reinforcements—Colonel Lanyon's Departure—Opening Speech at Volksraad—Boer Leaders arrive in Newcastle—Royal Commissioners leave Capetown—Events in Newcastle—Loyal and Refugee Deputations—Boer Address to Sir Hercules—Royal Commission at Pretoria—Their Work—Native Troubles—Trials for Murder—Found Not Guilty—Appointment of Hudson as British Resident—Signing of Convention—Opening of Telegraph between Free State and Natal—Great Interview with Native Chiefs—Speech thereat.

THE terms of peace had hardly been settled when the reinforcements promised after the news of the Amajuba fight began to arrive with despatch, both from England and India. Meanwhile, the following provisional re-arrangement of the Staff of the Field Force was made by Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., K.C.B., commanding the Field Force in South-East Africa :—**PERSONAL STAFF.** Lieut. B. Hamilton, 15th Regiment, Aide-de-Camp from 28th March, 1881; Mr. Thornburgh-Cropper, extra Aide-de-Camp from 16th February, 1881.—**HEAD-QUARTER STAFF.** Major Redvers Buller, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., 60th Rifles, Chief of the Staff, and to perform such other duties as might be delegated to him, from 4th March, 1881. **A.A. and Q.M. Generals :** Major F. C. H. Clark, C.M.G., R.A., Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General from 6th February, 1881. Major F. Fraser, R.E., Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General from 28th February, 1881. Major F. Cardew, 82nd Regiment, Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General from 16th February, 1881. **D.A.A. and Q.M. Generals :** Major H. G. Macgregor, 29th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General. Captain A. B. Maude, 90th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 12th February, 1881.—**PIETERMARITZBURG.** Lieut.-Colonel R. Hawthorne, R.E., Commandant. Captain the Hon. Keith-Turnour, 2-60th Rifles, District Adjutant. Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Wavell, 41st

Regiment, Commandant of Line of Communication, Durban to Tugela, and Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. D.A.A. General: Major E. J. H. Spratt, 29th Regiment, Deputy Assistant and Adjutant General, from 11th March, 1881.—DURBAN. A. Q. M. General: Lieut.-Colonel M. W. E. Gosset, 54th Regiment, Commandant and Assistant Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. D.A.A. and Q.M. Generals. Major E. Essex, 75th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. Lieut. R. C. Wilson, 2-60th Rifles, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 10th February, 1881.—LADYSMITH. Colonel W. D. Bond, 58th Regiment, Commandant, Line of Communication, Tugela to Newcastle, from 10th March, 1881. Major H. W. E. Brunner, 26th Regiment, Staff Officer and Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, from 10th March, 1881.—NEWCASTLE. Major J. Browne, 94th Regiment, Commandant, from 18th February, 1881. Lieut. H. G. Adams-Connor, 94th Regiment, Garrison Adjutant, 11th March, 1881. Lieut. S. J. M. Jopp, 58th Regiment, Garrison Quartermaster, from 11th March, 1881.—MOUNT PROSPECT. D.A.A.G. and Q.M. General: Major A. F. Hart, 21st Regiment, Deputy Assistant and Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. Cavalry. Major W. V. Brownlow, 1st Dragoon Guards, Brigade Major, from 11th March, 1881.

Of the reinforcements the first to arrive were the 14th Hussars from India, followed by the *Euphrates* with the 85th and 102nd Regiments, on March 30th. On the 24th a telegram from home stated that the Premier, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, had announced that Sir Frederick Roberts would return home immediately on arrival, and that the reinforcements had been stopped. At the end of the month the 41st Regiment arrived from England in the *Grantully Castle*. The *France* arrived at Durban on April 1st; she brought, in company with the *Calabria*, the Regiment of the 7th Hussars, made up of 40 officers, 660 men, and 426 horses and mules. Then followed the S.S. *Roman* and *Thames* early in April, with drafts for the various Regiments in Natal. The 102nd were sent back, but the 85th

were landed; the 10th, 26th, and 99th Regiments being countermanded. The 15th Hussars, 92nd, and 97th Regiments were sent back from Mount Prospect to a new camp established in Bennett's Drift, a few miles from Newcastle, and then on the 28th General Wood telegraphed to Pietermaritzburg that Colonel Winsloe had surrendered Potchefstroom on the 21st, before the mule-waggons, which left Mount Prospect on the 7th, had traversed the distance, 200 miles. Terms: all honours of war, retaining private weapons and property. Guns and rifles surrendered, but ammunition for both to be handed to President Brand for custody during war, after which to be returned. Garrison not to serve during the hostilities at present existing. Garrison marching, *viâ* Cronstadt, on Natal. By his agreement with Boers, entered into 21st and 23rd, he should claim all Government property surrendered.

Next day news came of the arrival at the Cape of Sir F. Roberts and his suite by the *Balmoral Castle*. But they took their departure next day by the *Trojan*. The Naval Brigade at Mount Prospect, under Commander Domville, of H.M.S. *Dido*, were ordered down to re-embark, and also Major Brownlow, with his small detachment of the K.D.G. Colonel H. Stewart and Captain Macgregor, who were both taken prisoners at the Amajuba, arrived in Newcastle safely on the 2nd. On the same date it was telegraphed that the Secretary of State for War, in answer to a question, said 12,000 men would be retained in Natal and the Transvaal.

Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon left Pretoria early in April, and on the 9th of April a proclamation appeared in the Government *Gazette*, that, owing to the departure of Colonel Lanyon, Colonel Bellairs would undertake the administration of the Province. Valedictory addresses were drawn up and presented to the Administrator, previous to his departure—by the members of the Executive Council, expressing their high sense of the administrative capacity shown by his Excellency in the discharge of the duties of his high office, and their conviction that his indefatigable industry, diligence, and wide official experience had, throughout his term of office, been devoted to

the furtherance of the best interests of the Government and the people of the province,—and by the members of the civil service of the Transvaal. The latter said, in one passage—“We question whether in the history of the Transvaal two such consecutive years of financial prosperity as those which have passed under your Excellency’s rule have ever been experienced. Never has the revenue reached such limits, and never has the official work been carried on with such regularity and despatch.”

The wounded from Bronkhorst Spruit, and other wounded in Pretoria, were despatched in waggons, under charge of Captain Anton, of the 94th, to Newcastle on April 6th. In the presence of the assembled troops in garrison the colours of the 94th, brought from the battle-field by Mr. Egerton, were handed over to Captain Campbell’s company by Colonel Gildea. The conduct of Mrs. Smith, widow of Bandmaster Smith, of the 94th (who died at Leydenberg before the march of the ill-fated companies was made for Pretoria), on the battle-field was such as to elicit general admiration. Attending the wounded men under fire, Mrs. Smith tore up her dress to make bandages for those who were bleeding to death. The District Order, published by Colonel Bellairs, C.B., on the 5th of April, bore fitting testimony to the heroism of this lady.

President Brand arrived at Potchefstrom on April 9th, where the town was *en fête*, and a hearty reception was accorded him. It may be noted, however, that although the settlement was received with approval by the Boer sympathisers and partisans, yet the contrary was the case with the British residents and the loyalists in the Transvaal, Natal, and the other British South African colonies. This feeling was even very vehemently expressed at public meetings and in many ways. It is superfluous to add that the military in general were extremely disgusted, and most eager to fight again and retrieve their lost prestige.

With reference to the capitulation of Potchefstrom, the following telegram was received from General Wood:—“Newcastle, 11th April.—Boer leaders admitted to me at Heidelberg that Commander Cronje broke their promise by

suppressing news of the armistice to the Potchefstroom garrison; they expressed their most sincere regret, and proposed that the capitulation be considered cancelled; and they acquiesced in the re-occupation of the place. I accepted the apology and proposals. All surrendered material to be handed over at once at Standerton." General Wood had left some days previously for Pretoria, but his carriage being overturned some distance up and himself bruised, he was obliged to return to Newcastle. He started again soon afterwards, when reports were prevalent as to Boer outrages and the rising of Kaffirs, none of which, however, turned out to be true. Mr. Meek, who went up to take possession of his house beyond the Nek, which had been used as a Boer hospital, found Dr. and Mrs. Hutchinson there still. The latter being ill, Swart Dirk Uys had left them to remain a few days until they could get a waggon to move comfortably to their home in Utrecht. This did not, however, suit Mr. Meek, who very ungraciously complained to Sir Evelyn, and at last got them almost turned out. Sir Evelyn Wood and Major Fraser, who reached Pretoria in the second week in April, left on the 15th at day-break for Heidelberg, Colonel Lanyon accompanying them. On arrival at Heidelberg the Republican flag was found flying, but on the remonstrance on the part of General Wood it was hauled down. It was stated, as indicating the state of things in the Transvaal after the Convention, that on the arrival of Magistrate Rudolph at Utrecht on April 9th the returned rebels shut their doors in his face. He found the offices turned into cow-sheds; documents and registries all missing; houses of loyals wrecked, property looted or destroyed, and the late beleaguered and despoiled inhabitants seeking refuge. Anarchy and disorder succeeded peace everywhere, and the law was powerless to protect life or property.

On Monday, the 11th, the whole of the prisoners taken by the Boers arrived at Fort Amiel under charge of Captain Hornby, 58th Regiment, and consisting of three Marines, one Hussar, one Dragoon, nineteen of the 92nd, some 58th, 94th, and 3-60th. They all looked remarkably well, and none the worse for their recent loss of liberty. They all spoke in high

terms of the kindness shown to them by the Boers, except that they were all threatened with death on the first Boer reverse. At that time the major part of the troops were a distance of five miles from the fort, viz., Artillery, 15th Hussars, 6th Dragoons, 83rd, 92nd, 97th, and 2-60th Regiment, also Engineers and Mounted Infantry, while at Fort Amiel there were part of the 58th and 94th. At Mount Prospect 3-60th, Mounted Infantry, &c.

The Vice-President, Paul Kruger, acting on behalf of the Triumvirate, called together a special and extraordinary meeting of the Transvaal Volksraad on the 15th of April, which was opened by the President in a very temperate speech, but afterwards one member rising said that the Boers must not give up an inch of the Transvaal. If the English tried to take one inch the Boers must fight to the last drop of their blood. This sentiment was loudly applauded, and not being able to agree, the meeting broke up. The following extracts from an official translation of the speech fairly indicate its general tone and spirit :—

“I have called you together as representatives of the people, to inform you of what has been done by the Government since it was entrusted to them by your Assembly on the 14th of December, 1880, at Paardekraal, to do everything that was necessary for the restoration of our independence. With a feeling of gratitude to the God of our fathers, who has been near to us in battle and in danger, it is to me an unspeakable privilege to be able to lay before you the treaty of peace entered into at O'Neil's Farm between us and Sir Evelyn Wood as Plenipotentiary of the British Government, and bearing dates 21st and 23rd of March, 1881. I consider it my duty plainly to declare before you and before the whole world, that our respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the Government of Her Majesty, and for the English nation, has never been greater than this time, when we are enabled in this treaty to show you a proof of England's noble and magnanimous love for right and justice. From the treaty of peace you will see that still an important part in the regulation of affairs in this country has been left to a Royal Commission. I confidently declare to you my belief that this Royal Commission will thoroughly and in all respects complete the work of justice so nobly commenced on the 21st and 23rd of March last. In the meantime, I believe I am acting altogether in accordance with the treaty of peace, when I express in your presence the hope that all inhabitants of the Transvaal will in the meantime abstain from all words or deeds which could lead to the perpetuation of that feeling of hostility which must now and for ever be eradicated altogether. The people declared in 1879 what we repeated in the first proclamation, its desire to be a peaceable, obedient people, with a progressive government. Let all citizens offer and accept the hand of reconciliation in order to establish a happy state.”

On April 24th Sir Owen Lanyon was requested by Lord Kimberley to remain for the meeting of the Royal Commission. Captain Campbell, 94th, was sent up to Leydenberg to take command and restore order, with power to act as Landdrost, if necessary. By this time all the leaders and representatives of the Boers had arrived in Newcastle, and were awaiting the arrival of the Royal Commissioners. They were S. J. P. Kruger, Vice-President, and Messrs. M. W. Pretorius, J. Joubert, E. J. Jorissen, T. De Villiers, and G. H. Buskes; with whom, meanwhile, General Sir E. Wood held a conference in reference to the affair of the capitulation of Potchefstrom, and his demand that the same should be annulled, which was ultimately done. On the 28th of April Chief Justice Sir H. De Villiers arrived in Newcastle from the Cape; and two days later Mr. Hudson, Colonial Secretary (Transvaal), and Attorney-General Morcom arrived from Pretoria to give their evidence at the forthcoming conferences. On the same day, 30th, an influential meeting was held in Newcastle, at which Major C. K. White (late a member of the Transvaal Volksraad), and Mr. Zeitsman, of Utrecht, were appointed as delegates to watch the proceedings of the Royal Commission, and represent the interests of the loyalists, both British and Dutch, in the Colony, as well as subsequently in England, if it should be found necessary. Daily conferences took place between the Boer leaders and General Wood and the Chief Justice; but the sittings were quite private, Major Fraser acting as secretary, and Attorney-General Morcom as short-hand writer. Difficulties arose, especially as to the restoration of the guns captured at Potchefstrom; and on May 5th Major Clarke and Joubert left for Potchefstrom on secret service; while the General himself rode over to Wakkerstrom with an escort. Finally the two guns were delivered by the Boers to Major Montague at Standerton on the 11th. Meanwhile the garrison of Potchefstrom had been on the march *via* Cronstadt and Harrismith, in the Orange Free State. Their progress was slow, on account of the sick and wounded; and they reached Ladysmith on the 5th of May, meeting with a hearty reception.

His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the

Cape, after giving his Basuto award, took his departure from Cape Town, on board H.M.S. *Orontes*, on the 1st of May, accompanied by his private secretary, Captain St. John, and Messrs. L. Cole (secretary to the Chief Justice), F. J. Watermeyer, interpreter, and W. S. Fletcher, *en route* for the Transvaal. The party reached Durban on the 3rd, and proceeded without delay to Newcastle, where they arrived on the 8th, going direct to Hilldrop Farm, where it had been arranged that the opening sittings of the Commission should be held, and where the other Commissioners were already assembled. Two days later Sir Hercules Robinson made his official entry into Newcastle, together with General Sir E. Wood and Chief Justice Sir H. De Villiers, when the Royal Commission was formally opened, and the Conference commenced.

In the meantime President Brand summoned a meeting of the Orange Free State Volksraad (on the 2nd May); and in the address his Honour referred to the settlement of affairs in the Transvaal, requested permission to attend the Royal Commission as representing a friendly neighbouring State, and expressed the hope that in the result a lasting peace might be established. On the following day, with the unanimous approval of the Volksraad, President Brand started for Newcastle, where he arrived in due course on the 12th. The town was at this time full of refugees, loyalists, and native chiefs of all descriptions, from the Transvaal, among whom may be named Amatonga, son of Mpanda, and brother of Cetywayo, a Zulu chief who served with distinction in the Secocoeni war; as also John Dunn, of world-wide celebrity. A considerable amount of dissatisfaction prevailed, together with widespread rumours of intimidation, in view of the statements and evidence to be adduced before the Royal Commission. In consequence, an official notice was issued—with reference to the Proclamation by his Excellency Sir H. Robinson, G.C.M.G., High Commissioner, dated Cape Town, 18th April, 1881, and announcing the appointment of the Transvaal Royal Commission—giving assurance of full protection from all molestation or hindrance to all persons desirous of giving evidence on either side upon the questions submitted for the consideration of the Royal

Commission. Among the notable persons who arrived to give information was Commandant Raaf, from the Potchefstroom garrison.

On the anniversary of the birthday of Her Majesty Queen Victoria the Boer leaders presented a congratulatory address to Sir H. Robinson, to the following effect:—"A short time ago we had occasion publicly to state that our respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the Government of Her Majesty, and for the British nation, has never been greater than now, that we are enabled by the peace agreement to produce proof of England's noble and magnanimous love of right and justice. And we beg now to reiterate those sentiments, and to add, that we are convinced that the relations which will for the future exist between the Crown of England and the people of the Transvaal will be the best guarantee of a sincere and everlasting peace. We respectfully request that your Excellency may be pleased to convey to Her Majesty our deepest respect, and the assurance that our prayers are that the Almighty God may shower His blessings upon Her Majesty for many years, for the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain and the whole of South Africa, and more especially of the Transvaal, who hails and respects Her Majesty as her future Suzerain."

The proceedings of the Royal Commission were not officially published or made known during the course of the negotiations; and, as was natural, non-official statements and officious rumours were rife throughout the entire period of the sittings, which were prolonged over the months of May, June, and July. It would be futile to give any detailed account of the various and numerous conflicting reports by which the community was from time to time agitated, and kept on the tenter-hooks of excitement and expectation. A brief outline of facts will suffice. After having held several sittings at Hilldrop Farm, Newcastle, the Royal Commissioners adjourned to Pretoria, accompanied by President Brand and the leaders and representatives of the Transvaal Boers. The first departures from Newcastle were those of his Excellency the High Commissioner and the Chief Justice on June 2nd. The final arrivals at Pretoria occurred about the 12th of June, and in the following

week four sittings were held. Subsequently, towards the end of the month and beginning of July, the sittings took place daily. Long and frequent conferences were held with the Boer leaders; and, apart from mere rumours, it was evident that there was great dissidence of opinion, and that much difficulty and delay would attend the final agreement and settlement, if even that could be arrived at. During this period it transpired that one disagreement in particular arose out of the refusal of the Royal Commissioners to sit with G. H. Buskes, who was appointed a member of the Boer Committee on Finance. The Boer leaders, in their turn, took offence at this, and suspended their meetings with the Commission. No little dissatisfaction and irritation was in the end created by the delay and long-protracted suspense. Among the steps taken to support the views of the different classes interested in the prospective settlement of affairs, it may be noted that a deputation of the loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal was sent to Newcastle, and addressed a protest against the manner in which the proceedings of the Royal Commission were conducted. They objected that the Boer representatives were allowed to hear the statements of the witnesses examined; and that every facility was given them to follow the deliberations of the Commissioners, while the representatives of the loyal inhabitants were dealt with at arm's length. This objection was apparently based, in the main, upon their fear of subsequent Boer reprisals; a feeling which undoubtedly existed, and not without justification, as shown by a statement submitted by the Zulu chief Amatonga, who deposed that, when the war broke out, he was asked to join the Boers; and on his refusal they threatened to shoot him. He fled to Wakkerstrom with twenty of his men. But there were 400 natives of the tribes of Sturman, Jantje, Rociland, and one of Langalibalele's sub-chiefs, who were induced, by the promise of booty, to take part with the Boers, and fight against the British at Wakkerstrom. Amatonga added, that even since the signing of the peace convention the Boers had again threatened that they would shoot him. Reimer J. Vanderlinden (a Boer from the Zeerust district) stated he was summoned, after the war, to accompany a

Commando against the Bechuana chief ; and that unless some protection against the Republican Boers were granted, the loyal Boers and natives would most of them be compelled to leave the Transvaal. As regards hostile conflicts between Boers and natives, it is true that there were rumours of such encounters ; but on special inquiry being made, it turned out that those reports were unfounded. They originated in a collision between native tribes only, under two chiefs, named Montsiwe and Matchabi, in which, however, the Boers took no part. At Pretoria additional affidavits were submitted to the Royal Commission from loyalists, as to threats and confiscation of property by the Boers. A memorial was also received from a number of loyal Boers in the Rustenberg district, stating their grievances and requesting protection ; while many of the native Rustenberg chiefs attended in person. The entire native question was a prominent subject in the deliberations of the Commission, and especially in relation to the Zulus and the Swazies. Financial matters, as between the Transvaal and the British Colony, as well as the private claims by Boers and British, in compensation for damages, also formed another knotty point for consideration.

In redemption of pledges previously given by the Boers, proceedings were instituted about this time to inquire into various alleged crimes that had taken place during the war ; notably into the circumstances of the murders of Captain Elliott, Dr. Barbour, and Mr. A. Malcolm. The accused in each case were delivered up by the Boer leaders, according to promise, or surrendered themselves for the investigation. As regards the first-named case, two prisoners, J. Van Nieuwenhuysen and P. J. Daysel, were put on their trial, charged with being accomplices and accessories in the murder of Captain Mitchell John Elliott, which took place at a farm called Koffersfontein, on the banks of the River Vaal, on the 29th of December, 1880. The trial commenced on Tuesday, the 19th of July, in the High Court at Pretoria, and lasted four days. The line of defence adopted on behalf of the prisoners (who had formed part of the armed escort of Captains Elliott and Lambart) was that Captain Lambart, the chief

witness, had made wilful misstatements; and in the result, after deliberating an hour and a half, the jury—which consisted of eight Dutch Boers and one German Afrikaner—pronounced the prisoners not guilty. In reference to the murder of Dr. Barbour, two men, J. M. and G. R. Van Rooijen, were charged with the crime in the Circuit Court at Harrismith (Orange Free State), and acquitted on the 28th of September, 1881. The two prisoners were the armed escort, detailed by Commandant L. Viljoen, from the Boer camp at the Amajuba, to take Dr. Barbour and his assistant, or dresser, W. Dyas, over the border into the Orange Free State. But, although there can be no doubt that in this case (as in that of Captain Elliott) the victim was deliberately shot, yet the evidence, statements, and conduct of the chief witness, W. Dyas, were deemed contradictory and unreliable. In the third case, the men, five in number, charged with the murder of Andrew Malcolm in the store at Rietspruit, Witwatersrand, on the 20th-21st of December, 1880, were tried at the High Court of the Transvaal, at Pretoria, on the 25th and 26th of July, resulting in an acquittal, apparently on account of some minor discrepancies in the evidence. As bearing upon the murder of Dr. Barbour, it may be noted that it was stated that the Commission had an affidavit by Allen Smith, a Hottentot, who was a prisoner at Lang's Nek, in which he said that he heard one of the Boers say he had brought an order from Piet Joubert to Viljoen, the Commandant there, to take Barbour and Dyas to the Free State line and shoot them there; and he further said in the course of conversation: "Piet Joubert asked why were the men not shot when they came to the first laager."

On the 25th of July Captain Elliott's body, having been brought to Pretoria, was buried with all military honours. General Sir Evelyn Wood and his staff visited the scene of the disaster at Bronkhorst Vlei. At the beginning of August it became known that the labours of the Royal Commission and the conferences with the Boer leaders had resulted in an amicable settlement, to which no doubt the intermediation of President Brand and his influence with the Boers largely con-

tributed. The Honourable G. Hudson was appointed first British Resident at Pretoria; and it was announced that the Volksraad would be called together to ratify the terms of peace which had been agreed upon; but that pending such ratification none of the British troops would be withdrawn, although the Royal Commissioners were to return to the Cape at once, without awaiting the formal result.

The Convention was signed by the Triumvirate on August 3rd, the day after direct telegraphic communication was opened between Natal and the Orange Free State *via* Ladysmith and Harrismith to Bloemfontein. Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed the result from Pretoria to H. E. Colonel Mitchell, Maritzburg, on August 3rd: "Convention signed this afternoon. Civil Government will be handed over on Monday next (8th), and troops will be withdrawn from territory upon ratification by a new Volksraad about six weeks hence." Messages of congratulation, on the opening of a line of telegraph between Natal and the Orange Free State, were also exchanged between President Brand and his Excellency the Administrator, Natal. After this an important meeting with all the native chiefs and sub-chiefs of the Transvaal took place, according to previous arrangements. There were about 300 natives present, as also the Royal Commissioners, and Messrs. Pretorius, Joubert, Jorrissen, Brand, Hudson, and the principal officials, civil and military. Kruger was absent through sickness. An address was read, translated to the natives by the Rev. Mr. Moffat, printed in the native language and circulated. The following are the most important passages:—

"You have been called together to hear from us, the representatives of the Queen of England, what Her Majesty's Government has decided as to the future settlement of this country. You are aware that a little more than four years ago the Transvaal was annexed to the Queen's dominions. This was done because it was then believed that a majority of those who had a voice in the Government of the country preferred British rule to the rule of those who were then in power. Subsequent events have shown that this belief was mistaken, and Her Majesty's Government, with that sense of justice which befits a great and powerful nation, gave orders that the country should be given back to its former rulers under certain conditions which have been framed by us, and agreed to by the representatives of the burghers. In the conditions to which,

as I have said, they agree, your interests have not been overlooked. The existing laws will be maintained, and no future enactment which specially affects your interests will have any effect until the Queen has approved of it. I am anxious that you should clearly understand this here to-day, and realize that although there will be a change in the form of Government, your rights as well as your duties will undergo no alteration. You will be allowed to buy or otherwise acquire land, but the transfer will be registered in trust for you in the names of three gentlemen, who will constitute a Native Location Commission. This Commission will mark out Native locations, which the great Native tribes may peacefully occupy. In marking out these locations existing rights will be carefully guarded. In giving back the country to the Burghers, the Queen has reserved to herself the right to appoint a British Resident here, and it will be one of this officer's special duties to see that the provisions of the Convention in your favour are carried out. The Government will be the rulers of the country, but the Resident will keep them informed whenever he ascertains that Natives have been ill-treated, or whenever any attempt is made to incite them to rebellion. He will at the same time be ever ready to assist you with his advice. The different Courts of Law will, as now, be opened to hear your complaints and to redress your grievances. Remember that you will be expected to be a law-abiding people, and that no man will be allowed to take the law into his own hands. If you require protection from your enemies you should look to the Government of the country, whose bounden duty it will be to afford you protection. Two more points I will mention to you to-day. One is the provision that there is to be no slavery or anything approaching to slavery. This provision existed in a former convention, and the Transvaal representatives have willingly consented that the same provision should again be affirmed, so that all men may know what the law of the country is on this subject. The other point is that you will be allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere. The Queen of England desires the good of you all, and you may rest assured that although this country is about to be handed back to its former rulers, your interests will never be forgotten or neglected by Her Majesty's Government or by Her Representatives in South Africa."

Subsequently to the meeting it was generally stated and understood that the Natives regarded the settlement with great dissatisfaction and disgust; and that in conversation among themselves they said:—"England says she is a strong country, and gives back the country to the Boers because it belongs to them. Natives say the country is not the Boers' but theirs, their forefathers having found and occupied the land long before the Boers came. They will not acknowledge the Boer Government, and if necessary will fight."

CHAPTER XXIV.

TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT.

Signing the Convention—Sir Hercules' Address to Triumvirate—General Wood's Address to Troops—Transfer of Government—Proclamation of Triumvirate—Speeches thereat—President Brand on the Settlement—Official Appointments—Re-opening of the High Court—Pensions—Minor Officials—Disturbance in Potchefstroom—State Title—Queen's Speech—Mr. White's Letter to Prime Minister—Holland's Address—Meeting for Election of Members of the Raad—Frans Joubert's Speech—New Volksraad opened September 21st—Forty-two Members sworn in—Opening Speech from Kruger—Opinion unanimously against Convention—Telegram to Mr. Gladstone—Objections to Clauses—Monopolies granted—Mr. Gladstone's Declarations—Final Ratification under quasi-Protest.

In the previous chapter I could do little else than give a brief summary of the principal events which occurred from the time of the peace terms being signed at Lang's Nek on March 23rd until the Royal Commission had finished its business in Pretoria at the end of July. To resume the thread of my history of that period, it is only necessary to commence with a recital of the events which happened on the 8th of August, when the Government was transferred, and follow their course down to the present time (October). But before doing so I may add that the draft Convention was signed by Messrs. Pretorius and P. Joubert, as Representatives on behalf of the Boers, and subsequently by Mr. P. Kruger, at his residence—that gentleman being still too unwell to attend personally at Government House—and by the Royal Commissioners. The President of the Royal Commission, prior to the contracting parties attaching their signatures to the important document, made a short address to the Boer Representatives, as follows:—"Before signing the Convention, which we have now finally agreed to, we are anxious, whilst expressing our best wishes for the success of the future Transvaal State, not to conceal from the Transvaal

representatives our opinion that the greatest danger which the future Government will have to contend with is the Native difficulty. The impression left on the minds of the Commission is that, however anxious the leaders may be to restrain their people, the treatment of the natives by individuals has often been harsh and cruel. And if we may, as sincere well-wishers, express to you one word of parting advice it would be this, that you should employ all the moral influence you possess, and all the legal power you can exercise, to secure for the Natives, who have had no voice in the change now brought about, kind and considerate treatment."—Mr. Pretorius said: "We will do our best."—The draft Convention was then signed, and the final act completed, by which Her Majesty's rule in the Transvaal has been, to all appearance, terminated. Fuller details of the Convention itself, as well as of Lord Kimberley's instructions to the Royal Commission, &c., will be found in Appendices M. and N.

On the following day General Sir Evelyn Wood addressed the troops in garrison at Pretoria. His Excellency called upon them to remember that the excellence of the British Army was based upon its *esprit de corps* and discipline, and that it was their duty to obey his orders, although they might seem to be rather hard. With regard to the state of affairs in the Transvaal, he begged them to remember that it was no part of their duty to their Queen or country to take any part in political questions; and he requested that so long as they remained there they would offer no provocation or molestation, by word or act, to the Boers. This was their duty, and in accordance with the instructions which he gave to them.

Things progressed quietly until the 8th, and although several thousand Boers were then expected, only a few hundreds turned up, and they certainly behaved in a most moderate and quiet manner. About ten o'clock the prominent Boer leaders assembled at the Treasurer-General's office, and after brief addresses from Vice-President P. Kruger and the Hon. M. W. Pretorius, as soon as the flag had been hoisted, Mr. Bok, the State Secretary, read, in a loud and firm voice, the proclamation of the Triumvirate, as follows:—"On this the 8th day of August,

1881, the country has again reverted to our Government. This happened after signing of a Convention on the 3rd of August between the representatives of the Royal Commission and the Members of the Triumvirate, which Convention will be laid before the Volksraad and made public. With the greatest gratitude to our God we communicate this to all inhabitants. Now is the time for us all to prove the strength of our country, and through unity to make power. We thank all the Burghers for their zeal and obedience, and trust they will now also, without delay, strengthen our hands. We expect that all inhabitants will at once pay their taxes, in order to rule our country. To all inhabitants, without exception, we promise the protection of the law, and all the privileges attendant thereon. To inhabitants who are not Burghers, and do not wish to become such, we notify that they have the right to report themselves to the Resident as British subjects, according to Article 28 of the now settled Convention. But be it known to all, that all ordinary rights of property, trade, and usages will still be accorded to every one, Burgher or not. We repeat, solemnly, that our motto is 'Unity and Reconciliation,' our liberty is 'Law and Order.'"

Commandant-General Joubert then spoke briefly, announcing that the Government had arranged that religious service would be held in the Dutch Reformed Church in the afternoon at three o'clock, and requested those present to remain a few days longer in Pretoria until matters should have been settled more or less. The Triumvirate then repaired to the Court-room, where some of the heads of departments were sworn in. As, however, Mr. P. Kruger did not feel himself well, the further swearing in of the officials was postponed for a future occasion, and the crowd dissolved.

President Brand and Sir H. De Villiers had left in the preceding week for the Cape *via* the Orange Free State, and they were followed by General Sir E. Wood and Staff on the 5th, and by Sir Hercules Robinson and Staff on the 6th, for Cape Town *via* Natal. President Brand reached Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, on the 14th of August, and received a cordial address of welcome from the citizens, in his reply to which he said:—"It was very gratifying to me to

receive the invitation from Her Majesty's Government to be present at the proceedings of the Royal Commission, and I rejoice that their labours have been crowned with such great success. The Royal Commission deserve the lasting gratitude of South Africa for the patience and assiduity and the earnest desire most faithfully to promote the interests entrusted to them, with which they addressed themselves to their difficult task, and the zeal and conscientiousness and ability with which they accomplished their important work. The whole of South Africa will enjoy the fruits of their self-sacrifice and exertions, and if it has been permitted me to be of any assistance, then I have only done my duty, which I owe as a South African."

The members of the old Volksraad having been called together for the 10th of August, assembled on that day (their proceedings will be found in Appendix O); they fixed upon the 15th of September for the election of a new Volksraad, the members of which were to be sworn in by a committee from the old Council. The new officials then appointed were:—State Secretary, Bok; State Attorney, Jorriessen; Auditor-General, Buskes; Surveyor-General, Rissik; Registrar of Deeds, Meintjes; Orphan-Master, J. S. Joubert; Postmaster-General, De Vogel; Acting-Landdrost of Pretoria, Vogel; Chief Justice, Kotze. Landdrost De Villiers of Harrismith had to come as First Landdrost of Pretoria. Another Cape Colony man, the Rev. Mr. Du Toit, was brought up from the Paarl as Superintendent General of Education; and this step seemed one in the right direction. The Volksraad also settled that the official language should be Dutch, and no other would be allowed in the law courts. On the day following the High Court was re-opened by Chief Justice Kotze, who had served under the old Government and also during Shepstone's *régime*, but over whose head, in Sir O. Lanyon's time, Judge De Wet had been brought from the Cape. After the Chief Justice had taken his seat on the Bench, Mr. H. van Rossem, Registrar of the Court, read the proclamation of the Triumvirate, giving notice of the retrocession of the country to the Government of the Transvaal. The State Attorney then addressed the Court at some length, and the Chief Justice made a suitable acknowledgment in reply.

Mr. Juta was appointed High Sheriff; and Lieutenant-Colonel Ferreira (of Ferreira's Horse in the Cape, Zulu, and Basuto Wars) was appointed to the command of an irregular force of 500, to be a semi-police force for the country. The Sub-Commission on Compensation Claims, consisting of Justices De Wet and Kotze, and Mr. Hudson, the Resident, commenced to sit on the 11th of August, and it was notified that the following pensions had been granted by the British Government:—N. J. R. Swart, £240; Fred. Jeppe, £100; J. G. C. van Leenhoff, £160; R. K. Loveday, £73; A. M. Goetz, £125; M. C. Genis, £60—per annum. Many more received gratuities of different amounts, and among them the late Auditor-General, D. M. Kisch, £500.

During the rest of the month arrangements progressed rapidly and quietly for the Volksraad elections, and requisitions were got up and numerous signed to all the best men in the various districts. It was also decided that the usual Pretoria Annual Races should be held on the 27th and 28th of September; and, with the exception of an increased emigration to the Cape, the Orange Free State, and Natal, of the Loyals and many officials, things went on very much the same as before. Among subsequent official appointments were the following:—J. S. Joubert, sen., Master of the Orphan Chamber; J. A. de Vogel, Postmaster-General; Hendrik Rissik, Surveyor-General; Tannay, Chief of the Telegraph Department; Johan Z. De Villiers, late Landdrost of Harrismith, Landdrost of Pretoria; T. J. Krogh, Landdrost of Potchefstroom; C. J. Bodensteyn, Landdrost of Rustenberg; J. C. Krogh, Landdrost of Wakkerstroom; Jacobus Smit, Landdrost of Standerton; J. Backer, Landdrost of Utrecht; C. Botha, Landdrost of Waterberg; Human, Landdrost of Middelberg; Jacobus Uys, Landdrost of Bloemhof; Captain Dahl, Von Brands, and Biedel, for Torstspansburg District; Hoolboom, Gold Commissioner, Pilgrim's Rest. As an indication of the prevailing spirit among the Transvaal Boers, mention may be made of a hitch that occurred in connection with the appointment of Mr. T. J. Krogh as Landdrost of Potchefstroom. This was, of course, made the most of by the Boer "Jingoes." The people refused to allow Mr. Krogh

to take possession, and Messrs. Joubert and Buskes went down from Pretoria to arrange matters; and on their return they reported that the people said they were willing to obey the orders of the Government, but they did not want to have Mr. Krogh as Landdrost, he being a sympathiser with the British Government. They would protest against his appointment, and memorialise the Government for his removal. Mr. Krogh nevertheless remained in office for a short time, but as his nomination was almost universally opposed, he subsequently applied to be relieved from the office, and was removed to Wakkerstrom, and a Mr. de Koch, the people's choice, was substituted as Landdrost of Potchefstroom in his place.

The Dutch paper, the *Volkstem*, under Mr. Villiers, was again re-published, and strongly objected to the Convention, a feeling which seemed to be upheld by most of the candidates awaiting election to the Volksraad. The Boer Government also adopted the old title of "South African Republic;" but this met with objection on the part of the Imperial Government, and caused a telegram from England to be sent out to the effect that the title "Transvaal State" could alone be employed. Another telegram from London on August 29th stated that Parliament had been prorogued till the 12th of November, and that the Queen's Speech alluded to the suspension of hostilities in Basutoland, and the Transvaal Convention, which secured local autonomy.

In England also Mr. White, the Loyal Refugees' Representative, had written a long letter to Mr. Gladstone, in which he asked:—"What can compensate the Loyalists for the loss of their friends and relatives, for the breaking up of their homes, for the loss of their status as British subjects? Can money compensate the 800 Loyalists who are about to be deprived of their nationality and turned into Boers? And how are loyal Boers and the natives to be compensated by any pecuniary gifts?"—and thus concluded:—"We claim, Sir, at least as much justice as the Boers. We are faithful subjects of England, and have suffered and are suffering for our fidelity. Surely we, the friends of our country, who stood by her in the time of trial, have as much right to consideration as rebels

who fought against her. We rely on the frequently-repeated pledges and promises of her Ministers, in which we have trusted. We rely on her sense of moral right not to do us the grievous wrong which the miserable peace contemplates. We rely on her fidelity to obligations and on her ancient reputation for honour and honesty. We rely on the material consequences which will follow on a breach of faith to us. England cannot afford to desert us after having solemnly pledged herself to us. She cannot afford to undergo the danger of internecine war, or of native risings; the danger of her Possessions in South Africa rising in revolt and falling into the hands of a rival Power, of the premium offered to rebellion; the danger of losing her reputation for being a nation whose word can be trusted, or the retribution which surely follows on national, as on individual, wrong-doing. On all grounds, even the very lowest, we cry for justice; and we implore you, sir, in particular, not to allow the close of an illustrious career to be sullied by the wanton abandonment of the loyal defenders of the national honour, and an entire disregard for obligations which you yourself have acknowledged to be binding."

While the Premier has been blamed, on the one hand, for his Transvaal policy, on the other, he received much praise in an address sent on the 20th of August by the Dutch Central Transvaal Committee, from Utrecht, in Holland, which stated:—"With great satisfaction we have learned that the South African Republic has been restored to its original founders. In the name of the people of the Netherlands, we therefore beg to tender our thanks and homage to your Government, which has accomplished this work of justice and generosity, and in the first place to you, whose wishes the Government has carried into effect. England has thereby established a claim to the respect and sympathy of all those who look upon the fraternization of the white races in South Africa as an essential condition to the happiness and peaceful development of that region. That the power of England was more than sufficient to reduce so small a nation to subjection, none of us ever doubted; but you would not use that power as soon as you were convinced that justice required the restoration of the Transvaal to freedom

and independence. You have thus obtained a moral victory greater than ever could have been achieved by brute force. You have won the reverence of the noblest and best among all nations, and you have set an example which will assuredly have the most salutary effect in promoting the happiness and the advancement of mankind."

Early in September the 2-21st head-quarters, &c., left Pretoria *via* Heidelberg for Natal, being followed by the Artillery and Mounted Infantry, some of the 94th being only left *pro tem*. A notice was issued that the Royal Sub-Commission would leave for Potchefstrom and other towns shortly, and that all claims against the British Government were to be sent in not later than the 15th of September to the British Resident. On the 9th of September an important meeting was held at the farm of Mr. John Gray, for the election of three members for the district of Pretoria. The favoured candidates were F. J. Joubert, H. P. N. Pretorius, and P. Roos. The meeting was unanimous in desiring an alteration in the objectionable clauses, but equally so in supporting the action of their leaders; and in demanding from their representatives that, should they fail in peaceful persuasion to induce England to take a more generous and confiding view, they should none the less ratify the Convention. This was the first real indication that was given of public feeling in the matter. The speech of the day was that of Mr. Frans J. Joubert, the leader of the Bronkhorst Spruit attack, and a cousin of the member of the Triumvirate of the same name. The most important portion of Mr. Joubert's speech was that which related to the feelings that had been aroused by recent proceedings between different classes of the community. "I earnestly implore each one of you to let us hear no more after this day of Boer, or Englishman, or Hollander, or of Kaffir. Let us bury the dead completely, or only remember it for our good. No one party in the State can get on alone, and if we each go our own way we shall fall to the ground. We must therefore go hand-in-hand, and if we do so we must prosper. Extend then the hand of friendship to every citizen of the State, or any stranger who wishes to remain such, of whatever country he may be. We

may all have felt aggrieved at the action of individuals, and especially those who have misled the British Government, and have misrepresented us; but these are not the British nation, which has now done us justice, and when you look at an Englishman in future I wish you to regard him as one of *that* nation, and so also with all other Europeans. We all come of one stock, and so should live in the land as brothers."

Troopships sailed from England on the 12th of September, in order to take home and to India the troops not required in the Cape and Natal; but it was notified locally that no final movements of troops down country would take place till after the 24th, the date fixed for the ratification of the Convention by the new Volksraad, which the Triumvirate had undertaken should be done. Everything being in readiness at the time, the opening of the New Volksraad took place on Wednesday, the 21st of September, at two o'clock, and the whole of that afternoon was occupied in constituting the Raad, swearing in the members, and other official acts. The following is a list of the returned members:—District of Pretoria—F. Joubert, H. P. Pretorius, P. G. Roos. City of Pretoria—J. C. Preller. District of Potchefstrom—C. J. Bodenstein, H. Lemmer, P. A. Cronjé. Dorp of Potchefstrom—J. van Eck. District of Rustenberg—J. H. Fouché, J. M. van Rooyen, J. Malan. Dorp of Rustenberg, G. Strock. District of Leydenberg—C. J. Coetzee, G. S. Maré, A. A. D. Blaauw. Dorp of Leydenberg—J. J. Lombaard. District of Utrecht—J. Birkenstock, J. J. Spies, T. G. Stenekamp. District of Wakkerstrom—C. F. Laubeschagne, A. A. Stoop, G. Visagie. District of Waterberg—C. C. van Heerden, H. J. Smit. District of Bloemhof—H. Kok, J. Minnaar, G. Niekerk, G. Niemand. District of Middelberg—J. H. Coetzee, S. P. Botha, Nicolas Smit. District of Heidelberg—G. D. van der Heven, J. D. Weibach, C. L. Neethling. District of Standerton—J. P. Taljaard, J. P. Otto. District of Marico—P. J. van Staden, C. Botts, N. C. Grey. District of Zoutpansberg—J. F. Roos, H. F. Smit, P. C. Smit. The members whose election was declared formal proceeded to elect a Chairman, when the choice fell by a large majority on Mr. C. J. Bodenstein, and Mr.

Tournay was appointed Secretary. A discussion then arose about some irregularity in the election of twelve members, and new elections were resolved upon. Next day (Thursday) the Raad was formally opened at noon during a salute of eighteen guns, and the Address of the Triumvirate was read by the Chairman (for which see Appendix P). The next few days, after the finish of the purely official necessary business, were devoted to the discussion of the terms of the Convention, and the speeches were nearly all unanimous in their desire to have certain clauses amended previous to final ratification. In addressing the Raad at the opening, the President (Bodenstein) concluded as follows:—"A great responsibility rests on us all. The people have chosen us to watch over their interests at this unusual time of the year, and under very exceptional circumstances. The management of the country's affairs requires great caution and discrimination. Many of you have shown yourselves to be fearless of danger in the field. Forget not, however, that here a new field is opened to you, on which you must act fearlessly, but with great prudence. The eyes of the world are fixed upon us. Be patient and circumspect in your deliberations, as the future welfare of the people rests in your hands." An adjourned discussion of the clauses lasted until the 30th, when a Committee of the whole House sat with closed doors; and a Select Committee was appointed to report upon various matters in dispute. Meantime Mr. G. P. Moodie was appointed Surveyor-General; and, in the Volksraad, Mr. Kruger asserted that the members of the Sub-Commission on Claims had done their work as far as they had gone with strict impartiality, and were entitled to the fullest confidence.

As the discussion was lasting longer than had been anticipated, more supplies were sent up from Newcastle for the troops, and all downward movements were countermanded. The Raad continued sitting during the first week in October, and, in consequence of the Report of the Special Committee, sent the following telegram to the British Government on October 5th:—"To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone: Triumvirate instructed by Volksraad to apprise you that in their opinion the Convention is contrary to the Treaty of Sand River, in 1852. The

Convention is, in many respects, an open breach of the peace agreement between Sir E. Wood, for Her Majesty, and the Boer leaders, who, trusting that the principles laid down there would be executed, laid down their arms. The Volksraad request that Articles 2 and 18 may be altered. The Suzerain has no right to the conduct of foreign affairs; only the control. Likewise, it is agreed by the peace agreement that we should have complete self-government, and as they stand Articles 3, 13, and sub-division of 26 are a breach of that solemn treaty. The Suzerain has no right of approval of our laws. The Resident being a foreigner cannot be a trustee of property belonging to our citizens. It is *infra dignitatem* for the President to be a member of a Commission. Although willing to pay our debts, we want proof and vouchers; this is not given now. From Article 8 the word 'commandeering' to disappear. Article 20: They who annul grants pay damages. Articles 15, 16, 26, and 27 superfluous—only calculated to offend."

While awaiting the reply to these demands, the Volksraad proceeded with the other business of the country, affirming the principle of monopolies, to develop the internal resources of the country, and determining to show a spirit of progress. On the 11th of October a telegram was received from England to the effect that Mr. Gladstone would not grant any further concessions, and had stated that, while experience might necessitate amendments in the Transvaal settlement, the protection of the interests of the natives was necessary for the dignity of England. On the 14th another and more decisive telegram came from London, saying that the Government was resolved to insist upon the ratification of the Convention. Mr. Gladstone, in replying to addresses, also expressed his determination to abide by the Convention. Communications by telegraph continued between the Home Government and the Transvaal Government until the close of the month; and as the final date for the ratification of the Convention by the Volksraad had been fixed for the 3rd November, and in default of such ratification on or before that date a forward movement of the British forces was to be expected, considerable appre-

hension was excited as to the result. But in the end, finding that no further concessions could be obtained, the Volksraad waived their objections, as it were, under protest; and the Convention was finally ratified on the 25th of October, with the expression of a hope that modifications in the sense desired would thereafter be conceded by the British Government, after experience of the future working of the settlement thus definitely confirmed.*

* The concluding paragraph is a recent addition; as the matter was still under discussion in the Volksraad, and the result doubtful, at the time when the author's labours were concluded, and the MS. was despatched to England for publication, towards the end of October.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST THREADS.

Troubles in Zululand—Sitimela and Umlandela—Ungitwya and Somhlolo—John Dunn intervenes—Sir E. Wood to the Rescue—Cavalry Escort—Interview with Zulu Chiefs—Journey through Zululand—Arrival at Delagoa Bay—By Sea to Natal—Sir E. Wood opens Natal Council—Extracts from Speech on Transvaal and Zululand—Fresh Outbreak in Oham's District—Views on the Zulu Settlement—Colonel Bellairs on Transvaal Natives—Claims sent to Sub-Commissioners—Memorial started in Pretoria—Memorials of 58th, 8-60th and 92nd Regiments—Boer Treatment of Wounded and Neutrals—Official Reports thereon—The Exceptions—Moffat at Zeerust—Dr. Crow at Heidelberg—Use of Explosive Bullets.

In this chapter I intend gathering together the few remaining threads necessary to complete my work, before concluding with a general criticism on the campaign, and the prospects of the future. The first matter that demands attention (although not directly connected with the Transvaal) is the recent fighting in Zululand, Sir Evelyn's visit thereto, and the new proposed improvements on the settlement effected by Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Garnet Wolseley. Towards the end of July began the trouble in Umlandela's territory. Sitimela (a younger brother of Umlandela's), supposed to be an escaped convict, but claiming to be the chief of Umtetwas, managed to slip through into Zululand, collected a lot of people, and told Umlandela he must go. Umlandela sent and finally fled to Chief Dunn for protection. John Dunn immediately went to the Umhlatoosi, and was soon in possession of an impi of from 3,000 to 4,000, principally Umlandela's men. He succeeded in putting down the disturbance. Sitimela tried to tamper with Somkeli, whose reply was—"We were put here by the great white chief (Sir Garnet), and I shall not move until he tells me to." Another of the chiefs, Ungitwya, chief of the Umkosana tribe,

also fled to John Dunn for protection, as his people were siding with Somhlolo, whom they declared to be the rightful heir. In consequence of these disturbances General Wood arrived in Ladysmith on the 15th of August, and arranged to start for Zululand, to hold an *indaba* with the chiefs at the British Resident's place on the Inhlazatyé, and settle their disputes. He had a long interview with Mr. Rudolph (late Landdrost of Utrecht), the Resident Magistrate at Ladysmith, and started the next day for Zululand, *via* Newcastle and Conference Hill. A Squadron of the 14th Hussars, from Ladysmith, accompanied the General as an escort, and were met by a Squadron of the 6th Dragoons and another of the 15th Hussars, all under Colonel Luck, C.B., at State Drift. Sir Beaumont and Lady F. Dixie accompanied the troops. General Buller, Colonel Grenfell, and Captain Browne, A.D.C., also went with them. Major Frazer accompanied General Wood, and Mr. Rudolph left Ladysmith on the 22nd to meet them at the Inhlazatyé on the 24th. General Wood and his Staff—Major Frazer, Lieut. Slade, A.D.C., Lieut. Hamilton, Pr. Sec., and Mr. Gurdon, C.B.—left the Inhlazatyé on horseback on September 1st, having made a stay of a week. They proceeded through Zululand and Swazieland to Delagoa Bay, where H.M.S. *Firebrand* had gone up to await them. General Buller and Colonel Grenfell returned with Mr. Rudolph and the troops to Newcastle on the 4th, the 14th Hussars and Mr. Rudolph reaching Ladysmith on the 12th of September. H.M.S. *Firebrand* left Delagoa Bay at 3.30 p.m. on Tuesday, September 9th, and arrived in Durban on the Sunday morning following, when Sir E. Wood came up by special train the same day to Pietermaritzburg. His Excellency opened the annual session of the Legislative Council of Natal on Thursday, October 6th, attended by a brilliant Staff, welcomed by a large concourse of people; and in the course of a long speech, delivered personally, he said, referring to the Transvaal and Zululand:—

“Happily for Natal, her inhabitants have been spared the miseries which are inseparable from warlike operations, and, except in some few instances, in the more serious of which the sufferers have already been compensated, her people have enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity during the strife which was ended by the Boers accepting the terms

offered by Her Majesty's Government. It is to be hoped that the British and Dutch inhabitants of the Transvaal, and also the coloured races, may equally prosper, that heartburnings engendered by recent events may die out, and that all differences may be forgotten in promoting the common welfare of all its peoples. Zulu affairs have for some time occupied my serious attention, but peace prevailed in Zululand until July. So far back as April complaints of undue severity on the part of the appointed chiefs having been put forward, the chiefs concerned and the complainants expressed through the British Resident their desire that I, as the representative of Her Majesty, should inquire into the circumstances and decide thereon. Her Majesty's Government approved of my proceeding to Zululand for this purpose, and also that I might personally ascertain the wishes and opinions of the appointed chiefs on certain suggestions which have been made for the better government of their country. Accordingly a meeting of chiefs was arranged for the 29th of August, 1881. Owing to the extraordinary severity of the weather I postponed the meeting to the 31st. I gave my award in the cases referred to me, and I was requested by the chiefs to convey to Her Majesty's Government their unanimous desire that the suggestions for the better government of their countries might be adopted. This I did in the proceedings of the meeting, which have been submitted for the approval of Her Majesty's Ministers."

Only a few days after this fighting again commenced in Zululand, between Oham and the Bagulisini tribe, and between Usibebu and Undabuka, resulting in the former case in the entire dispersal of the Bagulisini tribe, the remnants of which have fled to the Wakkerstrom district in the Transvaal; and in the latter many natives were killed, Usibebu himself wounded, and his semi-official Sub-Resident, Mr. Colenbrander, dangerously assegaied. What will be the outcome of these troubles I do not know; but of one thing I am certain, namely, that Sir E. Wood will not be able to find twelve men both able and willing to undertake a British Sub-Residency as proposed with the twelve different tribes and district chiefs unless an example be made of the recent disturbers of the peace, and unless a strong force be allowed them, for a time, to preserve order, secure their persons from danger, and maintain their authority. The Zulu people themselves are willing enough to pay taxes for a strong visible form of Government that can keep order and protect their lives and property. Under the circumstances I think that no better scheme can be devised than that of Sir Evelyn, if Cetywayo be released and allowed to return to a residence near the chief British Resident, who should have a council of representatives of each separate chief always near

him, by whom matters should be settled under the King's order and the British Resident's advice. Until something of this kind is done, the present unsettled state of affairs and the petty jealousies between the different tribes and chiefs will only serve to offer opportunities to the dissatisfied and to adventurers for instigating disturbances in which they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. I trust, however, that some definite and real settlement will shortly take place in their unhappy and distracted land, where certainly it must be admitted that "all the men are brave and all the women virtuous." This digression on the state of Zululand and its inhabitants will I hope be pardoned for the importance of the subject, not only to Natal, but also to the whole of South Africa.

With regard to the firm stand being made by Mr. Gladstone against the wishes of the New Volksraad on the subject of Native Government in the Transvaal, the following letter, addressed to Sir E. Wood by Colonel Bellairs, C.B.,—then *ad interim* Administrator, and for nearly two years Military Commandant in the Transvaal,—a clever, patient, and unprejudiced officer, may be of service, as elucidating the matter, and also affording a hint for the Government of Zululand:—

"Pretoria, May 18th, 1881. Sir,—I have recently forwarded for Your Excellency's information many statements made by native chiefs to the Secretary for Native Affairs, all more or less to the same purport, deprecating the retrocession of the Transvaal, and expressing dread at the prospect of again coming under Boer Government. Some of the chiefs appear to have declared that they will be forced to take up arms hereafter against the Boers, and that they will only pay taxes to the British Government. I therefore desire to urge upon the consideration of the Royal Commissioners, through Your Excellency, in the interests both of the natives and the future Government of the Transvaal, that steps should be taken without delay to moderate the evil influences at work, and to reassure the natives by proving to them that they will not suffer through the transfer of Government about to be carried into effect. This, of course, can only be done by a hearty co-operation on the part of the Boer leaders. If a common-sense view of the matter is taken, the question of Native treatment and taxation in the Transvaal may be said to resolve itself almost into one of mutual interest, and is one which might therefore be advantageously used as a powerful engine to bring about a permanent better understanding between the Boers and natives. Give protection and equal justice to the natives, and they will be willing enough to pay their taxes. That being so, it would surely be a suicidal policy on the part of the Boers were they to act so as to jeopardize the collection of such an important item of revenue as the hut tax, estimated to bring in

this year £40,000, and an increasing amount in succeeding years. Much would be gained if the natives could be given to understand that the payment of these taxes bound the local government to give them protection and ensure their receiving justice and good treatment at all hands; and, again, if the Boers could be made rightly to comprehend that their own interests, the future stability of their Government, and the principal source of their revenue depend mainly on their treatment and behaviour towards the natives. Taxation cheerfully submitted to is, it appears to me, the true way to introduce industrious and civilized habits among the natives. In order to raise the required amount for payment, numbers of each tribe are annually sent away to work for the whites. Anything tending to interfere with the collection of native taxes would affect not only the revenue, but also the labour market. The future Boer Government would, I submit, act wisely if, following the same lines as pursued by ourselves, it appointed a Minister for Native Affairs, with District Native Commissioners to overlook the natives and prevent any tendency to aggression on the part of any neighbouring Boers."

Referring to the work of the Sub-Commission on Claims, it is interesting to note that those sent in to Pretoria alone amounted to nearly 15,000. Of these there were sent from Pretoria, 187 claims; Potchefstroom, 251; Leydenberg, 60; Middelberg, 41; M. W. Strom, 48; Standerton, 86; Marico and Zeerust, 82; Utrecht, 21; Heidelberg, 15; Rustenberg, 85; Christiansa, Bloemhof and Keate Award, 22; Zoutpansberg, 18; Waterberg, 1; New Scotland, 8; Kimberley, 5; Natal, 71; Orange Free State, 4. These claims were sent in by all sorts and conditions of men, from bishops down to natives, and included merchants, storekeepers, lawyers, professional men, and private individuals. Many of them were put aside at once as being indirect claims, among which the principal were those of Bishop Jolivet, Barrett Bros., Bishop of Pretoria, J. N. H. Crow, Cape Commercial Bank, T. Bond, N. G. Swart, H. Smithers, A. Broderick, H. Nourse, Decker & Green, Father De Lacy, and Walker R. Higginson. The Commission subsequently held sittings at Maritzburg and Newcastle in order to receive and examine the evidence of those claimants who desired to be heard. Claims of a different description were also made by relatives of the dead, for personal mementoes and property taken by the Boers. The following notice was issued by the Triumvirate, but with what results I have not yet learned:—
"The Government and representatives of the people having been frequently requested by the Royal Commission, in the

name of the relations of the English officers and soldiers who were killed in the last war, for their lost properties. To those Burghers who may have such properties in their possession, after having obtained the consent of their officers, we give notice that they might greatly please many of those relations by sending them back. We are desirous also to add that the military authorities have given notice that they will pay the value of such properties." Memorials to the dead have also been projected, and in some cases already erected. In Pretoria, on August 24th, a meeting of the subscribers to the Volunteer Memorial Fund was held in the European Hotel, when it was resolved, "That in the opinion of this meeting it is advisable that one monument be erected to all who fell in defence of Pretoria, and that the names of both military and volunteers be included in the inscription to be placed on the monument, and that the military be invited to subscribe." The hon. secretary, Mr. Wallace Duncan, communicated with General Bellairs, C.B., and asked him to arrange with the officers of H.M.'s troops in Pretoria to co-operate in the movement. Another meeting was held two days afterwards, at which General Bellairs, C.B., Colonel Gildea, the British Resident, and a number of others were present, when the following resolution was almost unanimously agreed to:—"That united action be taken by the military and volunteers of the Transvaal to erect a monument to the memory of those who have fallen or otherwise lost their lives in the Transvaal in the heroic defence which was made from December 16, 1880, to March 31, 1881; and that such memorial be erected, if possible, in St. Paul's Cathedral, or other national place in England." The following were appointed as "a Committee, with power to add to their number, to collect subscriptions and take such steps as they may see fit for carrying out the former resolution, and bringing the memorial to a successful issue:—"Brigadier-General Bellairs, C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel Gildea, Major Campbell, Major Browne, Captain Churchill, the Hon. the British Resident, Messrs. R. C. Green, E. F. Simpson, Dr. Crow, and Wallace Duncan. The following names have been added since:—Sir Owen Lanyon, the Very Rev. Provost Gildea, Colonel Montague,

Messrs. C. K. White, Johnston, Glynn, D'Arcy, and Rennie. A Finance Committee was appointed, and a London Committee with Sir Owen Lanyon as Chairman. Arrangements have been made with the Cape of Good Hope Bank and the Standard Bank to receive subscriptions at any of their branches, and credit the same to the account of the Transvaal Defence Memorial Fund at their Pretoria branches.

At Mount Prospect the graveyard is carefully enclosed and looked after ; and the survivors of that distinguished Regiment, the 58th, who took part in the now memorable assault of Lang's Nek, have determined to erect on the spot a Regimental Monument to the memory of the brave men who lost their lives on the 27th of January, while storming the Boer trenches. On the summit of Amajuba a lasting memorial is also to be placed in position by the men of the 92nd Highlanders to the memory of their comrades who were killed at the battle fought at the last-named place on the 27th of February ; and the 58th Regiment also contemplate erecting a memorial stone on the Hill. The officers and men of the 3-60th also ordered a handsome obelisk, which is placed at Schuin's Hooghte, in memory of those who fell in that engagement. The inscription upon one of its sides is as follows :—

This Memorial
Is erected by the Officers,
Non - Commissioned Officers,
And Men of the
60th Royal Rifles,
In Memory of their Comrades
Who were Killed
Or Died of Wounds received
In Action, near this Spot,
On the 8th February,
1881.
Lieut. Garrett.
Lieut. O'Connell.
2nd Lieut. Haworth.

Then follow, on the other three sides, the names of the non commissioned officers and men.

Since the commencement of the outbreak great stress has often been laid upon the irregular and cruel way in which the Boers carried on their warfare and ill-treated their prisoners and those neutrals who tried to remain in the Transvaal quietly while the war was in progress ; but I think, after the testimony of the late Sir George Pomeroy Colley himself, the official inquiries of Colonel Stewart, and the subjoined matter which I wish to bring prominently to the notice of my readers, that no one will for a moment visit the Boer leaders, and the principal portion of the patriots under their command, with the crimes of a few unknown and unrecognized lawless individuals, such as are always to be found in any country, whether civilized or not, where warfare is going on. The conduct of Commandant Cronjé at Potchefstroom is certainly open to animadversion ; but in all other cases I think it will be found that the ill-treatment complained of was shown by purely private individuals, who, in many cases, are undiscovered and unpunished to this date. In corroboration of my opinions I wish to give a few documents and letters, and first in the list are the following :—The *London Gazette* of June 10th contains a despatch, dated April 16th, from Sir Evelyn Wood to the Secretary of State for War, enclosing a report from Lieutenant-Colonel H. Stewart, 3rd Dragoon Guards, whom he had directed to ascertain the condition of the wounded and prisoners in the hands of the Boers. Sir Evelyn Wood says :—“ From this report it will be seen that both at Heidelberg and at Bronkhorst Spruit the prisoners and wounded received every attention, and that their confinement as prisoners of war was of the least irksome kind.”

The following letters, from one of the wounded at Amajuba, and Lieutenant Jopp, 58th Regiment, speak for themselves :—

“ It having come to my knowledge that Mr. W. Schultz, of Utrecht, who fought in the Boer ranks at Lang’s Nek and Amajuba, has been accused of ill-treating the wounded on those occasions, I shall feel obliged if you will publish my testimony as to Mr. Schultz’s conduct. I was found on the field at Amajuba by Mr. Schultz, having fainted through loss of blood from a bullet wound. Mr. S. brought water in his hat and gave me a drink, and when he found this did not revive me, obtained and gave me brandy. He also helped me out of danger, lent me his coat for a pillow, and placed a bottle of water by my side; after which he returned to the Boer ranks.—Maritzburg, June 10, 1881.” “ Newcastle, April 11, 1881.—Mr. W. Schultz.—Sir,—Agreeably to your request of the 9th inst,

I have made every inquiry regarding the subject mentioned in your letter; and I am glad to be able to say that I can find no traces of reports having been spread by any non-commissioned officer or soldier of my regiment regarding your behaviour to the wounded during the war. And I sincerely regret that some persons have made a handle of one of the men of my regiment to spread reports which are utterly untrue and unfounded."

These are sufficient as to the treatment of the wounded by the Boers; and with regard to their pillaging propensities, the Special Correspondent of the *Times of Natal*, on his road up to Pretoria after the peace, made special inquiries in many localities along the route, and he reported that, with the exception of some isolated cases, the conduct of the Boers, generally, afforded little, if any, real grounds for complaint.

Now, having given the bright side of the question, in fairness I must also relate the particulars of two outrages which, although objectionable in themselves, yet do not incriminate the leaders of the people, with the exception of those whom I have before named. First as to the ill-treatment of the Rev. Mr. Moffat, the well-known missionary, the friend and brother-in-law of the late Dr. Livingstone. In a letter from a gentleman who escaped from Zeerust to Kimberley occurs the following, under date January 17th, 1881:—"On Christmas morning there came 150 Boers on horseback and some in carts, all with guns. The English people were all ordered to come together on the stoep in front of the Court House. We numbered about twenty-five. Of course we took no arms with us. The odds would have been far too great, and another thing, there were scarcely any rifles or ammunition in Zeerust. The Boers raised their flag and fired a volley of bullets over it, then the proclamation was read, and we were told we could not leave unless we had a pass from the Commandant; and we were also informed by the Commandant that if any English person was heard using any seditious language against the Dutch law, or giving any Kaffir guns or ammunition, they would give us five minutes to say our prayers and then shoot us. Mr. Moffat, from Seychelles, being Kaffir Commissioner as well as Missionary, was ordered by the Commandant to tell the Kaffirs they were under the Dutch law, and that they would have to do

what they ordered them to do. Mr. Moffat replied, 'While I receive my orders from my Government, which is the English Government, I shall endeavour to execute them.' You can form no idea of the fiendish manner in which one of the Boers dealt him a tremendous blow in the chest with the stock of his rifle; another struck him in the face. I believe they would have torn him limb from limb if their Commandant had not stopped them. All that time the other Boers had their guns pointed at us. We expected one of their guns would have gone off by accident, and then the others would have followed. If such had been the case there would not have been a man of us to tell the tale. They then gave orders for all people having ammunition to bring it out, or otherwise they would go into the houses and turn everything upside down to look for it. There was only one store which had powder, and that was Mr. Daly's. They took 60 lbs. of powder and 1,000 lbs. of lead, besides other things out of his store, and took what they wanted out of the other stores also. We all had orders not to leave the town until such times as the Commandant thought fit to give us passes to leave."

The second case is that of Dr. J. N. Harvey Crow, a Civil Surgeon employed during the war at Pretoria, who was sent to Bronkhorst Spruit with Surgeon-Major Comerford to attend to the wounded of the 94th Regiment, and, in a statement of his experiences, he relates that he accompanied ten prisoners of the 94th from the scene of the disaster to the Boer camp at Heidelberg, and arrived in the laager early on the morning of Sunday, the 6th of February. Their waggon was taken to the centre of the camp, and close to the inner or cattle laager. Their rations being finished, the Boers supplied them with a goat and some meat. As Dr. Crow was personally known to several of the Boers there, they sent to him for his personal use milk, biscuit, and coffee. As the doctor had gone down for the purpose of procuring hospital comforts for the wounded at Bronkhorst Spruit, and thinking that the waggon might be sent back that day, he asked permission to see the Commandant, and was taken to Mr. Muller, the Commandant of Heidelberg. On informing him that certain hospital comforts were required for

the wounded, Commandant Muller informed him that being Sunday nothing could be done then. He, however, gave the doctor permission to take the prisoners whom he had accompanied down to the river for the purpose of bathing, which he did, the party being guarded by a number of armed Boers. Nothing unusual happened that day. Early on the following morning (Monday), a Mr. Brink came to the waggon and asked for the doctor, inquiring what things were required for the wounded, and telling the doctor that he could act in this matter as well as the Commandant. Dr. Crow handed him a list of what he wanted, and then accompanied him to the tent of the Commandant, from whom he received a pass to go into Heidelberg to their commissariat stores, and also permission to wash and breakfast at the Royal Hotel, but was told to return without any unnecessary delay to the laager. Immediately on his return he saw three of the soldiers with whom he had come down cooking at their fire, which was close to their waggon, with one sentry keeping guard. There were usually two armed sentries there, but one had gone away at the time for some purpose or other. The remainder of the ten soldiers were outside the laager collecting fuel. Dr. Crow walked up and down in front of the waggon, when suddenly a Boer with a large ox whip in his hand rushed up to him, shouting out something, which Dr. Crow, owing to his very imperfect acquaintance with the Dutch language, did not understand. Seeing that the Boer evidently meant mischief, in as good Dutch as he could speak, the doctor said, "All right, what do you say?" The only answer he got was a cut with the whip, which the Boer wielded in a most brutal and unmerciful manner about the doctor's legs. He did not move from the place, when, while the cowardly assault was being committed, another Boer, also with a whip in his hand, came up, and, dropping his whip, presented his rifle at the doctor, who spoke to a Boer standing near, who had seen the whole business. The doctor told him it was a most cowardly and unprovoked assault, as he was in their laager, and unable to defend himself. He asked this Boer if he would tell him the names of his assailants, and the answer he got was an abrupt order to hold

his tongue. Dr. Crow then said he felt certain that the assault had been committed without any authority, and asked one of the sentries to accompany him to the Commandant's tent, as he intended to lodge a complaint. This the sentry flatly refused to do. All this happened in the presence of several of the soldiers, who were then prisoners in the camp. On going into the town about twelve o'clock, Dr. Crow met Sir Morrison Barlow, and told him the whole particulars of the matter; but Sir Morrison said that any interference on his part, seeing he himself was a prisoner, would be of no avail. He, however, sent for the Landdrost, to whom Dr. Crow repeated his statement. Nothing more was done in the matter then.

The charge of employing and arming natives against the British Forces, as reported at Lang's Nek, was disproved; but there can be no doubt that another charge, viz., that of using in a few cases explosive bullets, is true. And when we consider that the Boers are noted hunters, and armed with the best weapons of precision and certainty for killing game, it is easily understood that a few of them, having arms and ammunition of this kind, and not being armed by the State, should have taken the field with what arms they possessed, and used them unthinkingly and indiscriminately. When the question of customs of civilized warfare was raised at Potchefstroom the following conclusive correspondence passed:—

“Potchefstroom, February 4, 1881.—Commander-General of H. M. Troops in the Camp at Potchefstroom.—Sir,—We are informed by one of your spies, caught on the road going to Pretoria, that you are wantonly destroying powder and ammunition, and, if the moment comes for surrender, that you will do so only after having spiked your guns. We remind you, Sir, that this is entirely against the usances and customs of civilized warfare. We, from our side, wish to follow the law established amongst civilized nations. We adopt the principles laid down at Geneva; and it is, therefore, that we warn you not to commit the acts whereof you are accused; it will only make the conditions of the *inevitable* surrender harder.—I have, &c., P. A. CRONJE, Commandant-General.”

Colonel Winsloe replied to the above letter as under, enclosing a certificate, signed by two doctors, regarding the explosive bullets:—

“Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date. I beg, without being discourteous, to decline to enter on

any subject which may have been raised by any messenger of mine. I thank you for the hints you give me as to the customs of civilized warfare, and would ask to be allowed to assure you that I have been accustomed to no other, and that I have no intention of breaking these rules in the smallest particular. In the second paragraph of your letter I find the following, viz.: 'We, from our side, wish to follow the line of warfare established amongst civilized nations. We adopt the principles laid down at Geneva, &c., &c.' I take leave, Sir, for the third time to remind you of the fact of explosive bullets from sporting rifles having been fired into my camp, and that this practice is still continued. This, as I before stated and still continue to believe, is contrary to your orders; and I again ask that it be immediately discontinued, being contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Convention, which you wish to follow. If you will do me the favour of sending one of your doctors to my camp I will show him the wound for your satisfaction. I have not yet thought of surrender, and therefore I think you will excuse my discussing that point. I shall feel obliged by receiving an answer to paragraphs 3 and 4 at your earliest convenience. I enclose a letter from one of my surgeons for your information.—I have, &c., R. W. O. WINSLOW, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, Potchefstroom." [Enclosure.] "Officer Commanding, Potchefstroom.—I hereby certify that Private Colvin, at present in hospital here, was wounded on the 22nd of January by a rifle bullet, the said bullet or missile being of an explosive character, as no kind of bullet whatever allowed by the Geneva Convention could have caused such a wound as the man is now suffering from.—R. S. WALLIS, Surgeon, A.M.D.; CHAS. SKETCHLEY, Assistant District Surgeon. The Fort, Potchefstroom, 4th February, 1881."

Again at the Amajuba the same complaint was made, and substantiated by the following reports; and I myself saw a Free State Burgher who had what looked to me like explosive bullets during my stay in the Boer camp:—

"Sub-Lieutenant Augustus L. Scott, attached to the Naval Brigade, referring to the use of 'explosive bullets' by the Boers, says:—The 2nd section of the company Naval Brigade was then sent to line the edge of the mountain in rear. I went with this section. Shortly after part of the 85th Regiment were withdrawn from the left of the mountain, and replaced by portions of the 1st and 2nd sections of Naval Brigade. Our men were lying down under good cover, firing seldom, as the Boers did not show in force on the left, and generally kept out of range. Lieutenant Trower was near me, and Commander Romilly was with us the greater part of the time. At about 11 A.M., twelve of my men were taken from the left and sent to the front of the hill. Commander Romilly came over from them, and in returning he was shot through the body whilst standing by the General, the bullet exploding after passing through him. Dr. Mahon, who was close by, at once attended him, and he was carried to the hollow of the mountain out of fire. Surgeon Edward Mahon, R.N., in his report, adds:—Surgeon Landon and myself chose a position for the hospital near the centre of the plateau, behind a ridge of rocks, and calculated to be out of the enemy's fire. A well was immediately dug near this spot, and a good supply of water was obtained at the depth of three feet. After about an

hour a few shots began to be exchanged, but none of our force were hit for about an hour. A desultory fire continued up to about 11 A.M., up to which time five of the 92nd only had been slightly wounded, and were dressed by Landon and myself. At about 11 A.M. I went over to the west side of the plateau to see how Lieutenants Scott and Trower were getting on. I had hardly been there three minutes when I heard a bullet explode close to us. I heard the General say, 'Captain Romilly is hit,' and turning round saw General Colley kneeling by the side of the Commander, who was lying on the ground about four yards from us. I sent for a stretcher, and proceeded to dress the wound, which I found to perforate the left side of the abdomen and coming out of the loins. The bullet had only passed through soft parts, which accounts for it not exploding inside the body. I had him carried to the hospital. . . . I was returning to the hospital when I saw our force beginning a retreat, which soon became a rout. The Boers gained the rocks just above the hospital in great numbers, and poured a tremendous fire indiscriminately on everybody they saw. Dr. Landon and two of the A.H.C. were shot down whilst attending to the wounded, the former being mortally wounded. I then went back to the Commander, and fixed my handkerchief on a stick and held it up over him, but it was almost immediately shot away, and a hot volley fired all round us. Bevis then fixed a piece of lint on a bayonet, but was immediately twice shot through the helmet. I ordered him to lie down until the last of our men had passed us, and did the same myself. When the Boers had driven our men over the side of the hill, and had got within fifteen paces, I got up with a piece of lint in my hand, and shouted to them that I was a doctor, and had a wounded man with me. Two or three of the younger Boers wanted to shoot us, but were prevented by the elder men. The Boers then got all round us, and opened fire on our men retreating down the side of the hill. While they were thus engaged, Bevis and myself picked up the stretcher, and carried Commander Romilly back to where the hospital was. When about half way across we were surrounded by Boers, who were with great difficulty prevented from shooting the Commander as he lay, they being under the idea that he was either Sir Garnet Wolseley or Sir Evelyn Wood."

This brings to an end my chapter of odds and ends, or the last threads, and leaves me free to introduce my concluding remarks in the twenty-sixth and final chapter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Annexation Question—The Charges against Burgers—Ill-advised Proceedings—The Republican Government—Military Defects—Mistaken Tactics—The Bronckhorst Spruit Affair—The Amajuba Defeat—The Conduct of the Boers—The Medical Staff—British Colonial Policy—The South African Colonies—Sir T. Shepstone's Defence—Concluding views.

IN taking a final retrospect of the causes, rise and end of the late war, a short summary of the various undoubted and admitted facts (as given in this work) may aid the memory and place the present position and future prospects of Transvaal affairs plainly before all. The great exodus on "trek" in 1838—the causes and course of which are fully given in previous chapters—produced for many years an unsettled state of affairs in all the regions north of the Orange River; and it was not until the Orange Free State had been relinquished to its Boer inhabitants, and the Treaty of Sand River in 1852 had given similar rights of freedom under their own laws to the Boers who were scattered beyond the Vaal River, that things began to settle themselves and some order was obtained out of chaos. Events went on slowly and with changing fortunes until President Burgers was elected to succeed Mr. M. W. Pretorius as the second President of the South African Republic, as the Transvaal was then denominated. This gentleman being a Hollander, although born at the Cape, naturally enough initiated and instituted a new order of things, more after the fashion of European States; and to aid him in his schemes

he called to his assistance other Hollanders, evidently not being able to find the materials necessary among the Boers of the State themselves. The new *régime* opened fairly; and when President Burgers went to Europe, was there recognized as the head of an Independent State, and even arranged for a large loan for railway purposes, every one in South Africa looked forward hopefully. Unfortunately, neither the President nor his advisers, nor the people themselves, had calculated upon the almost complete absence of actual sympathy that there was, as between the slow, indolent, semi-educated, and patriarchal Boers and the more enterprising Hollanders and others of advanced ideas. This dissidence, however, soon began to manifest itself when the pockets of the Boers were more frequently touched; and it resulted gradually in alienating from the Government the confidence of the great mass of those inhabitants of the Republic who lived at long distances from the capital, and were, therefore, not capable of realising the benefits of the more civilized and European form of Government then being carried out. This state of things led to the abandonment of the war against Secocoeni, and the failure of the monetary arrangements and other schemes made for the carrying on of the Government, together with the payment of interest on the loans raised and the small national debt. Thus matters were brought, in 1877, nearly to a crisis.

As a matter of course, this was too good an opportunity to be neglected by a British Minister, whose ideas of the Confederation of all South Africa into one State under British supremacy were strong and ever present. Sir T. Shepstone was therefore despatched at this crisis with secret instructions, and evidently large discretionary powers, to consult and advise with the Transvaal Government under the circumstances then happening; and the excuse made for this visit was the old cry of alarm against "a general native rising or complications which might lead to such." What Sir T. Shepstone's real instructions were may perhaps remain unknown; but that he had authority to do as he did is as undoubted, as that the method in which he carried out his instructions was "childlike and bland." However much, therefore, one may approve or dis-

approve of the act of annexation itself, once that was effected by the orders, or at any rate, let me say, with the knowledge and subsequent consent of the British Government, there can be no two opinions but that the terms upon which it was done, and the promises made by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner in so doing, should have been strictly redeemed and carried out. It is even now a disputed point, though one in my opinion of little consequence, as to whether President Burgers consented voluntarily to the act of annexation, and issued a protest *pro formâ*, receiving afterwards a pension for his act; or whether he resisted it throughout in *bona fides*. At any rate, not very long ago—in the course of a controversy which arose in the public press, both in the Colony and in Holland, with the Rev. Lion Cachet (a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church) regarding his accusation against the former President of betraying his country for the sake of a pension—Mr. Burgers wrote to the editor of the *Zutphensche Courant*, and said, *inter alia*, that, “departing from the custom of defending himself, he nevertheless stated his readiness to render a true and faithful account of the pension question; but that he could shortly say that the whole affair was an invention, as neither from the British nor from the Transvaal Governments did he receive a pension; and he requested this most positive statement to be repeated.”

But to return to the annexation itself: no active steps were taken, nor was any opposition made at the time by the Boers, doubtless owing to the advice and good offices of some of the leaders; but the perfectly legal and constitutional course was adopted of protesting against the act, and drawing up such memorials and statements of facts as would, they hoped, induce the British Government to annul Sir T. Shepstone's annexation upon further representation and the evidence of the truth. Of course, during the respective Administratorships of Sir T. Shepstone and Sir Owen Lanyon, the Boers undoubtedly have themselves to thank for many of their troubles; for they entertained, and openly evinced, such a profound hatred for everything that was British that they, at once, without a fair trial, condemned any measure, no matter what it was, or its

object. In consequence it was certainly a very difficult matter, without using a certain amount of severe authority, to try and govern to their advantage an alien people, who were determined not to be governed at all by the so-called and hated oppressors. After repeated deputations and memorials had been sent to Natal, to Cape Colony, and to England, the Boers found that their statements were laughed at, their acts ridiculed, and their unity, determination, and pluck not only doubted, but held in derision. This exasperated the younger Boers to such a pitch as to render them ripe for anything. Even then, however, a little conciliation, or the appointment of a well-known Colonial *civilian* as a Governor—who would exercise his authority only on the basis of their Constitution—with the promise of a Royal Commission to inquire into their grievances, would have been sufficient to pacify them. But no; blindly and wilfully the British Government allowed themselves to be led by the nose by a party of political pariahs and specious speculators, and a system of coercive, autocratic government was carried out by the military pro-consuls, who neither took into consideration the crass ignorance of the Boer people, nor made allowance for their total want of knowledge of a strong civilized Government. And so at last the Boers rose in desperation against their oppressors, saying, “Thrice they had fled and thrice they had been overtaken by the grasping spirit of the British Government; but now they would go no further.” The result is known, and never was doubted by those who recognized the simple, true, brave spirit of the freedom-loving Boers, on the one hand, and the constant changes of political opinion and policy on the part of the British Government and nation. In vain, after the first outbreak, did the Government—who then realized the danger—successively offer easy terms, a Royal Commission, or partial abandonment of the country if the people would only disarm. It was then too late; no faith was placed in the promises of any English Ministry; and, with the example of how Natal had been treated before them, the Boers decided to risk their all upon entire liberty or extermination. The mediation of President Brand, the good wishes of Sir George Colley, and

the evident conciliatory and yielding spirit of the British Government were all of no avail, until the people had proved their determination and pluck, and had washed out some of their wrongs in blood. Then, and then only, could the leaders persuade the mass to listen to terms, with the result that peace was made.

The first acts of the Republican Government, which took up its head-quarters at Heidelberg, were doubtless sudden and severe; but, with a few exceptions, its subsequent conduct and acts were all that could be expected from a semi-civilized, un-military, but brave and determined people. Their proclamations, notices, and letters, although written in a vaunting, semi-religious style, yet bore the stamp of truth in their contents, and, taken together, form a practical and conclusive justification for their acts. In Sir George Pomeroy Colley the Boers saw and recognized an enemy brave, generous, and unprejudiced; and his constant attempts to carry out the war on a proper basis, from beginning to end, were acknowledged and met in the same spirit by the Triumvirate. The absurd question of Natal's neutrality was at once put upon a proper footing. Much as all Britons must regret the severe losses and sufferings of the British troops in the late campaign, it is admitted by all that they were out-generalled, out-shot, and over-matched in every way at the first. Of course there can be no question as to what the result would have been in the end had the conflict continued—although it might have caused a warfare of race throughout South Africa dreadful to contemplate—it could only have ended in what the Boers themselves call entire extermination.

If we look into the course of the war, the condition of the combatants, and the details of each engagement, the conclusion is unavoidable that, until some radical changes are introduced into our army, its old days of glory and pre-eminence are numbered. Attention must especially be given to the defects of the short-service system, causing loss of *esprit de corps*, and producing nothing but raw lads, brave and willing enough it is true, but wanting the requisite training and stamina—to the lack of mounted infantry (not irregular cavalry)—and to the

theoretical and staff training of the greater portion of our officers. These patent deficiencies, combined with the constant changes of successive Governments, and the waste of valuable lives in the conduct of our numerous little native wars—which are never worth the risk or the price, and do nothing in the end either to add to British glory or conquest—have prevented, and will still prevent, our service attaining that state of efficiency and pre-eminence hitherto considered as associated with, or as inseparable from, the British arms. The days of bayonet and cavalry charges, at least in Colonial wars, are gone by; the sword is almost useless and obsolete as a weapon, the revolver nearly as much so, except for close quarters; and sending our officers into battle, conspicuous as they are, unmounted and comparatively unarmed, is nothing but homicide when fighting against men armed with breech-loading weapons of precision in difficult or rocky country, where they know every inch of the ground, and can fight or decline as best suits them. Bravery alone—always a characteristic of the British officer—is now-a-days unavailing. And although, doubtless, it was incumbent on Sir George to advance to the borders of Natal and the Transvaal, in the hope of diverting the Boer strength from the sieges of the various garrisons in the Transvaal—which the General knew were weak and badly provided—there can be no doubt that after feeling the enemy's strength at Lang's Nek (when everything was done that could have been done by the force at his command) he should have fallen back, to await the arrival of reinforcements, to a good position, where he was not liable to have his communications cut off, and where he could threaten the enemy's retreat in the event of their advancing far into Natal.

The Bronckhorst Spruit affair was undoubtedly an unfortunate and somewhat equivocal act from the British point of view; but Colonel Anstruther had received ample warning to enable him to take adequate precautions, and to avoid being taken by surprise. An able writer, who had all the facts before him, expressed the following opinion, coinciding with my views, after the conclusion of the siege of Pretoria:—"Colonel Bellairs had sent off, on the evening of December 15th, a special mes-

senger with a letter to Lt.-Colonel Anstruther informing him of the serious nature of affairs, and cautioning him to guard against any sudden attack or surprise, and instructing him to send forward the natives (voerloopers, &c.), to reconnoitre along the tops of and over the hills before advancing. It is proved Lt.-Colonel Anstruther received this letter at six o'clock on the morning of the 17th December, while encamped on the Middle-berg side of the Oliphant's River, and sent an answer the same morning by the messenger who had brought the letter. Notwithstanding these instructions scouting was very indifferently performed. There were only four men of the Mounted Infantry with the troops, and while on the march one man was always sent to the rise in front, and another to the highest hill commanding the surrounding country. The natives do not seem to have been used for scouting at all, which, considering the very small number of mounted men they had for performing that most necessary duty, was, in my opinion, a grave mistake. Even had scouting been efficiently performed, it is quite possible that the 94th might have met with defeat, outnumbered as they were by the Boers; but, at all events, they would not have been so thoroughly taken by surprise as they were." The men and officers undoubtedly behaved pluckily enough under the circumstances; but the mistake lay in ever having placed them in such a position as to become an easy prey, and give the *kudos* of the first victory—always a great point—to their enemies.

The fight on the Ingogo and Schuin's Hooghte was well carried out, and would perhaps have had a different ending had a larger force of mounted infantry been employed to keep off the attacks of the enemy until the guns were got into a good and unassailable position, well supported by the infantry. The shooting of our men was certainly inferior to that of the Boers, although both had little cover except what each man could individually gain. Here, more than ever, was shown the folly of fighting against irregulars, so to speak, after the fashion laid down and taught in the official drill books. Theory and knowledge of tactics are all very well against highly-trained, disciplined, and organized enemies, whose movements will be