

Moshesh, and the cost of keeping up a military force, the British Government resolved to abandon the Sovereignty, on the recommendation of Sir George Clark, and the act was carried out on the 23rd February, 1854. From that time up to the present day the Orange Free State has maintained its independence.

We will now return to our friends beyond the Vaal, and give an outline of the development of the young Republic, and the further troubles and difficulties which beset the path of the hardy pioneers.

We have mentioned already that whilst the Boers were fighting their way in Natal, and gradually took possession of the whole of that Colony, under the leadership of Andries Pretorius, Potgieter had crossed the Vaal River and found Umziligazi in possession of the Transvaal. In 1839, Potgieter established the village of Potchefstroom, called partly after him, partly after Van der Chef, and partly after the beautiful river on the banks of which the village was laid out, with that eye for the practical which distinguished the Dutch pioneers, when selecting a site for their homesteads. But in 1844, Potgieter left Potchefstroom, and trekking to the north, founded the village of Origestad. This place appeared to be unhealthy, and was abandoned again in 1847, when some of the inhabitants, under Potgieter, went further north to Zoutpansberg, while another party settled more to the south, and established the village of Lydenburg, which for many years was the capital of a separate Republic, until it was united with the general Republic, together with Utrecht,* in April, 1860.†

After the defeat of Mosilikatze, affairs went on swimmingly for some years. The whole territory, up to the Limpopo, was open to the Boers, and was gradually occupied by new-comers from the Cape Colony and Orange

* Utrecht was also a separate district, independent of Lydenburg and the other Republic, until it joined Lydenburg by Treaty on May 8th, 1858.

† In 1869 Mr. G. P. Moodie fixed, on a map issued by him in London, the true longitude of Lydenburg. Herr Mauch had previously determined it, but subsequently, in a letter to Professor Petermann, he acknowledged that he was a degree out in his calculation.

Territory. The country was well watered, and admirably adapted for the growth of all kinds of cereals, and the cultivation of coffee and sugar cane, while the plains and uplands afforded splendid pasturage for cattle and all kinds of stock. The cultivation of their fertile soil, stock-breeding, and the proceeds of their hunting trips into the interior, from which they returned heavily laden with ivory and valuable skins, made the Boers rich, and as they were free from British rule, their happiness ought to have been complete from their point of view. But all these advantages did not render them happy, for peace and unity did not prevail amongst them. Jealousy and party feeling existed between the two principal leaders, Potgieter and Pretorius, and that spirit of disaffection and disobedience germinated, which caused the ultimate ruin and untimely end of the young Republic. Stuart* says that the Cape Government was partly the cause of the commencement of this evil, for Potgieter was indirectly acknowledged as the chief of the emigrants, and left to do what he liked with the natives, while Pretorius, with his best officers, were considered rebels by the same Government. By Proclamations of July and September, 1848, awards were promised, as we have mentioned already, for the apprehension of Andries Pretorius, N. Jacobs, A. Spies, L. Pretorius, F. Bezuidenhout, Adriaan Standers, and other men who had taken part in the battle of Boomplaats, while Potgieter was quietly living on his farm near Lydenburg. The latter claimed to have been the first who took possession of the territory north of the Vaal—he had conquered the country from south to north, and Pretorius came on his ground. Pretorius, on the other hand, had conquered the mighty Dingaan, made Panda King and subject, fought the English in Natal at Boomplaats, and would not submit to British rule. He reproached Potgieter with acknowledging England's sovereignty over their country, while Potgieter blamed Pretorius for having lost the battles against the English. Potgieter was anxious to open communication with Delagoa Bay, while Pretorius had no faith in the undertaking on account of Trichard's misfortunes.

* "De Hollandsche Africanen, &c.," door Jacob Stuart. Amsterdam, 1854.

The first Volksraad, which was properly established, and held its sitting at Kruger's Post, in 1848, endeavoured to smooth over the difficulty existing in the animosity between Potgieter and Pretorius by appointing *four* Commandants-General, namely Pretorius, Potgieter, Joubert, and Ensel, but the two rivals were dissatisfied with this act, and would not submit to the laws made by the Volksraad, nor would agree to take the oath prescribed by the Secretary of the Volksraad.*

Matters went on until January, 1852, when Pretorius succeeded in closing the memorable Treaty at Sand River, in which the independence of the Republic was acknowledged by the British Crown. The emigrants were declared free to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without interference on the part of the British Government, and no encroachments were to be made by the said Government on the territory beyond the Vaal. This river was defined as the southern boundary up to its source, and all alliances with the coloured races north of the Vaal were disclaimed. It was also agreed that no slavery should be permitted or practised in the Transvaal Territory, and other arrangements specified, which are unnecessary to mention here. This convention, brought before the Volksraad in March, 1852, at Rustenburg, was the cause of a new quarrel between Potgieter and Pretorius. Potgieter's party charged Pretorius with having overstepped the limits of his instruction, that the conventions might be the cause of new wars, that Pretorius was too ambitious, and wanted to rule over them, but finally a reconciliation took place, and they parted the best of friends. They both recognised the Volksraad as the highest authority, and were sworn in

* This gentleman, H. T. Buhrman, was a Hollander, who arrived about the middle of 1848 at Delagoa Bay, by a Dutch ship, with a cargo of goods specially intended for the trade with the Boers. Potgieter went to Delagoa Bay to fetch the goods, lost hundreds of oxen and many of his men from fever, while he was greatly disappointed in the quality and price of the goods. The gentleman referred to returned with Potgieter to Zoutspanenberg, and when the Volksraad was established he was appointed Secretary, as he was a good penman. He afterwards married into a Boer family, and took prominent part in the political agitations of the young commonwealth.

before that body. But in the beginning of the following year Potgieter died, and on 23rd July, 1853, Andries Pretorius died also. On his death-bed the latter urged upon those who stood around him to cause strife and ambition to cease, and to live henceforth in peace and unity—a lesson which they did not take to heart, as will be seen by the sequel of our story.

Free from British intervention, the young Republic commenced a new era of self-government and legislative enactments. Some of the latter were of a most curious kind; such as the prohibition that no Englishman or German should be allowed to possess landed property; an act forbidding the discovery and working of minerals at a fine of Rds. 500; a law that nobody was allowed to declare himself insolvent; and the obligation to accept office as an official at the age of twenty-five years.*

In September, 1853, the title of the Republic which it had hitherto enjoyed, namely, that of the *Hollandse Afrikaansche Republiek*, was altered into the "South African Republic." The eldest son of Andries Pretorius, Marthinus Wessels, was chosen to fill his father's place, and in July, 1855, he was elected first President of the South African Republic. The village of Pretoria, the present seat of Government, was laid out and called after him, and in 1858 the *Grondwet* or *Fundamental Law*, and the *Coat of Arms* of the State, were sanctioned by the Volksraad in Rustenburg.

One of the most characteristic stipulations in this remarkable Code of Laws, which to a great extent is the law of the country up to this very day, a feature "racy of the soil," is, that "the people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with white inhabitants, neither in State nor Church," and this law was strictly carried out. The deep-rooted feeling of abhorrence and aversion to be brought in contact, on a footing of equality, with natives of all colours and shades, the Boers inherited from their

* Even as late as May, 1866, a Government Notice appeared in the *Staats Courant*, signed by the Acting President and the Government Secretary, prohibiting the marriage of a certain fair widow with anybody else but a Portuguese gentleman who had filed a protest against her marriage.

forefathers, who passed through all the horrors of the Kafir wars in the Cape Colony, and their battles with Dingaan and Umziligazi did not tend to soften their feelings towards the black races. Their aversion to the missionaries, who inculcate ideas of equality into the native mind, arose from the same cause, although ready admission was granted to all missionaries, particularly those sent out by the *German Societies*. If we carefully view the history of these pioneers, and their low standard of education, we cannot judge so severely the distinction made by them between White and Black in their code of laws, but at the same time it is not surprising that the pursuance of such a principle should ultimately bring the emigrants into collision with the British Government, who have made the suppression of slavery and advancement of the native races their special study. That many atrocities were perpetrated by the Boers, of which they ought to be, and are, no doubt, ashamed, is true; but in some cases we are inclined to believe that these acts were committed either in self-defence, or in retaliation for atrocities committed by the natives, such as the murder of the Potgieter family.

At the close of 1854, Hermanus Potgieter, with his family and a party of emigrants, consisting of several families, who were on a hunting expedition, were barbarously murdered by a tribe under the chief Mapela. When the reports reached Potchefstroom a commando was formed by Pretorius, and proceeded to Makapanspoort to punish the savages. It is said that Potgieter was pinned to the ground, while his savage foes actually skinned him alive. A letter written by Pretorius says:—"With my own eyes I saw what had been told me by letter. The bodies were mostly females. One body, that of a tall man, was sadly mutilated; all the fingers, from the tops to the palms of the hand, were cut open, the head was cut off, and the body thrown into the water. Evidently every possible means of torture was practised upon the victims. At one of the kraals was found melted human fat in which the hands had been baked on spits. In addition to this we recovered some other tokens of unbridled cruelty, which decency prevents me from naming. Whether the people were subjected to these barbarities before or after

death I cannot say. This abominable spectacle, which filled my soul with disgust, induced me to adopt the firm resolution to chastise the barbarians though I should sacrifice my life in the act."

That slavery existed in the Transvaal, and was practised under the disguise of the "Apprentice Law," passed in 1856, cannot be denied says Jeppe. The Government issued strict laws on slavery in conformity with the Sand River Treaty, and some Boers were severely punished under the stipulations of this law, but the Government was too weak to enforce compliance, and many transgressions were committed which perhaps never came to the knowledge of the authorities. The children of the natives killed on the commando were "*booked*" for a number of years, until they had reached a certain age, but they were seldom released when they reached that period. In some cases it may be that they became so accustomed to their masters that they preferred to stay with them rather than look for a new master, but there is no doubt that they received little or no wages besides their food and scanty clothing.

In his memorial addressed to Sir John Pakington, dated 12th December, 1852, the great explorer, the late Dr. Livingstone, animadverts in the following terms on the conduct of the Boers on the occasion of a commando sent to Secheli in August, 1852:—

"Frequent attempts were made by the Transvaal Boers to induce the chief Secheli to prevent the English from passing him in their way north; and, because he refused to comply with this policy, a commando was sent against him by Mr. Pretorius, which, on the 30th September last, attacked and destroyed his town, killed sixty of his people, and carried off upwards of 200 women and children. I can declare most positively that, except in the matter of refusing to throw obstacles in the way of English traders, Secheli never offended the Boers by either word or deed. They wished to divert the trade into their own hands. They also plundered my house of property which would cost in England at least £335. They smashed all the bottles containing medicines, and tore all the books of my library, scattering the leaves to the winds: and, besides my personal property, they carried off or destroyed a large amount of property belonging to English gentlemen

and traders. Of the women and children captured, many of the former will escape, but the latter are reduced to a state of hopeless slavery. They are sold and bought as slaves; and I have myself seen and conversed with such taken from other tribes, and living as slaves in the houses of the Boers. One of Secheli's children is amongst the number captured, and the Boer who owns him can, if necessary, be pointed out.*

Mr. Chesson says that Livingstone received "no redress, Governor Cathcart being of opinion that the losses and inconveniences he had sustained did not amount to more than the ordinary occurrences incidental to a state of war."

The Boers, on their part, aver that the commando to Secheli was caused by continual depredations and stock-lifting committed by a chief named Mossilele, on the border, who was encouraged and protected by Secheli, and that the commando was resolved upon when the thieves fled to Secheli's and the latter refused to deliver them up, in terms not calculated for repetition to ears polite. In defence of their conduct in relation to Livingstone's property, the official report of Acting-Commanding General Scholtz, published in the *Natal and Z. O. Afrikaan*, of 30th April, 1853, states that some of the natives taken prisoner declared that Livingstone's house contained ammunition, and that only a short time ago he had sold thirteen guns to Secheli. When his house was opened, the Boers found several guns half finished, and a complete gunsmith's shop, with all the requisite tools. The report says they found more guns than Bibles, and the place looked more like the shop of a gunsmith than the residence of a missionary.

Let us now for a moment turn to the emigrants who settled in the far north of the Transvaal, in the district of Zoutpansberg, where a village had been laid out on the southern slopes of Zoutpansberg, which was called Schoemansdal, after Commandant-General S. Schoeman, who became the leader of the settlers in those regions after the death of Potgieter. The whole district was then

* "The Dutch Boers, and Slavery in the Transvaal," by P. W. Chesson. London, 1869.

in a flourishing state. Besides their agricultural pursuits and stock-farming, the Boers carried on a lucrative trade in ivory, skins, leather, and ostrich feathers with the southern districts and Natal. The larger game, such as elephants, giraffes, sea-cows, &c., was abundant in the territory between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, but on account of the tsetse the Boers had to go on foot, accompanied by a number of Kafirs carrying guns and provisions. Some of the Boers went as far as the Zambesi and the neighbourhood of Sofala, from where they had to carry the ivory and other products of their hunting expedition all the way to Zoutpansberg. By-and-by, when they got tired of going themselves, the Boers sent the Kafirs alone, providing them with guns, ammunition, and food. In course of time, the natives became accustomed to use firearms, and refused to give up the guns on their return from the hunting field, which was the first cause of the subsequent war between the white inhabitants and the natives of Zoutpansberg.

A traveller,* who visited the district a few years ago, gives vent to his feelings in the following terms :—

“Suppose we stand upon the heights of Zoutpansberg, in the north-eastern corner of the Transvaal, and turn our face to the south, what is the country before us? It is as fair and grand as any realm which basks beneath the sun! It possesses everything: all the rich stores of Nature are unfolded in its lap. It has a climate, compared with which no portion of the earth can boast a better. It has plains and mountains, forests and rivers, minerals of every sort, and a flora and fauna which equal, if they do not surpass, those of any other country. It is the Fatherland of the Afrikander, and he should be proud of it.

“But what is the country immediately around us, say within a radius of 500 miles from where we now stand upon the topmost peak of Zoutpansberg? It is the borderland between emigrant Boers and Kafirs. It is a land literally flowing with milk and honey—rich in every sense of the word but in that one important sense—a population either industrious or civilised.

“Its mountains teem with ores of all the precious

* “The Far North.”—*Cape Monthly Magazine*, October, 1875.

metals, its forests abound in magnificent timber, its plains and uplands are covered with splendid pasturage, all the crops grown by its rude inhabitants show the wonderful fertility of the soil, cotton grows wild, sugar cane and the coffee shrub exhibit the utmost luxuriance, the vine flourishes, and wheat yields returns from the virgin soil which are exceeded in no part of the world."

In August, 1855, an embassy was sent by the Portuguese Governor of Inhambane to the settlement of the Boers at Zoutpansberg, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace and commerce. The leader of this expedition, Rita Montanha, a Roman Catholic clergyman, describes the village as follows :—*

"Zoutpansberg, or Salt Mountain, is so called from the quantity of salt that is found on it. Many rivulets descend from it. The population is industrious, and everyone labours with his or her own hands. The females perform all the domestic work, and are also seamstresses and tailors. They make all the clothes for the males. The men are carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, saddlers, and some of them servants. The streets of the town are at right angles, and are of a good breadth. They are kept clean, and have rills of water running in them. There is a neat church, with considerable accommodation ; it is covered with straw. The Sabbath is strictly and religiously observed. The population consume flesh and bread, and coffee is taken at all hours of the day. The number of dwellings is 278, accommodating a population of about 1,800 souls, of which 300 or more are fit to bear arms, and liable to serve in defence of the country, from 17 to 20 years of age. They consume nearly 25,000 lbs. of gunpowder, 40,000 lbs. lead, 4,000 to 5,000 lbs. of coffee, and 10,000 lbs. sugar. Little tea is used. They export 200,000 lbs. of ivory. They produce and export wheat, barley, rye, French beans, broad beans, maize, manna, &c. ; also spirits, honey, dried fruits, tanned skins, dry salt, rhinoceros horns, sea-cow teeth, ox and buffalo horns, boards and planks, butter, cheese,

* "Journey from Inhambane to Zoutpansberg by J. de Santa Rita Montanha," by James Macqneen, F.R.G.S.—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXXII., 1862.

orchilla weed, garden parsley, sawed timber, &c. They have peach trees, figs, apples of all kinds, limes, oranges, walnuts, almonds, quinces, chestnuts, apricots, bananas, grapes, and palm trees. They have one Judge (Schoeman), with a salary of only £100 per annum, and some income from fees !”

But the Boers did not deserve to be in possession of such an El Dorado. Instead of enjoying the gifts which Providence had bestowed upon them, and living in peace and plenty, some of them carried on an abominable system of trading in children, obtained from friendly Kafir tribes, whom they attacked and plundered for the purpose of obtaining *black ivory*, and enriching themselves with cattle. The report of a Commission of Inquiry, made to the Volksraad in 1867, sets forth that these illegal raids were set on foot by some of the Field-cornets, on their own authority, or under the orders of Superintendent Albasini, under some pretext or other. Even the Landdrost of Schoemansdal (Vercuil) was accused of encouraging and aiding these illegal acts. It was proved that some Kafir chiefs, Magor and Tabana, were treacherously murdered, their tribes destroyed by a Commando of Knobknoses, under the control of Albasini, their kraals laid waste, and women and children carried off; and Tabana was said to be a friendly chief who annually paid his taxes to the Government. Some of the officials had been heavily fined for these illegal raids, but the sentences of the Court could not be executed on account of the divisions among the people and the weakness of the Government to enforce compliance with its orders. At last there was a general rise among the natives, and the Commando sent to Zoutpansberg, under the command of Commandant-General Paul Kruger, had been obliged, for want of ammunition, to abandon the village of Schoemansdal, and abandon for a time the northern part of the district. As soon as the Commando had left, the Kafirs came down from the mountains, destroyed the village, and took possession of such articles as the people had been obliged to leave behind. The inhabitants retired to the southern portion of the district, and another Commando had to be sent to Makapanspoort to check the advance of the natives. This Commando made an attempt to storm

Mapela's mountain, but failed, and had to retreat, but a number of women and children came again into the possession of the Boers, and were divided as apprentices among the people taking part in the Commando.

During these years negotiations were carried on for a union between the Orange Free State and the Republic, which led to open hostilities between the two Republics. It appears that Pretorius claimed the whole of the Free State territory as part of the Republic established beyond the Vaal, and that he would not acknowledge its independence as a separate Republic since the British Government had withdrawn from the country. At all events he proceeded to Bloemfontein in August, 1856, and appeared before the Free State Volksraad on September 5th, 1856, claiming certain documents written to his father by the Governor of the Cape Colony during the time of the Sovereignty, the repayment of certain monies expended by his father for the purchase of ammunition before the battle of Boomplaats, and finally declaring that he came as son of Andries Pretorius to take possession of the country.*

In reply to this he received notice to leave Bloemfontein within 24 hours on the penalty of being placed in prison. He did so, and returned to the Transvaal, but in May, 1857, he invaded the Free State with a Commando, with the intention of marching on Bloemfontein and taking forcible possession of the country. But Boshoff, who was then President of the Free State, collected eight hundred men, and met Pretorius at Rhenoster River; and as none of the two armies would take upon itself the responsibility of firing the first shot they resolved to make peace. The Transvaal army retired to Vaal River, accompanied by the Free State army, and a treaty of peace was finally agreed upon and concluded on an island in the middle of the river on June 1st, 1857.

In this treaty the independence of the two Republics was mutually recognised, and agreed upon, and the attempt of President Pretorius to claim the Orange River territory declared "laakbaar" (censurable). This treaty, framed by a committee chosen from both sides, was ratified and

* "Geschiedenis van den Orange Vrystaat, door H. J. Hoofstede, jun.; Gravenhage, 1876.

approved by the two Presidents and Executive Councils on the spot, and both armies went home rejoicing.

But the negotiations for a union of the two States were again renewed in September, 1857, when a Transvaal Commission was sent to Winburg, which returned without coming to any definite terms, although Pretorius received a memorial, signed by more than 500 people from the Free State, asking him to become the Protector of their country. It is stated by some authority that the British Government did not look with a favourable eye on the probability of such a union, and opposed the same. We only know from the official records that Sir George Grey, who visited Bloemfontein in September, 1858, refused to interfere in the matter, being, as he maintained, a contingency in which the British Government had no concern.

In the early part of 1858, the Republic sent, at the urgent request of the Free State Government, a Commando across the Vaal River, to join the Free State in its war against the Basutos, which terminated in the Preliminary Treaty of Peace, signed at Thaba Bosigo, in June, 1858, and the final Treaty of Aliwal North, in September 1858, effected through the intervention of Sir George Grey. In April, 1858, a Commando under Commandant-General Schoeman, was sent to Mapela, the murderer of the Potgieters, and in July another Commando was sent against Mahura and Gasibone, when Gasibone was killed, and his head sent to Mahura as a warning. The latter sued for peace, and a treaty was concluded on the 19th August, 1858, by which, for some time at least, peace was restored on the south-western border. During the latter part of this year Secheli paid a friendly visit to President Pretorius, at Potchefstroom, and applied for land nearer to the Republic, on account of the frequent droughts prevailing in his territory. Mahura also sent a deputation, asking for the settlement of boundaries, and signifying his wish to open friendly relations.

In November, 1852, the Treaty for Union with Lydenburg was agreed upon by a Commission, at Rustenburg, and during the Volksraad sitting at Pretoria, in April, 1860, this Convention was finally ratified. By this treaty the local laws and regulations enacted by the former Republic of Lydenburg were recognised, and some are still

in force, to the detriment of the other inhabitants of the State. Several attempts were made in later years to set aside this treaty, but without success. But without being formally cancelled, most of the provisions of the treaty have elapsed in course of time, being set aside by later laws enacted by the general Republic.

When the Raad assembled at Pretoria, in January, 1860, President Pretorius asked leave of absence for six months, which was granted him, J. H. Grobler, member of the Executive Council, being elected Acting-President during his absence. Pretorius proceeded to the Free State, and, when the Raad met again in April, a letter was received from him, informing the Acting-President that he (Pretorius) had taken the oath as President of the Free State. This step of President Pretorius caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among his followers, and gave rise to dissatisfaction and strife, which terminated in bloodshed. The resignation of President Pretorius was not accepted by the Volksraad in April, but he was suspended, and summoned to appear in the next September sitting, to render an account of his office during his reign. He complied with this request, and obtained his release in September, 1860. The seat of Government, which had hitherto been at Potchefstroom, was removed to Pretoria in May, and the Government was carried on by Acting-President Grobler until the end of the year, when he resigned, and Commandant-General Schoeman, member of the Executive, took the reins of Government as Acting-President, W. C. Janse van Rensburg, another member of the Executive, taking his place as Commandant-General. Pretorius's party, which was dissatisfied with the Volksraad for accepting his resignation, would not acknowledge Schoeman. There was another party who would not hear of any of the two, and wanted an election to be opened for a new President. To settle all disputes Schoeman called a meeting, to be held in Pretoria, in January, 1861; but as some of the contending parties were not present, another meeting was convened in Potchefstroom in April. This meeting declared the action of the last Volksraad, with reference to Pretorius, illegal. The sentences of a High Court, held at Pretoria in February, were also condemned, and parties

referred to a new Court to be established. Schoeman then called a new meeting, to be held in Pretoria, in November, 1861, when all the grievances were to be rectified. At this meeting it was resolved to establish a new Volksraad, to which none were eligible who had taken part in the disturbances.

But, before going on further, we must mention an incident that happened at Potchefstroom and caused great sensation. In February, 1862, Gideon Steyn, an agent and attorney, living at Potchefstroom, who had made himself obnoxious to the authorities by reporting the existence of slavery to Sir P. Wodehouse, was fired upon while going home one night. He was only slightly wounded, but, reaching his dwelling, he found the door closed and sealed by order of Landdrost Steyn. In the excitement of the moment he pushed open the door and remained in his house during the night. G. R. Blanch, a friend of Steyn, was also ill-treated by a black servant of Landdrost Steyn, and when the boy received no punishment from the Field-cornet to whom Blanch had complained, Blanch charged the Field-cornet with neglect of duty, and lodged a complaint against him with the State Attorney, Advocate Proes. On the following day, Steyn and Blanch were summoned to appear before the Landdrost, and, when they refused to comply, a warrant was issued for their apprehension, "dead or alive." The Field-cornet was sent to execute the warrant, and the "Commandant of Artillery" received orders to assist him. But the two "delinquents" had blockaded themselves in a small room of a house belonging to Jules Franck, and refused to surrender, threatening to shoot every man who came near them. The Field-cornet and his men retired, and shortly after returned with a small "Commando" of twenty men and a cannon, which was loaded and placed in position to fire at the door. But Franck would not allow his house to be fired at, and the life of his wife and children placed in jeopardy; and, when the men would not desist, Franck rushed out of the house with a small bottle in his hand, and told the men that they would all be killed as soon as he opened the bottle, threatening to do so if they did not retire at once, *which they did* after mature consideration.

The following day Steyn and Blanch resolved, on the

advice of friends, to surrender. They were both put in prison and placed in the stocks, but Blanch managed to effect his escape. He went to Cape Town to represent his case to Sir P. Wodehouse, who declined to interfere. Steyn was condemned to pay a fine of Rds. 500, and was banished from the country for seven years. He was escorted to the Cape Colony, and delivered to the first magistrate on the border; but he soon afterwards returned and followed his profession unmolested. In March, 1866, he wrote again to the Free State paper regarding the practice of slavery, which correspondence Mr. Chesson has made use of in his pamphlet quoted above.

We will now take up the thread of our story. The new Volksraad assembled at Pretoria on the 2nd April, 1861, and declared Schoeman guilty of having "wilfully neglected his duty." He was suspended, and W. C. Janse van Rensburg appointed in his place as Acting President, while T. Snyman was chosen Commandant-General. When Schoeman was officially informed of his dismissal he refused to receive the notice and to hand over his office, which latter had to be opened by force. The next session of the Raad was appointed for October 13, 1862, and a High Court was to sit in August, but the members of the Legislature had hardly reached their homes when Schoeman, supported by a party in the town of Pretoria, turned Rensburg out of office, closed the doors, and gave him notice to quit the town. He also prevented the High Court from taking session, and assumed the title of Acting President and Commandant-General. Rensburg called on his Commandant-General for protection, but when Snyman told him that the people would not come up, Rensburg was obliged to leave the seat of Government and retire to his farm in the neighbourhood of Rustenberg. However, in September, 1862, a Court-Martial was called together, the Government Office was opened, and given back to Rensburg. Then Schoeman refused to give up the flag which he had taken from the Government Office, and a cannon belonging to the Government. When summoned to appear before the Court-Martial he fled to Potchefstroom, where, with the assistance of Landdrost Steyn, one of his supporters, he got up a Commando. Being informed of this, Snyman proclaimed Martial Law, and moved with his

men to Potchefstroom, where he was reinforced by another Commando, under Paul Kruger. A laager was formed outside the town, and fortifications thrown up, behind which the artillery was placed in position to bombard the town, which was defended by Schoeman and Steyn's men. The bombardment commenced on the 6th October, and lasted for three days, but as the guns were about a thousand yards from the place, and were of very small calibre, no damage whatever was done to the town.* On the morning of the 9th October, Schoeman made a sortie, and brought out his cannon with the intention of firing on the laager of the besiegers, but Paul Kruger and Snyman attacked him in gallant style, and took the gun. One man was killed, nine wounded, and all those taken prisoners that could not manage to escape on horseback. The same night Schoeman, Steyn, and all the other chief rebels, (including President Pretorius, who happened to be in town, having arrived from Bloemfontein during the siege) fled across the Vaal River, and on the following morning Snyman and Kruger entered and took possession of the town. Through the intervention of President Pretorius, who returned from the Vaal River, an agreement was entered into between the contending parties according to which a High Court, for the adjudication of the questions in dispute, should be held at Pretoria on January 12, 1863. On this occasion some of the rebels were condemned and fined, but as Schoeman, Steyn, and other ringleaders did not put in an appearance, they were declared *vogelvry*, and their property confiscated.

In April, 1863, Van Rensburg was elected President by a majority of votes, but a new election was resolved upon, as the number of votes obtained was not considered sufficient. In October, 1863, he again obtained the majority, and was sworn in by the Volksraad, Paul Kruger being elected Commandant-General at the same time. But Schoeman would not acknowledge Rensburg, and was supported in his opposition by the Landdrosts of Potchefstroom (Steyn) and Wakkerstroom (Badenhorst). He issued a manifesto (Aug. 17, 1863), addressed to the

* It is said that children were playing about the streets with the cannon balls, which, for want of proper material, were made of pieces of lead knocked into a round shape with a hammer.

Executive Council and Court-Martial, demanding a withdrawal of the Proclamation by which he and others were outlawed, and the establishment of an *impartial* High Court, before which he declared his willingness to appear. Martial Law was again proclaimed, and Paul Kruger, who happened to be in Pretoria, on the road to Wakkerstroom, for the purpose of meeting the Free State Boundary Commission, was ordered to proceed to Potchefstroom to subdue the rebellion. But Schoeman's party had been strengthened by a Commando from Marico, under Jan Viljoen, which was further increased by a strong party from Wakkerstroom, under Badenhorst. Paul Kruger went out to meet the men from Wakkerstroom, but lost 140 of his men, who were surrounded and taken prisoners. Kruger saw that the rebels were too strong, and retired with his people to Rustenburg, where he collected his forces and took up a strong position on the Crocodile River. He was followed by the secessionists, who, flushed with their former success, and misjudging Kruger's strength, attacked him on the 4th January, 1864. The rebels were beaten back and completely routed, with the loss of eight killed and a large number of wounded. A treaty of peace was then agreed upon, and concluded on the 14th January, 1864. According to the stipulations of this treaty, an impartial High Court, to be formed by judges from the Free State and Natal, was to be established, and a new election for President to be opened forthwith; the Government was acknowledged by the rebels, and all confiscations of property suspended for the time being.

Pretorius resigned as President of the Free State, and was again elected and sworn in as President by the Volksraad in May, 1864. Peace was restored to the country and has been maintained ever since, but it is no wonder that the expense of the continual Kafir wars and the quarrels among themselves exhausted the meagre exchequer of the Government, which was not replenished by the disaffected burghers, who were only too glad to have some pretext for not paying their taxes. To provide for the payment of immediate debts connected with the purchase of ammunition, and for the payment of the salaries of the badly-paid officials, cheques or orders called *Mandaten* were issued by the Government, until, in September 1857,

the question was mooted at the Volksraad session in Potchefstroom to issue Government Notes, but it was not before June, 1865, that the measure was really carried out. The first issue of paper money, printed on blue foolscap, had a very primitive appearance, and consisted of Rds. 5 and Rds. 10 notes to the amount of Rds. 140,000 (£10,500), payable eighteen months after date in hard cash, with six per cent. interest. The notes were declared a legal tender, except for old debts. It is hardly necessary to say that they were not paid on maturity, but another batch of £12,000 (in £1, 5s., and 2s. 6d. notes) were ordered to be issued in April, 1866, which were payable in five years, without interest. These not being found sufficient, a third issue of £20,000 was authorised by the Volksraad in May, 1867, to replace the Mandaten (£9,510 16s.) still in circulation, and to pay arrear salaries to officials and other debts. A Finance Commission was appointed in December, 1867, for the supervision of the Treasury and issue of notes, when it was found that the country was still deeply involved in debt, and that more notes had been issued by the Government than were authorised by the Volksraad. However, to cut the matter short, another issue to the amount of £45,000 in Bluebacks, payable in ten years, was authorised in March, 1868, and another and final issue of new notes, made in England, was authorised in June, 1870, when it was found that there was still an amount of £73,826 in circulation.

That this paper money was worthless, as there was no prospect that it would ever be paid out in coin, need hardly be said. The officials suffered most, as they had to receive their salaries in this paper currency, which could only be disposed of at a discount of from fifty to seventy-five per cent., while the merchants raised the prices of their goods, and the workmen the price of their labour, in proportion to the value of the paper received by them. Disaffection and discontent prevailed all over the land, for the Government, who could not raise a revenue without continually increasing the debt of the country and ruining its credit, could look for neither submission nor respect.

In October, 1864, an agreement was made with a certain A. M'Corkindale for the purchase of two hundred farms in

the name of a company to be formed in England. A Bank Charter was also granted to this embryo company, which promised a loan of £20,000, and agreements were made for the delivery of ammunition; but the company was never born, and, as the Volksraad considered that the principal conditions of the agreement had not been fulfilled, the title deeds issued were cancelled by the Legislature in 1868.*

In consequence of five Transvaal Boers coming from Natal and passing through the Free State being murdered by Basutos in June, 1865, in the neighbourhood of Harrismith, another Commando was sent against the Basutos, who were again at war with the Orange Free State. This Commando was attacked at Naauwpoort in September, 1865, and lost several men, but entered Basutoland, joined the Free State Commando and returned with a large number of cattle taken from the natives. A treaty of peace was subsequently concluded, in September, 1867.

The year 1867 was a memorable one in the history of South Africa. In October, the first diamond was discovered, and in December of that year Carl Mauch, the intrepid German explorer and naturalist, returned with Mr. H. Hartley, the well-known elephant hunter, from the interior, reporting the discovery of extensive gold fields in the neighbourhood of the Tatin, which soon brought a number of diggers from Australia, and caused a *rush* from the Cape Colony and Natal. It was also the cause of bringing out a number of travellers and *savants*, such as Baines, Mohr, Fühner, Sir John Swinbourne, Dr. Cohen, &c.

In April, 1868, President Pretorius issued the famous Proclamation defining the boundaries of the Republic, which included part of Delagoa Bay in the east and Lake Ngami in the north. Viscount Duprat, the Portuguese Consul-General at Cape Town, at once protested against this annexation of Portuguese territory, which he maintained belonged to Portugal since 1546, and Sir P. Wodehouse, Governor of the Cape Colony, also signified his disapproval, in a letter addressed to President Pretorius.

* A compromise was afterwards entered into between the Government and the Executors in the Estate of the late McOorkindale by which the Estate kept the farms and paid a compensation of £12,000.

This proclamation led to the first treaty* concluded with Portugal in July, 1869, and to the arbitration between England and Portugal concerning the southern portion of Delagoa Bay and the Island of Inyack, which was decided in favour of Portugal by Marshal MacMahon, in July 1875. When President Pretorius' term of office expired he was again elected by majority of votes, and was sworn in again on the 19th May, 1869.

In February, 1870, the award of Governor Keate, concerning the tedious Free State Boundary Question between the two Republics, was received, which decided in favour of the Transvaal. The discovery and increase of the Diamond Fields began now to engage the attention of the whole world, and soon assumed special importance for the two Republics, owing to the discovery of diamonds on both sides of the Vaal River, near Pniel, a Mission Station of the Berlin Society. On the 17th May, 1870, the President of the Orange Free State issued a Proclamation in which he laid claim to the so-called Campbell Grounds, north of the Vaal River, which the Republic had considered part of its dominion from the commencement of its existence. President Pretorius went to meet President Brand, at Nooitgedacht, in August, 1870, and an explanation took place between the two chiefs, which ended in the withdrawal of all claims to the territory between the Vaal and Hart Rivers on the part of the Free State. Pretorius then issued a Proclamation, dated 10th September, 1870, in which he declared the above-mentioned territory part of the Transvaal, and gave certain concessions to the diggers who were busy on the northern banks of the river. On account of some clauses contained in this Proclamation, it was not approved by the Executive, and was afterwards repudiated by the Volksraad in December. The mining monopoly, granted by the Government to Messrs. Munich, Posno, and Webb, in the Bloemhof district, suffered the same fate.

General Hay, then Acting Governor of the Cape Colony, protested against the claim set up by the Republics, and met President Pretorius at Klipdrift. An

* A second Treaty was concluded in 1870, between a Portuguese Deputation, under the presidency of the Governor of Quilimane, but it was objected to by the Volksraad, and repudiated by the Portuguese Government.

agreement was entered into to refer the matter to arbitration of Governor Keate, which terminated in the Award of 25th November, 1871. Our limited space does not allow us to go more fully into the controversy that ensued upon the repudiation of the Keate Award, which led to the voluminous correspondence between Sir H. Barkly and President Burgers.* Suffice it to say that the Republic averred that the Award could not be maintained in "honour, law and equity," on the following grounds:—1st. Want of authority on the part of President Pretorius. 2nd. Want of precision in the Deed of Submission. 3rd. Partiality on the part of one of the arbitrators (Mr. Campbell), and of the umpire, (Governor Keate). 4th. Want of parties to the Deed of Submission; and 5th. Want of finality in the Award.† But this award brought about a great change in the Government of the Republic. President Pretorius was obliged to resign in November, 1871; Erasmus took his place as Acting President; a new election was opened, and the Rev. T. F. Burgers, a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church, in the Cape Colony, was elected by majority of votes. Mr. Burgers belonged to the Liberal Church party, and had gained a great name by a successful lawsuit against the Cape Synod. He was a man of great talents, a man of progress, and an eloquent speaker, but he was too much of an enthusiast, and totally deficient in practical knowledge of men and things. He did not succeed in gaining the confidence of the Boers, and made himself particularly obnoxious to the orthodox party of the community by the law prohibiting religious instruction in school. Hundreds of Boers sold their farms and trekked into the wilderness rather than to submit to his rule.† He concluded a loan with the C. C. Bank for

* One letter of President Burgers to Sir H. Barkly, of August, 1874, formed a volume of 116 pages in print.

† They intended to go to Damaraland, on the West Coast, but very few reached their destination. They were attacked by the natives, and had to form a laager to defend themselves; their cattle were taken away by the natives or lost in the bush, and sickness considerably diminished their number. A few have returned by sea to Cape Town, but the remnant have formed a settlement on the Cunene River.

the redemption of the paper currency—a contingency nobody would have believed possible six months previously ; but the country derived no benefit from this otherwise praiseworthy act, for, at the end of his term of office, the exchequer was empty, the country deeply involved in debt, and its credit worse than it was at the commencement of his rule. He introduced a new educational system, based on the best and most approved European principles, but it could not be carried out for want of funds, and for want of pupils sufficiently advanced to attend the higher classes. He went to Europe to contract a loan of £300,000 for the railway to Delagoa Bay, and stated on his return that he had succeeded in obtaining the money, but it was afterwards found out that he obtained only a small portion of the amount at a great sacrifice of public money, in the shape of commissions, &c. He designed a new coat of arms and flag, and insisted on its acceptance although the people were opposed to the innovation, and the Volksraad refused it. He had some gold coins struck with his own likeness, but they cost more than their value, and instead of creating a new coinage for the country, they were only destined to adorn watch chains and to be looked upon as a curiosity. His idea of a United South Africa under the Republican Flag, with a Dutch-speaking population, was grand—“*even epic*,” as Mr. Froude would say—but it could not be carried out, as the majority of the population would object to such a scheme.

In December, 1870, a concession was granted to Messrs. Levert and Moodie,* for the construction of a road to Delagoa Bay. In August, 1871, Button discovered gold near Marabastad, which led to a concession being granted to a company in January, 1873. During the same month Mr. Moodie obtained another concession for the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay, based on the former contract granted to him and Levert. About this time, the first gold was discovered near Lydenburg, and in May, 1873, the ward Ohrigstad, in the Lydenburg district, was proclaimed a payable gold field. Diggers flocked to the new El Dorado

* Mr. George Pigot Moodie, now of Wes-brook near Rondebosch, Cape Town.

from all parts of the world, and several camps were formed, of which *Pilgrim's Rest*, *MacMac*, and others, are still worked to some extent.

During President Burgers' absence in Europe, in 1875, for the purpose of the Railway Loan, Sekukuni, the principal chief of the Bapedi, who inhabited a mountainous tract of country to the south of the Olifant's River, became rebellious. He refused to pay taxes, and molested the farmers in his neighbourhood. Cattle-lifting and acts of violence were committed. When President Burgers returned from Europe, in April, 1876, Sekukuni received a message from him to restrain the subordinate chiefs and return the cattle stolen; he replied that he would do so, but at the same time he laid claim to the greatest part of the Lydenburg and Pretoria districts. The Volksraad, then in session, resolved to declare war, and a large Commando was called out. After the taking of Mathebi's Kop, the *Gibraltar* of South Africa, as it was termed by President Burgers, the Commando moved on to Sekukuni's head kraal, situated between ranges of steep and rugged mountains, difficult of access or assault. The attack was made on the 1st August, 1876, but totally failed on account of the cowardice of some of the Boers, who refused to advance. The result was that the Commando had to retreat, the Volksraad was summoned, and, as a temporary measure, the prosecution of the war was entrusted to volunteers. A Treaty of Peace was soon afterwards concluded, according to which Sekukuni agreed to pay 2,000 head of cattle, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Republic; but soon afterwards Sekukuni repudiated the Treaty, and the cattle were never delivered.

While these matters were going on Sir Theophilus Shepstone had been sent out from England as a Special Commissioner from Her Majesty the Queen. He was deputed to confer with the Transvaal Government in regard to the Sekukuni rebellion and native affairs in general, which it was considered might unfavourably affect the peace of the neighbouring British colonies and the whole of this part of South Africa.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone arrived in Pretoria on the 22nd of January, and was well received by the townspeople. He received memorials and petitions for annex-

ation or interference from all parts of the country, and the President was compelled to call up the Volksraad in extraordinary session in February, 1877, when the alternative was put before the members : a radical reform of the whole Constitution, legislative, executive, and judicial ; that the burghers must loyally, promptly, and vigorously act up to their legal obligations, and support the Government of their own choosing ; or else accept Confederation with the South African States and Colonies under the British flag.*

The Raad agreed very reluctantly to a reform of the Constitution rather than to lose its so-called independence. A new Constitution was sanctioned, arrear taxes were to be paid summarily, on penalty of execution ; and a Ministry was formed. But it was too late. President Burgers himself stated in the Volksraad that "he did not believe that a new Constitution would save them, for as little as the old Constitution had brought them to ruin, so little would a new Constitution bring them salvation." On the 8th of March the Raad broke up, and the members went home from a session which was destined to be the last one of the many that had been held during the twenty-five years of the Republic's existence.

On the 12th of April, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the territory, and the Boers were once more compelled to submit to British rule. Mr. Burgers retired under protest, and returned to the Cape Colony to enjoy for the remainder of his life the pension granted him by the British Government. The Annexation Proclamation refers to the abandonment to the natives of the Northern territory, which was followed by a similar process in the South under yet more dangerous circumstances. It states that the Government was powerless to vindicate its assumed rights, or to resist the declension that was threatening its existence ; that all confidence in its stability once felt by surrounding and distant European communities had been withdrawn ; that commerce was well-nigh destroyed, and that the country was in a state of bankruptcy ; that the white inhabitants were divided into factions ; that the Government had fallen into helpless

* Noble's South Africa, Past and Present, 1877.

paralysis from causes it had been and was unable to control or counteract ; and the prospect of the election of a new President was looked forward to by all parties most likely to result in civil war, with its attendant anarchy and bloodshed. Mr. Jeppe, whose account of the Transvaal I avail myself of, says—in 1880: In closing this short sketch of the origin, rise, and fall of the Republic, we must say that a great deal of dissatisfaction still prevails among the Boers at the manner in which the government of the country had slipped out of their hands, and at the ill-success which had attended their deputations to Europe. The wish for independence and self-government, encouraged and supported by designing agitators, is, however, gradually subsiding. The taxes are paid better than they were under the old Government, as will be seen by our financial statistics, published elsewhere. The Sekukuni rebellion has been quelled, the Natives are made to pay taxes, labour is more plentiful, and now that all former obstacles are removed, the Transvaal enters upon a career of prosperity it has never before known, and which it never could have attained under the old *regime*. As part of the future South African Confederation, it must prosper and flourish. Great postal facilities have been instituted, and the telegraph connects us with the outer world. The railway from Delagoa Bay will soon be commenced, and its completion is only a question of time. With peace and security on our borders, a strong, liberal, and enlightened Government and Legislature to guide and rule this infant State, confidence will at once be originated, and enterprise will launch its capital, where so large and varied a field offers itself for yielding highly remunerative returns, either in mining operations for the precious metals, with which this country abounds, or in agricultural or stock-breeding pursuits, for which this highly-favoured country is so eminently suitable.

THE DELAGOA BAY RAILWAY.

From the earliest time when the first Boers trekked into the Transvaal they fostered the wish and desire to establish communications with Delagoa Bay, in order to be able to

import goods at cheaper rates than could be obtained through the seaports of Natal and the Cape Colony, and to establish an outlet for those products of the country which distance prohibited them from bringing to the colonial markets. The idea of thus becoming independent of the British Colonies, and free from the control which British officials exercised in reference to the importation of gunpowder and ammunition, has no doubt also greatly influenced the Boers in their endeavours to open communication and establish trading relations with the Portuguese, who always showed friendly feeling towards them, and who did all they possibly could to encourage a desire which promised to become very advantageous to themselves in course of time.

In the Historical Sketch I have shown how, in 1834, some families under the leadership of van Rensburg and Carl Triechard tried to reach the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast, and how miserably they failed. With the exception of two children, who, I have related, were found in the Amazwasi country and delivered up to the authorities in Lydenburg, in 1867, Rensburg's party appear to have been all killed by the natives, whilst only a few of Triechard's managed to reach Delagoa Bay. But they were not discouraged by these failures, and several trading expeditions were made in later years, although great losses were sustained owing to the cattle being killed by the tsetse.

During the year 1840 the Dutch ship *De Brazilië* landed at Durban, and as Natal was then in possession of the Boers, the supercargo of this vessel—J. A. Smellekamp—was received with great rejoicings by them, as he represented himself specially sent out by the King of Holland to promise them protection against the British Government. He concluded a treaty with the Volksraad, at Pietermaritzburg, which he signed in the name of his King, and promised soon to return with troops, ammunition, ministers, schoolmasters, &c., but when he returned in May, 1843, with one minister and several schoolmasters, and, I need hardly add, without troops and ammunition, Durban was in possession of the British Government; and Captain Smith, in command of the garrison, informed Mr. Smellekamp that his instructions prohibited the landing from any ships of

passengers without the permission of the English Government or the Governor of the Cape Colony. The *Brazilië* then took sail and landed her passengers at Lourenço Marques, as also a small consignment of Bibles, school books, and stationery, sent as a present by some people in Holland. During the time that the *Brazilië* took a trip to Java, Mr. Smellekamp, who remained at Lourenço Marques, placed himself in communication with Potgieter, who then lived at Lydenburg. A conference took place between Potgieter, as Chairman of a deputation sent from the Republic, and the Governor of Delagoa Bay, which resulted in a treaty of commerce being concluded on August 14th, 1855. About the same time an embassy was sent by the Portuguese Government from Inhambane to Zoutpansberg, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace and commerce with Schoeman, who was then the chief of a separate party of Boers at Zoutpansberg. Smellekamp returned to Holland, and in the early part of 1848 he arrived again at Lourenço Marques, as supercargo of the Dutch ship *De Animo*, loaded with merchandise for the "Dutch Africanders." On hearing of the arrival of the ship, Potgieter came to Delagoa Bay with a strong party of Boers, but they lost nearly all their cattle, and many men died of fever. The Dutch goods were not satisfactory, the prices too high, and the quality much below that of the goods brought up by the traders of Natal.* Stuart says that as the merchants in Holland lost between 85 and 86 per cent. of the capital invested, and as the Boers were losers to a still greater extent, it was mutually agreed upon that this should be the last attempt to establish direct commercial relations with Holland. Another ship, the *Vasco de Gama*, left Holland in December, 1850, but it appears that she only landed a fresh supply of schoolmasters at Delagoa Bay, of which some are still in the country.

From this time the trade with the Boers seems to have passed into the hands of the Portuguese, and was kept up principally by Portuguese merchants at Mozambique, who shipped their merchandize to Delagoa Bay, and received

* *De Hollandsehe Africanen, en hunne Republiek in Zuid Africa*, by J. Stuart, Amsterdam, 1854.

produce in return. A Natal firm, Messrs. Kotze and Bresler, also established itself at Lourenço Marques in August, 1855, for the special purpose of trading with the Boers. A Portuguese Consul was appointed at Zoutpansberg, and Portuguese traders kept up a lively trade with the Boers settled at Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg. In 1859 the Portuguese Government, noticing the growth and progress of the Republic, opened correspondence with regard to a treaty, which was, however, not concluded before July, 1869. In Sept., 1860, one of the principal Delagoa merchants submitted a scheme for running traction engines from Delagoa Bay to Zoutpansberg; but a new impetus was given to the idea of opening up Delagoa Bay when Alexander McCorkindale visited the Transvaal in 1864, and purchased a large tract of country bordering on the Amaswazi country. As the Maputa River, running into the Southern portion of Delagoa Bay, is navigable for some eighty miles, McCorkindale proposed to convey merchandise in flat-bottomed boats from the Bay to the Lebombo mountains, where a depôt was to be established, and from where goods were to be conveyed inland by bullock-wagon without danger of the tsetse fly.

In April, 1868, President Pretorius issued a proclamation in which the Maputa River, with one mile of river boundary on each side, from its junction with the Pongola up to its embouchure into the Southern portion of Delagoa Bay, were declared Transvaal territory. The Portuguese Government protested at once, and so did the Governor of the Cape Colony, which led to the arbitration between England and Portugal terminating in the award of Marshal McMahon, given in 1875, declaring the Southern portion of the Bay, including the Maputa River up to the Lebombo, as belonging to Portugal.

When McCorkindale's navigation and harbour scheme failed, concessions were applied for and granted to various persons for constructing roads suitable for running traction engines between the Portuguese boundary to some point on the High Veldt. In 1873 the Government expended an amount of nearly £1,000 for the construction of a wagon road from the Gold Fields to Delagoa Bay, a distance of 173 miles, of which the Portuguese Government engaged to do their portion from the Bay to the

Lebombo, a distance of forty-six and a half miles ; but it was afterwards found that the road was a mere track that could only be traced where cut through the bush. In 1875 a concession was granted to Mr. Nellmapius, Portuguese Vice-Consul at the Gold Fields, for the establishment of a Transport Company for the conveyance of goods by native-carriers between the Gold Fields and the Bay, and the Government granted eight farms of 3,000 morgen each for the establishment of trading stations at distances of fifteen miles apart ; but when the Kafir War broke out, and some white men who lived on these stations were killed by natives, the conveyance of goods had to cease, and the Company was dissolved. But previous to this, in June, 1870, an application was made by Messrs. Forssman and Munnich for making a road suitable for traction engines, followed in February, 1871, by a similar concession being granted to Messrs. Moodie and Levert, which was altered in August, 1872, into the first railway concession granted to Mr. Moodie alone. This concession Mr. Moodie ceded to A. Guzman, who intended to form a company in England, and who obtained transfer of the concession which Moodie had obtained from the Portuguese Government for the Portuguese portion of the line ; but when Guzman failed to carry out the concession, Moodie obtained a new concession for a railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria, in January, 1873, together with a grant of 850 farms of 6,000 acres each, in case the Company should be floated. But Moodie also failed to raise the money and commenced work within the time stipulated in his agreement with the Transvaal Government. President Burgers then proposed to the Volksraad to grant no more concessions to Companies or private persons, but to raise a loan of half-a-million in Europe to enable the Government to construct a narrow-gauge line from Lourenço Marques to the Drakensberg. This amount was subsequently reduced to £300,000, and in 1875 President Burgers proceeded to Europe for the purpose of obtaining the loan. For the payment of the interest due on this loan to be raised, a railway tax of £1 10s. was enacted by the Volksraad in June, 1876, on all quit-rent farms, and all persons not being owners of a quit-rent farm, which tax has been levied up to date. After having failed to raise the loan in

England, the President proceeded to Portugal, where he arranged a treaty of commerce, in which it was stipulated that should the revenue of the railway not be sufficient to cover the expenses of harbour works, &c., the import duty should be 3 per cent., but might, if necessary, be raised to 6 per cent. It was further agreed upon that the King of Portugal should grant a subsidy equivalent to half the cost of the works, the land required for the construction of the railway, free import during fifteen years of all the fixed and rolling stock necessary for construction, preference for the construction of the branches to be undertaken afterwards, and the exclusive exploitation of that railway and electric telegraph during the ninety-nine years, whilst the Transvaal Government undertook to carry the railway to a centre of production and consumption, granted the requisite land, and a guarantee of 5 per cent. on the borrowed capital, or, if necessary a subsidy equal to that given by the Portuguese Government. President Burgers then proceeded to Holland, and although he failed to borrow the £300,000 required, and only obtained an amount of £79,136, he entered into contracts with the Société Anonyme des Ateliers de la Dyle, in Belgium, for the supply of railway material to the value of £63,200. Of this about the half was shipped to Delagoa Bay, while the other half remained stored in different harbours in Holland and Belgium, until taken over by the British Government in 1879. As the Portuguese Government could not grant a concession to the Transvaal Government, a contract was entered into in 1876 between the Portuguese Government and Mr. Moodie by which the Government conceded to him the right of constructing and exploring the Portuguese portion of the railway from Delagoa Bay to the Lebombo. Moodie was to form a Company within six months to carry out the concession, the works were to be commenced within a year, and to be completed within three years from the date of contract, on the penalty of a rescission of the agreement. This concession was again taken over by the Transvaal Government, on payment to Moodie of an honorarium of £3,000, and £2,000 for his expenses incurred, and transferred to the "Lebombo Railway Company (Limited)," constituted in Pretoria. The nominal capital of this

Company was £110,000, divided into 4,400 shares of £25 each, of which 3,300 were taken by the Transvaal Government, 24 by certain private individuals, leaving 1,076 shares unappropriated. The 24 individuals took one share each, on which they are reputed to have paid 50s. each.* In November, 1876, President Burgers entered into a provisional contract with the representatives of the Cockerill Company at Seraing, in Belgium, by which the Portuguese concession ceded to the Lebombo Company was transferred to this Company, which undertook to carry on the line as far as Klipstapel, a distance of about 210 miles from Lourenço Marques, of which about 40 miles were on Portuguese territory. According to Mr. Hall's flying survey, made in 1875 by order of the Transvaal Government, the line was to skirt the northern and afterwards the southern banks of the Umbolosi River, and was to ascend the Drakensberg to the north-east of New Scotland to an altitude of 3,620 feet above sea level, the steepest gradients being 1 in 45 and 1 in 50.† The cost was estimated at £423,704 for the 108 miles from Delagoa Bay to the first terminus, at the 2 feet 6 inch gauge; and £531,740 for 106 miles at the 3 feet 6 inch gauge. This would amount to £3,923 and £5,016 per mile respectively.

The before-mentioned provisional agreement with the Cockerill Company contained the reservation that it had to be confirmed both by the Volksraad of the Republic and the Company in Belgium. The first was attained on the 8th March, 1877, when the Volksraad approved of the above-mentioned agreement in principle, and directed "the Government," in conjunction with the Directors of the Lebombo Company, to enter into a final contract with the Cockerill Company as should be most conducive to the interests of the Republic; but as the Cockerill Company have not confirmed the preliminary agreement, and as no final agreement has been entered into since March, 1877, it must be taken for granted that this important agreement fell to the ground.

In the meantime the Lebombo Railway Company came

* Blue Book C.—2,144, 1878.

† Mr. Farrell says in his report, referred to hereafter, that the steepest gradients adopted by Mr. Hall were 1 in 30.

to a deadlock for want of funds; the company owed about £5,598, and there was no money to pay for the freight of the railway material sent out to Delagoa Bay. The bills passed by the Government on Holland were returned dishonoured, and the credit of the Government was so low that it was only with the greatest difficulty that a loan of £400 could be obtained from a Boer by the mortgage of a saltpan near Pretoria. In this extremity the Company resolved to sell or mortgage part of the railway material stored at Delagoa Bay, but succeeded in obtaining the promise of £2,000 only. The Portuguese Government was then applied to for an advance on subsidy, and promised to furnish £6,000; but in the meantime the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government, and the new Government gave notice to the Lehombo Company "That all payments of salaries and other current expenses, except such as are absolutely necessary for the safe custody of the material at Delagoa Bay, must now, as far as the payment of them by this Government is concerned, cease, pending the decision of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.*" The Company was hereupon dissolved, and nothing appears to have been done until May, 1879, when the new Government issued instructions to Mr. Farrell, the railway engineer, for a new survey of the line. At the same time (30th May, 1879), a treaty was agreed upon at Lisbon, between Mr. Morier, the British Ambassador at Lisbon, and the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senhor João de Andrade Corvo. I here close this matter, as the subsequent proceedings in connection with this railway are known to the public through the press.

* Report of Directors of the Lehombo Railway Company, 2nd July, 1877.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE ZULU POWER.

At the commencement of the present century close upon a million Kafirs were living happily and peacefully in the fair and fertile Colony of Natal. Very old men belonging to these people expressively say, "The sun that saw the tribes fight never set until their quarrel was ended." But about the year 1812 all this was changed. In, or close upon, that year a predatory chieftain with an organised scheme of spoliation and conquest, came down from the North and burst down upon the land, and within a few short years the aboriginal tribes (the names of which will be found in the appendix) of the district were swept from their homes, and the smiling garden, which had so recently been teeming with happy and prosperous life, became a desert and a depopulated wilderness. This state of things was brought about by Tshaka.

Tshaka, the Attila of South Africa, was, as we have seen, the founder of the Zulu power. Before his reign and career, the Zulus, as a tribe, were almost entirely unknown. They were virtually overshadowed and eclipsed by the more important clans which were immediately around them, and the most considerable of these was the tribe of the Umtetwas, which was under the chieftainship of Jobe. These Umtetwas dwelt in what is now the heart of Zululand, and some few miles north of the Tugela River, and the old chief of the tribe had two sons, who were named Tana and Godongwana, of whom the elder, Tana, had been recognized as the proper successor to his father's place. Jobe, however, seemed to be in no hurry to get out of the way, and the young men, becoming impatient at the delay, are said to have entered into some scheme of conspiracy to hasten his removal. The plot reached the old chief's ears, and he gave secret orders that both the young men should be summarily placed beyond the sphere of temptation. The hut in which the two brothers were sleeping was accordingly surrounded by an armed band in the dead of

night, and a sudden onset was made upon it, and nearly all whom it contained, the elder brother Tana amongst them, were killed. The younger, Godongwana, however, who was an active and powerful man, made a sudden rush through his assailants and leapt the outer fence. But he did not escape quite scatheless. He was struck by a barbed assegai as he disappeared into the darkness, and carried away the weapon with him in his back.

A sister of the wounded man, aware of what had occurred in the night, managed secretly to discover the place of his retreat in the bush, extracted the spear from his wound, ministered to his immediate needs, and then gave him her own kaross (skin rug), and sent him privately some young men to attend upon him. At first Godongwana lingered among the neighbouring tribes, but they were all too much under Jobe's influence to be safe places of sojourn for him ; and so at last he went further away and disappeared ; and for some years nothing more was heard of him.

In the fulness of time, however, old Jobe died, a younger brother of Godongwana of another house (or hut) assumed the government of the tribe, and events moved on quietly for some time, until all at once strange rumours began to circulate amongst the people, to the effect that Godongwana was still alive, and would return to claim his inheritance ; and at last it was said that he was actually on his way for this purpose, and that he was coming with might and mysterious power, for no one could say whether he was a man or an animal. Then it was reported that he who was coming was certainly a man, but marvellous to say, he was seated upon an "Injomani." This did not make the explanation very clear, as no one in the tribe knew what an "Injomani" was. What "Injomani" meant no one could tell, as a horse was as much an object of curiosity to the natives of these parts in those days as a live Unicorn would be to us.

To give you some idea of the notion these people had of a horse, I will relate an incident which occurred 20 years after the time of which I am now speaking. One of the tribes now in this colony had met an expeditionary force from the Cape frontier to the South of the St. John's River. Part of that force was mounted. During the

engagement that followed one of the horsemen got separated from his horse, and it ran wildly away. The Chief immediately gave orders for every exertion to be made to destroy it. He thought that letting the animal loose was one of the modes of warfare used by the enemy; that it tore men to pieces with its teeth, and stung them to death with its tail. It seemed to them so active an animal that the sooner it was despatched the better. The poor innocent victim of this calumny was of course easily despatched amidst triumphant yells from the valiant warriors.

At length, however, both Godongwana and the Injomani appeared to clear up the mystery, and the Injomani turned out to be a white horse which the young chieftain had procured from some of the tribes in the far West, near to the frontiers of the civilized settlements at the Cape. When he put in his claim to the chieftainship his younger brother offered a futile resistance, and lost his life for his pains. The new chief proved his identity and his right by the scar which he carried on his back. The Umtetwas said that his "wound was his witness." Between the scar and the horse his claim was very speedily established, and he became the acknowledged chief of the Umtetwas in old Jobe's place. But in honour of his strange adventures his name was changed. He ceased to be "Godongwana" and he became "Dingiswayo," which meant "Wanderer," and as "Dingiswayo" he reigned.

It appears that after he had got well off from the tribes in the old neighbourhood, Godongwana had at last made his way to the Cape Colony in the far west, and had lived there in some fashion or other amongst white men, and learnt very much concerning their habits and doings. He had certainly procured his horse from this source. But whether or not he had come by it honestly was never known. In common with his skill in horsemanship, he had, however, acquired some other attainments, which he was able to turn to good account. *He had seen the power of organisation and discipline,* and had especially marked how the white men banded their soldiers into companies and regiments, under duly appointed officers. As soon, therefore, as he was firmly settled in the chieftainship of

his tribe, he set to work to organise his own people upon a similar plan. He formed all the young men into regiments, and appointed officers in due subordination to each other, and he very soon had an army at his command exceedingly more powerful than any force that had ever been seen before among the neighbouring tribes. It was but natural that he should then find himself tempted to put to proof this new organisation, and when he did so he found that none of the surrounding chiefs could stand against him for an instant. He accordingly reduced many of them to subservience to his own authority. But it is universally admitted that he was neither cruel nor avaricious. He fought to conquer and to show his own superior ability and power, but he cared nothing about capturing the cattle, and he forbade the destruction of women and children. His great idea was to feed his own army on the grain stores of the vanquished, and to occupy the territory of an antagonist until his corn was exhausted. On this account his opponents generally tendered their submission as soon as they were beaten, and reoccupied their country as the acknowledged vassals of the conqueror the instant his forces were withdrawn. Dingiswayo never destroyed or permanently dispersed any tribe he had attacked.

At the time that Dingiswayo was thus occupied in introducing his new system of military organisation and aggressive war, it so chanced, however, that one of the small adjacent tribes that he had conquered was ruled over by a chief named Senzangakona, who had an illegitimate son called Tshaka. This young man was of a turbulent and ambitious spirit, and made himself so obnoxious to some influential members of his father's family that at last he and his mother had to flee for their lives. Tshaka took refuge with Dingiswayo, enlisted in one of his crack regiments, and took part in several of his military expeditions. The gallant conduct of the young recruit in some of these won for him a great reputation as a soldier. The fact was that he had accidentally been placed in a position which was congenial to his tastes and to his genius, for he was a man of remarkable ability and power. He studied the policy and the proceedings of Dingiswayo with an attentive eye, and he soon convinced himself that he had

discovered the one weak point in the new strategy. He saw clearly that Dingiswayo's generosity and forbearance was a dangerous mistake, because it left the conquered chiefs in a position to combine together at some future time against their conqueror. In his own mind he was satisfied that the only safe way to carry out such a scheme of aggression as Dingiswayo had entered upon was to inflict such an injury upon the conquered as left them no power to rise again, and he resolved that whenever he had the chance he would carry out the great system of Dingiswayo to its full and legitimate conclusion.

Tshaka had not long to wait for his opportunity. By the time that he had served in the army of Dingiswayo sufficiently long to become familiar with the system of its chief, and to make his own observations upon its defects, his father Senzangakona died; and Dingiswayo, conceiving that his brave subordinate would be a more servicable tributary and ally than the legitimate sons of the deceased chief, induced the tribe to accept Tshaka at his hands as their head. In this way the young Tshaka succeeded to the chieftainship of the weak, tributary, and insignificant tribe of the Zulus.

Tshaka continued faithful to his old master, and fought in alliance with him in several campaigns. But he was altogether right in the opinions he had formed of the danger of the position. Some of the neighbouring chiefs, who had been victims of Dingiswayo's raids, had at length taken a lesson out of his book, and having prepared their plans, combined against him. Dingiswayo was finally caught in advance of the main body of his army with only a small party of followers, and was taken prisoner and slain by a chief he had twice taken prisoner and generously spared. Tshaka was with the main army on this occasion, and led the combined tribes of the Umtetwas and Zulus so skilfully out of the fight that he was forthwith accepted by both as their common chief. This was the first step made by the Zulu tribe towards an enlargement of its influence and power. It was the result of a combined movement by these two chiefs that drove the powerful tribe in its retreat to enter the present division of Newcastle about 1812 as already mentioned. *And thus was caused the first shock felt by the doomed but unsuspecting inhabitants of Natal.*

Tshaka had thus a clear path open to his ambition. He was now free to adopt his own plan of operations, and to act upon his own ideas without let or hindrance. He at once set himself to the work of establishing the Zulu supremacy, and attacked tribe after tribe of his neighbours, absorbing all the young men as he did so into his own following, and destroying the old men and old women and children. In the pursuance of this object he introduced several innovations into the art of native South African warfare, which were very remarkable indications of his genius and originality. He distributed his young warriors into regiments, which were distinguished from each other by the colour and pattern of their ox-hide shields; and he trained them to the discipline of serried and solid advance, and of attack at close quarters with the short stabbing assegai. Above all things he instituted an invariable law, that any young soldier who returned from the fight without shield and assegai, or with the disgraceful stamp of a wound upon his back, should pay the forfeit of his life. The young soldiers were now for the first time forbidden to take wives, in order that they might not be enervated by domestic influences, and distracted from their military duties by domestic ties and habits. But after a certain period of service old regiments were superannuated as veterans, and rewarded with wives, and new levies were raised to take their place in the van of the tribal armament. Whenever an expedition was sent out on active service its destination was kept secret from the warriors themselves until they were far on their way. The immediate attack was always made by a sudden onset of a compact phalanx, supported on either hand by advanced horns or troops of skirmishers.

With such a system of carefully planned organization, wielded by a large measure of ability and sustained by a ruthless purpose and will, and with only divided and scattered tribes that fought as an undisciplined rabble in the regions which were to be overrun, it is by no means surprising that the name of Tshaka (or Chaka as it is erroneously spelt) soon became a terror and a power. Wherever there were cattle to be seized or young men to be amalgamated, the ruthless hosts of the Zulu despot appeared, until every tribe between St. John's River in

the South, and Delagoa Bay in the north, a distance of full 500 miles, had either been "eaten up" and dispersed or reduced into subjection; and this was how it had come to pass that when Lieut. Farewell and Mr. Fynn formed their first settlement in Natal the region was an unpeopled wilderness. The earliest burst of the tempest fell upon Natal about the year 1812. At that time great crowds of the Northern tribes, who had borne the first brunt of the Zulu aggression, entered the Natal district from the North, retreating before the advance of the invaders; and as they passed through Natal gave the tribes a foretaste of what was so quickly to follow by the robbery and spoliation that they were compelled to practice in their own first struggle for existence. Wave after wave of desolation from that time traversed the land, as tribe after tribe of the vanquished and retiring hosts passed through, sweeping all before them as they hastened to place as wide a space as possible between themselves and their terrific assailant; so that when the actual hordes of Tshaka himself arrived there was little left for them to do. It is hardly possible to realise the demoralising and destructive influence that was thus brought into play. The mere instinct of preservation, stimulated by terror, turned friends into foes, lifted every man's hand against his neighbour, and caused acts of treachery and atrocity of the most dreadful character. When Tshaka had cleared away or subjugated all the scattered tribes on the northern side of the Tugela, his armies advanced into the already desolated district on the Natal side of that river, and pursued their work of destruction and conquest there. True to his own keener insight into the necessities of his position, the Zulu conqueror at this time ordained that neither man, woman, or child should be spared. Every hut was to be burned. All food that could not be consumed by his own warriors was to be destroyed. Some of the weaker of the Natal tribes made a ready submission, and were received into Zululand as vassals and recruits (Amangkenkane); but this only made the position of those who attempted to hold out more desperate and dreadful, because the knowledge these recruits had of persons and places enabled them to give the most valuable and efficient information to the armies of the exterminating despot. When the Zulus had at length

passed through Natal and advanced through Amapondo Land to the south, the last wave of the fugitives, who were retreating before them, overflowed into the Cape Territory beyond the Kei River, and were there seized by the Gcalekas, to whom they became a sort of slave property under the name of Amafengu or Fingoes. (*Apropos*—One of the tribes of British Kaffraria was named the Ama Gawler after Colonel Gawler, a commissioner placed over them after subjection, and brother of Mr. Henry Gawler, of the Government service in Adelaide, South Australia). Mr., now (1879) Sir Theophilus, Shepstone, (whose valuable writings of the early history of the Zulus, I here thankfully make use of) states that he was himself with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of the Cape Colony, when, at the end of the Kafir war of 1836, these Fingoe slaves were emancipated by the Governor himself at the head of a division of the British army.

Within ten years of the first burst into Natal of the tribes retreating before the advance of the Zulus the desolation of the country was complete. A few thousands of miserable wretches were still scattered about the colony, making the most desperate efforts to cling to their old homes; but their cattle and their grain stores were gone, and they dared not to cultivate the ground, because to have given such a sign of their presence would have been to have brought down the hand of the destroyer upon their last hopes. They lived concealed in the bushy kloofs and glens, and had literally nothing else to subsist upon but the wild roots which they could dig out of the ground. The whole country at last was filled with the dead, which were left by the emaciated and spiritless survivors to be consumed by the hyænas. Some miserable men, in the extremity of despair, actually crawled towards the Tugela that they might be "picked up" by the dreaded soldiers of Tshaka. At the present day the old Kafirs, who tell the tale of this period of desolation, expressively say—"The asegeai killed people, but hunger killed the country."

In the year 1824, when the *Julia* brought its freight of English adventurers to commence their rôle in the land where this terrific tragedy had so recently been performed, Tshaka was in the zenith of his power, and the Zulus had

become a formidable tribe, made up in the main of the pith and sinew of the tribes that had been broken up by its raids. They held at that time as the centre of their dominion a vast stretch of territory on each bank of the Tugela, but they claimed, and virtually possessed, the land from Delagoa Bay to the St. John's River. Their chief military station was near the White Umfolosi River, which runs down to the sea at St. Lucia Bay. But there was also a large and important military kraal, serving as an advanced post, between the Umhlali and Tongati Rivers, in what is now Natal, and it was at this advanced post of Tshaka's that the negotiations of the English settlers for permission to settle and trade were principally carried on. After some prolonged preliminaries, in which presents to the chief played an important part, this permission was at last secured, and three distinct stations were occupied.

In the first part of this work I have already stated how these stations became the nucleus round which the scattered tribes rallied, and which, after Dingaan had murdered Tshaka, were led on by John Cane, etc., to fight the former, with the result before stated. And I have also endeavoured to make clear how at last Tshaka's full brother and Dingaan's half-brother Um Pande, joined his forces with those of the Boers, which action ended in the defeat and death of Dingaan, and the installation of Um Pande as king, under the patronage of the Boers, commanded by Andreas Pretorius. As soon as the news of the death of Dingaan was satisfactorily authenticated, Andreas Pretorius assembled his forces on the banks of the Umfolosi River, and there on the 14th of February, 1840, proclaimed Um Pande paramount chief of the Zulus, with the important reservation, however, for himself and his friends, of the sovereignty over the land from the Black Umfolosi and St. Lucia Bay to the St. John's River. They also charged Um Pande, for the little service rendered, a small fee of 36,000 head of cattle, which was immediately paid.

The Zulu despotism and power were thus broken within six years of the first descent of the Dutch Boers into Natal, and, in the main, was unquestionably so broken by the courage, gallantry, and hardness of this very remarkable body of men. Whatever may be the future of Natal, there



Murray & St. Leger.

CETYWAYO.

Cape Town.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN THE CASTLE AT CAPE TOWN BY J. E. BRUTON

must ever remain one clear page in its early history, for the record of the memorable occurrences of Sunday, December 16th, 1838, when Andreas Pretorius and Carl Landman, with 460 Dutch emigrant farmers, encountered in their own stronghold the 12,000 savages of Dingaan, who were the finished outcome of the military system of Tshaka, clothed in all the prestige of long continued triumph and success, and, nevertheless, gallantly scattered them to the winds with the strength of their own right arms.

So much for the origin and growth of the Zulu power until the death of Um Pande, who, after a long and peaceful reign, bequeathed his power to Cetywayo, the present ruler.

Before entering on the Zulu War, and the causes which led to it, it may be as well to give a slight sketch of the character of Cetywayo. The impression which he made on the mind of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in August, 1873, was that he was immeasurably superior to any other native chief he had ever come into communication with. He had a dignified bearing, and was unquestionably possessed of considerable ability and much force of character. He was entirely frank and straightforward in all his personal communications. At one part of the interview with him some of the old men were fencing subtly with an important point; he stopped them with the exclamation, "Silence, all of you. You are like the wind which says nothing when it speaks. Don't you see what my father means? He means so and so," putting down before them clearly and openly the exact point. He is naturally proud of the military traditions of his family, and especially so of the policy and deeds of his uncle Tshaka. His great difficulty has hitherto been that he has of necessity had to preserve the belief of his people that he is a worthy descendant of Tshaka, at the very time that he has been shaping his course so as to justify the new condition of affairs. This is probably the true explanation of much of his shiftiness and reserve, and of his bearing in all that related to Natal.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE ZULUS AND NATAL.

IN the foregoing account of the origin of the Zulu power the remarks of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, as well as those of other early writers, have been condensed. It will, however, add to the value of this record, and be, further, interesting, to give the words of the same writer delivered as explained below.

The following valuable paper entitled "The Zulus" was read a few years ago at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute in London. It is the production of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, (as he now is) than whom, with the exception perhaps of The Hon. J. W. Shepstone, his brother, Mr. John Dunn, and Mr. Brownlee, there is not a better living authority on Zulu matters :—*

The last eighty years of the history of the Colony of Natal shows more wonderful changes than we could well imagine, if we tried to invent a probable, or even a possible story for our own amusement.

The ups and downs in the fortunes, not of individuals only, but of whole communities and populations, and the revolution in the social, as well as in the political condition, which each change caused, are so wonderfully strange, as well as complete, that it would be difficult to find a country which could furnish a true story of itself so full of vicissitudes as Natal.

Ten, or at most twenty years more, will deprive us of the testimony of nearly all the few remaining eye-witnesses of the earlier of those exciting scenes which thus revolutionized the country. The particulars of the short sketch I propose to give you have been gathered from those eye-witnesses, and I believe them to be almost as correct as, in the nature of the case, it is now possible to make them.

* The Hon. J. W. Shepstone's first wife was a sister of the present writer.

It is necessary that I should first describe, as shortly as possible, the different phases of condition through which the inhabitants of this country have passed since 1812, for it was about that year that the great disturbances of their ancient comfortable mode of life commenced.

I shall endeavour to trace the causes which led to that disturbance, and its consequences, and in doing this I shall be obliged to take a glance at what is now called Zululand, for it was there, towards the close of the last century, that domestic events in a chief's family gave the *first small impulse to the movement*, and it is one of the most curious points in our wild story that this impulse was to receive its strength and direction from such civilization as then existed in this Cape Colony, before it could so rudely influence, as it afterwards did, the destiny, not of Natal only, but of the whole of South Eastern Africa.

Up to about the year 1812, then, and for how many centuries before we cannot now tell, this country was thickly populated by numerous tribes, under independent chiefs. These tribes lived so close together that tribal change of residence was difficult, if not impossible. They intermarried with each other—possessed flocks and herds—lived in ease and plenty themselves, and at peace with their neighbours; until this luxury occasionally culminated in a periodical quarrel (as is the natural tendency, the natives say, in all that grows fat) and this quarrel was settled by a periodical fight, but then those fights were by no means such serious matters as they afterwards became. In those days armies never slept in the open, *i.e.*, away from their homes. The day was fixed beforehand, the men of the rival tribes met in battle on that day, and the result of the single encounter decided the quarrel. The few old men still living, who lived then, delight to tell how that in these good old times, they did not fight to shed blood, or burn houses, or capture cattle, or destroy each other, but to settle a quarrel, and see who was the strongest; how the women looked on while the men fought; that prisoners taken in battle were not killed, but kept till ransomed; and especially how that many a young warrior, when the day's strife was over, would hand his shield and assegai to a companion to take home for him

that he might accompany his late foes, to renew his vows to some daughter of the rival tribe.

But although the relations of these people with each other, as tribes, were so simple, and the opposite of aggressive, there was always imminent danger of one ground of quarrel arising, which aroused every feeling of animosity, occasionally split up tribes, and caused more bloodshed, and the exhibition of more ferocity, in one year than all their punctilious tribal battles did, perhaps, in ten. I mean quarrels between relations for succession to the chieftainship, in which sections of the tribe took opposite sides. This is certainly not changed in our experience of human nature, exhibited either in clans or families, but from the account of these quarrels, they seem to have been kept up with such preserving malevolence as to suggest an explanation as to what we ourselves experienced in our contact with these people, *i.e.*, that strong attachment to individuals and families which make them earnest partisans, and that wonderful respect for, and devotion to, any person of whose duly constituted authority they are sufficiently convinced, which makes them obedient subjects.

We see, then, with the exception of family quarrels, these people were unwarlike and harmless, and lived in happiness and contentment with each other. Then, as now, the seasons favoured the high lands one year and the low lands the next, and interchange of commodities for wood went on, as it still continues to do, between the inhabitants of the two different classes of the country, and friendly relations between tribes was the rule.

Such was the general condition of perhaps a million souls in what is now the Colony of Natal, up to the year 1812, when the first, or quiet phase of their history closes. Time will not permit of my entering into the detail of their social condition, such as their belief in witchcraft and its effects, and other matters, which, although sufficiently interesting, are not necessary in so short a sketch as this of their general history.

In this year—1812—these people saw the first fruits of a single seed of knowledge, sown in the mind of a lonely fugitive, perhaps twenty years before; although sown to the westward of the Great Fish River in the Cape Colony

it germinated to the north of the Tugela. And the fruit of this first lesson in civilization was sad enough, for it inaugurated the second or turbulent phase of their history. It inspired one among the many tribes in that region (north of the Tugela) which were then living in almost the same circumstances and conditions as those in this country, with a military spirit, and caused it to introduce a military organization.

This change soon developed itself still further, and became aggressive, so that the neighbouring tribes were compelled to adopt the new system also. But for some time wars, although more frequent, were carried on under more or less observance of the old rules. Tribes were not at first destroyed, although conquered. It was not until these new mode of warfare was directed by the sanguinary genius of Tshaka that extermination, as far as possible, followed every conquest. So great was the terror caused by this policy that tribe after tribe gave way before him, and forced themselves through their weaker neighbours, whose feeble resistance they easily overcame. Several powerful tribes were driven in this way to force their retreat through what is now Natal. In vain did the inhabitants combine to resist; although numerous enough, they were undisciplined, and unused to earnest fighting, so they were easily defeated, and some of them carried to the South by the tribes they had attempted to oppose.

I have mentioned the year 1812 as the date when the second, or turbulent phase, of their history commenced, because it was about that year that the first of these large tribes entered this country on their retreat from Zululand through the present division of Newcastle, whose inhabitants were not only defeated, but plundered and scattered, and became in turn aggressors upon their weaker neighbours.

This was the first actual experience they had of the great coming change.

But it was not by fugitive tribes only that such effects were caused—Tshaka himself had to finish what they had merely begun. And after clearing away and subjugating the population north of the Great Tugela, he sent his armies periodically to this side to ravage a country whose inhabitants were already sufficiently demoralized and

spiritless, but who nevertheless possessed an abundance of the means of subsistence.

Tshaka's orders were to spare neither man, woman, or child, to burn all houses and destroy all food, and faithfully enough did his men execute those orders. The object was, of course, to render existence impossible within the reach of his arms, except under his rule. He aimed at universal sovereignty. And it was only during the last years of his life that he expressed his willingness to share the world with the white man.

Several tribes offered themselves to Tshaka as vassals, and were accepted. Year by year did the despot's armies extend the sphere of their operations, until at length they reached the tribes which had retreated through Natal, and established themselves to the south. These were either destroyed, or for the most part incorporated by Tshaka, or driven upon the Kafirs on the frontier of the Cape Colony.

It is a strange coincidence that a recent Acting Lieutenant-General Bisset, and I were both present when Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of the Cape, at the head of a division of the British army, emancipated the Fingoes (*i.e.*, the Natal Kafirs driven southward) from their slavery, in the Kafir war 1835-36; and that, in the course of our respective duties we have both had much to do with the measure.

But to return to the population of Natal. Those who still remained in the country—and there were many thousands who did so remain—were by this time reduced to a condition absolutely hopeless and wretched. Naturally the means of subsistence furnished by their cattle, and other smaller domestic animals had failed first; for they were eagerly sought after by Tshaka's soldiers. Their stores of grain held out longer, but in time they were exhausted also, and as hopeless as the cattle, for their granaries could not be replenished by cultivation, because cultivation attracted attention, and had therefore to be abandoned.

The position of the tribes of Natal was indeed deplorable. Their dogs had been too weak to capture any game, and lean and hungry as they were, had been eaten by their masters, and so they had to live on roots.

No wonder then that the country was filled with the

dead, and that, as the natives express it, "the assegai killed people, but hunger killed the country." No wonder that these victims were left unburied by their emaciated friends, to feed wild animals, and still less that these animals became as much an object of dread as Tshaka's warriors. Many poor wretches who could, crawled towards the Tugela to be *picked up*, as they termed it, by Tshaka's haughty vassals. There they could at least get food, whatever the Government might be. Others refused to leave their country, and preferred meeting the death that seemed to stare them in the face to submitting to those who had caused them so much misery, and whom they had such small cause to trust.

It seems impossible that in a cup so brim full of sorrow, space could be found for one additional drop. But it was possible, and that drop was the bitterest of all.

In terror of wild beasts; in still greater terror of Tshaka's ruthless soldiers and vassals, maddened by hunger and altogether demoralised by the circumstances which surrounded him, a man conceived the horrible idea of feeding on his fellowman, and at once put it into practice. Starving wretches in misery equal to his own rallied round him, and a band of cannibals was soon formed, to be increased by two or three in other parts of the country.

These cannibal bands hunted for human beings as men hunted for game. Driven first by necessity, they acquired a taste for this revolting practice, and continued it long after the necessity ceased.

The Natal cannibals had become so formidable that it was not until about the arrival of the first Dutch Emigrants in Natal that the last of them was dislodged from the Biggarsberg, and driven over the Drakensberg Mountains by Dingaan.

I have heard many a stirring story of escape from the cannibals from the lips of those who were captured, and who had themselves listened to discussions as to whether they would eat tender or tough when they were killed. I have myself conversed with several men who escaped after having been captured by these "man-eaters," and after having been told off to furnish the next feast for their captors, and with one—a chief still living in this Colony—who was compelled to carry the vessel in which he was

told he would himself be cooked. The scene of his escape is not five miles from the spot on which this paper is written (Pietermaritzburg), and at present forms part of the episcopal property held by the Bishop of Natal.

To such a state of things, then, was Natal reduced in the course of less than ten years after the first fugitive tribe entered the division of Newcastle, and it continued, with little amelioration, until Tshaka's policy had absorbed, with few exceptions, the whole of the survivors, and the Zulus actually occupied one-third of what we now know as Natal.

All the troubles which followed, and which I have very imperfectly described, were caused by Tshaka alone. His genius overbore all opposition, and he died within the territory which now constitutes the Colony of Natal, on the *23rd of September, 1828*, undisputed Sovereign of all South Eastern Africa, from the St. John's River on the south to King George's River on the north; including a large portion of what now forms the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic, as well as the tribe and territory of his old master and patron, Dingiswayo.

This brings us to times to ascertain the history of which we have more or less of documentary evidence to refer to, I shall not, therefore, trespass upon them. I have selected the period embraced in this sketch because it is of necessity less known than that upon which books have been published, and because the tale of its occurrences, however imperfectly I have told it, may teach us valuable lessons.

I wish, in conclusion, to present a kind of analysis of this history; and you must be good enough to bear in mind that it relates to a period scarcely extending back sixty years from this date. It shows three phases, representing three conditions as opposite, each to the other two, in most respects as it is possible for any nation to be.

In the first, we have simple, primitive, unalloyed barbarism, unmitigated, *as well as untainted by any trace of civilization*, under this condition, which probably had lasted for centuries, the people enjoyed peace, prosperity, and plenty.

In the second we have the same barbarism, the same people and the same country, but we have also, added to these, a dash of civilization, a stray, but not incorrect,

notion of one of its practices, which poisoned all enjoyment, cut off all that sustains life, turned thousands of square miles into, literally, howling wildernesses, shed rivers of blood, annihilated whole communities, turned the members of others into cannibals, and caused miseries and sufferings, the full extent of which can now never be known, and which, if even known, could not be told.

In the third, we see civilization no longer represented by a mere notion or idea, but in its living bodily form protecting and ameliorating the condition and remnants of this wreck. Where, a few years ago, so dreadful a storm of human passion and violence raged, we now see a British Colony, with its quiet farms, its representative institutions, its Christianity, its electric telegraphs, and its little railroads; and we see also its inhabitants occasionally discussing the most advanced topics of the most enlightened civilization of the age.

When we realise the idea that these three great changes have all taken place in the country we live in during the short compass of less than a man's life-time we shall understand and wonder at the fearful rapidity with which revolutions sometimes overwhelm a people; and we shall wonder still more when we contemplate the apparently trivial events from which such monstrous consequences have sprung, events which, if calculated according to the ordinary doctrine of chances, would have stood at a hundred to one against occurring at all. But trivial as they were in themselves, they have already influenced the destiny of thousands, and have, in my opinion, contributed in no small degree to the planting of civilization in Natal for some wise and beneficent purpose, which I sincerely hope may be faithfully fulfilled.

