

one Fingoe killed by an accidental shot from one of his own party, and one wounded.

The enemy lost heavily ; four old women, Morosi's wives, two children, and one paralyzed man constituted the prisoners taken, all the rest were either killed or had escaped.

The prisoners assured us there were 500 men on the day before the attack, but that at this time there were not more than 300. Morosi and his sons, except Dodo, were killed, and about 200 of his men. Dodo and about 120 men escaped by throwing themselves into the Orange river. How many were killed in that desperate leap it is impossible to say.

The Tambookies who had refused to join in the attack were stripped, flogged, and driven out of camp. This was the last we saw of them.

Such was the capture of Morosi's mountain, taken by a surprise, well conceived and as well executed, reflecting great credit on Colonel Bayley, who did not, however, stop to thank us, but hurried off the field to the Colony to receive the acknowledgments of the Government and Colony at large.

Morosi in this mountain had for nine months successfully defied all effort to compel him to evacuate his position, costing the Government many good lives and a great deal of money. No wonder the Government made much of Colonel Bayley. He was our colonel, and we had to be satisfied with this, for it was all the thanks the force ever received. Civil words cost nothing, and the Government might have taken the trouble to thank the men of the C.M.R. for the victory. It was by their pluck, and by them alone, that Morosi's Mountain was taken ; for as a matter of fact, Colonel Bayley and the adjutant were never on the mountain at all, either in the attack or subsequently.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MOROSI'S MOUNTAIN PROMOTIONS.

THE scene on the top of Morosi's mountain after it was taken is almost impossible to describe. In every direction dead men, women and children lying where they had been shot. Nearly all the women and children had been killed by pieces of the mortar shells. The prisoners told us that the mortar and guns drove them mad ; go where they would, they could not get out of the way of these bits of iron flying about in every direction.

On the top of the mountain was a square house, strongly built of stone, and containing six or seven tons of gunpowder. Cattle, dead and dying, were lying about, together with immense quantities of bones. There were many springs of good water, and abundance of corn ; and with the quantity of food collected there, the enemy could without doubt, have held out for a long time,

After a day's rest we all set to work to demolish the schanzes, and clear up the mountain for occupation. A troop of C.M.R. was kept continually on the top, and relieved every twenty-four hours. The powder magazine was blown up, and the dead cleared off the top. In a week's time the flat presented quite a decent and respectable appearance.

Fourteen days after the date of the capture the whole of the Artillery were ordered to go to Ibeka. Two troops of C.M.R. accompanied us as far as Queenstown, and at that point we separated for our different stations.



CHAPTER XXIX.

CAPTURE OF MOROSI'S MOUNTAIN.

THE following was published by the *Cape Times* :—
Colonel Bayly reports :—

I assaulted the mountain on the 20th inst. from five different positions, all parties leaving camp for their respective positions at the dip of the moon. The mountain was ours at a quarter past four o'clock a.m.

The following are the casualties : Thomas Schwasch and Earnest Scorfield, Nos. 1 and 9 troops, C.M.R., dangerously wounded, two Fingoes killed and two wounded ; were the only casualties. About seventy of the enemy killed, a great number made their escape, but we still have a number cooped up in a cave. Morosi at present not turned up. Setuka, Muntza, Matsapolo, and Massipi among the killed. There were about 200 of the enemy on the mountain.

From a later report by Colonel Bayly we learn :—

Morosi turned up ; was shot through the neck at the first assault, and managed to creep into a cave, where he was found about three hours after dead. The whole affair is over ; it only requires a few natives, assisted by a small party of Europeans, to patrol the country.

I leave to-day for James Town, accompanied by Captain Giles.

The following is from the *Empire Telegraphic Association*, and dated Aliwal North, November 22nd, 1879 :—

Morosi's mountain was shelled continuously for three days and nights before the assault. On Wednesday night, about 12 o'clock, the forces were placed into position right round the mountain, and at about 3 a.m. the ladders were placed against that part of the krantz which overlooks the Quithing camp. Lieut. Springer, of No. 3 Company C.M.R., was the first man to reach the top of the krantz, for which he got his Captaincy on the spot. Once on the top, the men fixed bayonets, and charged in a line right across the mountain, carrying all before them. For about

ten minutes some severe bayonet work went on both inside and on the top of the different schanzes, and then all was over. Morosi was found dead inside of a small cave on the inside of the mountain with a bullet wound in the neck. Our loss was Private Ernest Corfield, of No. 9 troop, and Thomas Schwazch, of No. 1 troop, C.M.R., dangerously wounded. One Fingoe was killed, and two were wounded. No food or water was found on the mountain.* About seventy of the enemy were killed, a lot more of the enemy fled down all sides of the hill when they saw all was over. Captain Bourne of the C.M.R., who was in charge of the storming-party, is to be gazetted for a brevet Majorship. Every man of importance, except Dodo, is now supposed to be dead.

The *Queenstown Representative* publishes an interesting report of the capture of Morosi's Mountain, from which we make the following extract :—

The men were served out with long Sniders and bayonets and 70 rounds of ball cartridge each, and at midnight they assembled in rear of their respective camps. Just as the moon dipped over the hill the order was given to advance. Owing to the difficult nature of the ground traversed and the desertion of the ladder-bearers the attacking parties did not reach their ground until 1.30 a.m. No notice was taken of the approach of the men by the rebels until Bourne's party placed their ladder against the rock. Stones and boulders were rolled down, and much to the disgust of C.M.R., a dead cow was hurled in their midst. Finding this spot too well defended the ladder was shifted and placed in another position a little further away. Lieut. Springer then mounted, and as he ascended a Baphuti above pointed a gun at him. Springer engaged him in conversation in Dutch, and they had a friendly dispute who should have first shot. After gaining the top of the ladder fifteen feet of sloping rock had to be ascended, and directly Springer showed above the ladder the Baphuti fired, the bullet taking off the undress cap. Springer then coolly held his rifle in one hand and shot his

* The contrary was the fact, as the preceding account by a C.M.R. shows that plenty of food and water was found on top of the mountain.

antagonist, who tumbled down amongst the attacking party. The gallant fellow then sprang on top and was quickly followed by Lieuts. C. Goldsworthy and Winslow, who assisted others up. When some dozen men had effected a landing a cheer was raised and a rush made to a small "schanze," which they held to cover the ascent of the remainder of the party. This was about 3 o'clock, and still dark. The men now poured up so rapidly that they had to be checked, as Captain Montagu's men, directly the cheer was raised, abandoned their point and swarmed up the ladders. The Fingoes, under Maclean, simultaneously pushed up at the Spring, and effected a junction with the C.M.R. Forming into line with fixed bayonets, the C.M.R. charged the Baphutis, who retired on to the "Comb," a very rugged position, and here tried to make a stand. The firing now became hot, volley after volley being exchanged. It took but a few minutes to dislodge the enemy, who then rushed over the crest into the schanzas on the slope of the mountain, our men hotly pursuing. The Baphutis kept up a lively fire, and owing to the slow movement of the Fingoes and their careless firing, our men were obliged to seek cover to avoid the Fingo fire. Capt. Muhlenbeck's men, who had been impatiently awaiting the order to advance, now charged the front schanzas, led by their captain, sword in hand. Clambering over the walls they fought their way up, and did excellent service. The Baphutis made a desperate stand, being shot or bayoneted where they stood; but just as day was breaking the shouts of our men proclaimed that the mountain was theirs. After this there were little indiscriminate fights at different points, one schanze being held for a long time. On the top of the mountain—which is very rugged and lined with schanzas on all sides—there were four square and two round huts, but the principal places of residence seemed to have been in caves and openings in rocks. A never-failing spring of pure water was also discovered, and, in fact, there was abundance of water all over the mountain. Hundreds of carcasses of cattle were seen which had evidently died of starvation. All the dead and captured rebels were in good condition, and apparently well fed. Forty-one dead bodies were counted on the mountain."

CHAPTER XXX.

DEATH OF MOIROSI.—THE ASSAULT UPON THE MOUNTAIN.—

From the *Cape Times*, November 25th.

THE clever way in which the mountain was fortified is proved by the long time in which Moirosi has kept the besieging force at bay. There have been several attempts to take the mountain by storm during daylight, but in vain, and many valuable lives were lost. The Premier of the Cape Colony during the tour now drawing to a close, visited the mountain, and under a flag of truce, Moirosi came half-way down the mountain side and discussed with the Colonial Secretary the conditions of his surrender, but he refused an unconditional surrender, and after a three hours' palaver retired behind his fortifications. The siege was renewed, and Colonel Bayly was placed in command of the investing forces. After shelling the mountain continuously for three days and nights, on Wednesday night, the 19th instant, the assault was made. At the dip of the moon our forces were moved up, and the assault was made from five different positions, during the dark hours of the night. The storming party consisted of the following :—Allan Maclean, with 200 Fingoes, were at the rear ; Captain Bourne, and 170 riflemen, at the side ; Captain Montagu at Commandant's Cave with 175 men ; Captain Hook at the gully with 200 Fingoes and Tambookies ; Lieutenant Mullenbeck, with the Wodehouse Border Guard, and forty Fingoes at the Lip. The attacking parties left camp at midnight. A landing was first effected by Bourne's troop, afterwards followed by Maclean at the Spring and Montagu at Bourne's Crack. The enemy were not taken by surprise, but kept up a brisk fire and rolled down stones on the besiegers. Our native allies seem to have been panic-stricken, although it is asserted in some quarters that they acted treacherously. They were carrying the scaling ladders, but dropped them at the sound of

the first shot. The riflemen, however, picked up the ladders, and one, twenty-five feet in length, being placed against a sloping rock, the first man to mount was Lieutenant Springer of the C.M.R., at whom the Baphutis fired point blank. He had a narrow escape, one bullet passing through his hat and striking the rock close to him. He was quickly joined by other riflemen, and they held the position until the others came up. Once on the top, the men fixed bayonets, and charged in a line right across the mountain, carrying all before them. For about ten minutes some severe bayonet work went on both inside and on the top of the different schanzes, and then all was over. Moirosi, who had some five hundred men with him when he threatened Mr. Austen, appears to have only had two hundred with him at the time of this assault. There are said to have been many dead, and the stench of the bodies is reported to have been very offensive. A number of Baphutes escaped, but the whole affair is over, and it only requires a few natives, assisted by a small party of Europeans, to patrol the country. Moirosi was shot in the first assault; a bullet struck him in the neck, and after the assault he was found dead in a cave into which he crawled. Doda, the son of Moirosi, is said to be the only man of importance on the mountain who was not killed. Tetuka, Mosipali, Molsape, and Muntza are amongst the dead. Our casualties were Thomas Schwach and Earnest Scorfield, Nos. 1 and 9 troops, C.M.R., dangerously wounded, two Fingoes killed and two wounded. For the gallant way in which Lieutenant Springer mounted the scaling ladder he has been gazetted captain, and Captain Bourne is to be made brevet-major. Our telegram from King William's Town shows the reception which Colonel Bayly is to receive there, and congratulatory messages have been sent from various distant municipalities to the Government, on the complete success of this dashing assault.

In concluding this subject I would fain do justice to the memory of the Macleans (old friends of the writer's) by inserting the following:—

“I trust,” says “Atlas” in the *World*, “that when the honours are distributed for this Zulu business, the many men belonging to the colonial service who have done well

will not be forgotten. There are several who have shown themselves first-class soldiers. The Brothers Maclean, for example, sons of that colonial servant, Colonel Maclean, who was one of the best Governors Natal ever had. There are four of them; and they have been in the thick of the fighting for the last year or two. They are full of pluck and go; but Allan Maclean, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, is especially well known as a dashing young soldier. In the Gcaleka war he was the means of saving a gun and a body of our troops at the Kei by his prompt flank attack on the Kafirs at the head of a lot of mounted Fingoes. He positively loves fighting, and is often to be seen in the hottest of the fray with a pipe in his mouth. In one affair, while thus quietly smoking and doing his work, seven troopers and an officer of the Cape Mounted Rifles were killed; and at the end of it all Allan Maclean took up a trooper behind him, whose horse had been killed, and saved his life. Allan Maclean has earned the Victoria Cross over and over again, and yet I believe this is the first time his name has been mentioned in an English paper. His eldest brother, Jack Maclean, commands a troop in the same corps; Alexander is a lieutenant; and the youngest, Ronald, was at the relief of Ekowe, where he did well in command of the native horse." "Atlas" does no more than justice to the subjects of his notice; in fact, as regards Alexander, or "Lexie" as he is popularly known, he does less than justice. "Lexie" rendered invaluable service during the Gaika war at the head of a corps of colonial Fingoes, and he is now excelling the exploits of all his brothers by the success and activity of his movements on the northern border. We are glad to learn that the Government has no intention of including any of the Macleans in the list of officers forced into retirement. It is understood that "Lexie" will have command of the force which it is intended to raise specially for the defence of the northern border, and a better selection it would be difficult to make.

Poor "Lexie" died not long ago from the effects of constant exposure culminating in fever, as shown further on.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE GRIQUALAND WEST AND NORTHERN BORDER FIGHTS.

THE public interest in the above affairs was diverted by the contemporaneous and grave events transpiring in Zululand.

As to the cause of these scrimmages—some of them hot enough too—the Koranna, or Hottentot, Captain Pienaar, alias Gamka, and the Ngqika, and general Kafir vagabond Captain Donker Malgas, urged several untenable pretexts, but the fact of the matter was that at the time of the Ngqika successes against the Cape Colonists, in 1878, Kreli was in touch with Cetywayo, Sekukuni, and Umqikela of Pondoland, and the general native mind was unsettled and excited by the two first mentioned arch plotters, and both Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Mr. Charles Brownlee were aware of this plotting.

Owing to the comparatively uneventful affairs of this expensive and protracted war, and the fact of the Zulu agitation eclipsing the interest in it, condensed newspaper accounts of the various events in it are not so readily obtainable as those of other fights about the same time, so that the only course left me is to make a detached and running comment on the few data I have gleaned from the Imperial Blue Books kindly lent to me.

On the 18th of June, 1878, I find that a fight took place in the Langeberg, and on the 20th another of some moment, in which Major Nesbitt was wounded.

On July 20th, 1878, Klass Lucas succeeded in getting into the Islands, and the Korannas followed suit on the 21st.

Mr. Upington (now Sir Thomas) says in his report to the Colonial Secretary in Cape Town, in July, 1879, that had the Korannas been pursued in July or even August, when the river was low the protracted warfare that ensued would have been obviated.

The Cape Artillery reached the Orange River in October, 1878 ; Colonel Bayly arrived to take charge (for a short time, as it turned out) on the 20th Sept., 1878.

When Major Nesbitt resumed command, he had a fight at Olivenhouts Drift with Malgas and Gamka, who had been driven out of the Langebergen after their defeat there in October, 1878.

In March, 1879, Mr. Upington arrived at Kenhardt, the base of operations, and a very distant base at that.

Mr. Upington did not seem to think that things were going on fast enough, and did not hesitate to tell the gentleman in charge—Mr. Jackson—his mind on the subject. Then ensued a wordy warfare, and despatches flew like butterflies. By the correspondence in the Imperial Blue Book, it appears that Mr. Upington acted with his wonted courtesy and dignity, while it seemed that his opponent said heated things which were not proved. However, Mr. Jackson sent in his resignation, and Mr. Upington, who, like his countrymen, seemed to be “blue moulded for want of a batin,” placed Capt. McTaggart in command, and went at it with his usual “go.”

Capt. McTaggart took over the command on the 5th of April, 1879, and soon cleared Lucas Poffadder, Malgas and Co. towards Afrikaner's land. The Bastard W. Christiaan acted in concert with him.

Up to the 18th October, 1878, Gamka, by his own-written—confession, had lost fifty-five men.

From June to December, 1878, 742 men (colonial) were employed at what I shall call the “Islands' Fights” on the Great Orange River. The largest number at any certain date was 450.

On the 30th October, 1878, Field Commandant J. A. Van Niekerk and force surrounded a lot of Bushmen and shot forty-six, some women and children included. There was, of course, a great row about this. But practical, and also merciful men, say that this is sometimes unavoidable, as it is hard to distinguish in the bush, and the smoke, and the hurry &c., of actual fighting, the difference between the sexes, as, in dress, &c., they look much the same, especially when half hidden in the thick bush. There is no time for accurate examination when poisoned arrows are whistling about one's ears.

On the 17th March, 1879, Southey's Rangers, (and Capt. McTaggart) reached Kenhardt, and, as I have said, the latter took command from the 5th of April.

On the 8th and 9th of this month there was some hot work in the Islands, but the black rabble was again driven along towards the sea.

On the 10th April, 1879, there was also warm work, the "rag tag and bobtail" of Orange River being led on by Donker Malgas, Klaas Lucas and Mr. Puffadder. Roy Tys, the factotum of Gamka, was shot dead at Melkstroom.

Capt. McTaggart often mentioned my late friend W. A. Maclean—familiarly, and favourably known as "Lexie." When Ramalana, the Basuto chief, as I have shown, murdered the Pretorius family in the Drakensberg, and then made a raid on Natal, the Natal volunteers turned out, and this Maclean, his brother "Jack" and the writer showed up amongst many others, and shared the same tent. "Lexie, I say, is often honourably mentioned by McTaggart. In one of these wretched scrimmages, chasing the blacks from island to island with frantic exertion and great difficulty, poor Lexie was wounded. He recovered for a time, but exposure and fever carried him off eventually.

On the 12th of April, 1879, I find that McTaggart was employed in driving the enemy along again.

On the 27th and 28th of the above month vigorous attack was made on the principal Island of Klaas Lucas. It was here that Maclean was wounded.

On the 29th McTaggart and Maclean (Commanding Zulus) attack the enemy on the Islands, under Donker Malgas. On this date is reported the death of Lieut. Kohn.

And on May 30th, 1879, Maclean had a vigorous and successful engagement with the enemy again, under Malgas.

To revert to 1878, the following particulars are given in the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* of the fight between the Griqualand West Volunteers and the enemy along the border :—

News was received in town yesterday morning that on the 10th of October (1878), the combined forces, numbering about 700 men, were in a kloof in the Langebergen. Colonel Warren says that the enemy—numbering about 1,000—were, according to information received, in a valley some fifteen miles off. It was decided that a forward

movement should be made at once, and the following morning the rebels were brought face to face with the Volunteers. The despatch announcing the fight was evidently written hurriedly, and before the end had arrived, but it is perfectly certain that one of the most persistent and largest engagements in South Africa ever known has been fought.* The battle lasted the whole of Friday (October 11th, 1878). It was continued over the 12th, and even then victory had not been achieved. Under such circumstances it is impossible to say, at present, what the casualties on the side of the enemy were, but on our side we have to mourn the loss of trooper Jubber of the A troop shot dead, and J. Edwards of the Carrington Horse, who died soon after being wounded. Troopers Niekerk and Woods are wounded. It is most unusual here for battles to extend over so long a period as in this instance, and either the natives are determined to fight to the bitter end, declining to retreat, or else they are hemmed in. In either case, desperation must best characterise their movements, because peace would immediately follow a surrender. Should this fight not prove decisive, Colonel Warren will have a difficult task before him. Already the prolonged drought is telling on the cattle, and the horses are rapidly falling off. As far as men are concerned, the Government have made ample provision, and independently of what the columns carry with them, there are laden wagons of provisions within easy reach. But if our own conjectures regarding the last engagement are correct, the back of the rebellion is broken, and not much more remains to be done, except by patrolling parties.

Skimming over the recorded events of October, 1878, I see that Nesbitt had a fight with 250 blacks near the Olivenhout Mission Station, and, as usual, drove them into the thick bush.

Archibald Forbes is nowhere, compared with the war correspondent of the *Victoria West Messenger*. In the following terms he describes a serious engagement accompanied by signal heroism. He says (writing from Koegas), "On the 15th of October a report came

* It will be remembered that, at this date the Battle of Isandhlwane had not occurred.

of fresh traces of Kafirs and cattle at Blaauw-bosch, and immediately a patrol of thirty men under command of Commandant N. Smit, Captain D. Pienaar, and acting Captain J. A. van Niekerk went out in search. After a very fatiguing ride of about ten hours over a most rugged country, we came across one Kafir (!) driving thirteen head of cattle, which were taken, and the Kafir, after a most obstinate resistance, was killed." Eureka! Fancy all this "living tide of valour on the foe." The enumeration by the correspondent of the grand titles of the officers commanding this redoubtable and ferocious force, is delicious. Where is Leonidas, and Mr. Horatio Cocles after this?

The above tomfoolery was, however, on the part of one of these heroes amply atoned. A Koegas correspondent of the paper above alluded to—probably the same smart war bulletin pounder—says "In an engagement with some Bushmen, a burgher named Jan Loots (rather good name for border work) received a poisoned arrow through the thigh. After the man was carried out of danger, it was seen that the poison was beginning to work. Thereupon Acting Captain J. A. van Niekerk, jr, having given him a dose of brandy with *Eau de luce*, knelt down, and pressing his lips closely on the wound, sucked it again and again, till all the poisonous blood was extracted. The effects on Captain van Niekerk were almost instantaneous, and whilst nearly fainting, it was necessary to give him the same medicine that was given to the wounded man. This undoubtedly saved Mr. Loots' life, and it is refreshing to see that amongst the so-often abused Afrikanders, men are found, able to do things over which perhaps their abusers would think twice."

On the 12th Nov., 1878, the *Cape Times* announces the close of the Griqualand West War, whilst the "Island" fighting lingered on for some months longer, until quelled.

The last but one act (the shooting of Malgas and capture of the others) of this difficult war, is described in the following despatch from Capt. McTaggart to the Col. Secretary at Cape Town.

This war, it will be seen, in spite of the vigour and determination of Mr. Upington, who as a member of the Government took on himself the arduous duties of

directing operations too slowly moving, lingered on, it will be seen, about twelve months, and cost the Cape Colony about a quarter of a million in money. Any way, the rebellion was most effectually quashed, as all the rebels were either captured or shot. Capt. McTaggart says :—

Kakamas, 26th June, 1879.

SIR,—I have the honour to report for the information of the Government that I left this camp on the 20th inst. with one gun and 200 rank and file, for Jacobus Africander's country to act in a combined movement with Capt. Green of the Lilly Fontein Rangers, and William Christian of the Bondelswartz, as pre-arranged. Green's forces consisted of one officer and 25 men Southey's rangers, and 200 Bondelswartz.

The attack on the stronghold was to take place on the morning of the 22nd.

Although my notice from J. H. Scott, Esq., the Special Commissioner, who was in company with Capt. Green, was short, I succeeded by forced marches in being at the place appointed on the day fixed, a distance of eighty miles from my camp.

All my movements were watched by spies from Jacobus Africander and Pofadder, whose spoor I followed, and which led me to their strongholds.

Captain Green,—from information he received from W. Christian that Pofadder was in the Bondelswartz camp, on the night of the 21st instant, and that his "werf" was not far from where he (Capt. Green) was then encamped—left with all his available mounted men, at a very early hour in the morning of the 22nd, and succeeded in surrounding the camp of Afrikander and Pofadder, he coming up from the west side, and my forces coming up from the east through the mountains.

The enemy finding themselves between two forces, surrendered at once to Capt. Green without firing a shot, Jacobus Africander having surrendered himself to W. Christian the previous day.

We took 110 male prisoners of Africander's people, 200 women and children, sixty-nine stand of arms, 361 head of cattle, 200 small stock, twenty horses, five wagons, and one cart. Pofadder's people: taken thirty-six male

prisoners, seventy-eight women and children, sixty-one head of cattle, twelve horses, and thirty-nine stand of arms. Very little ammunition was found amongst them. Pofadder escaped with several of his followers.

I bivouacked close to the Werf of Africander, and ten miles distant from Green's camp.

From an express received from the Special Commissioner, the same evening, requesting me to join his camp as soon as practicable, I did so on the following morning, and shortly after arrival, held a council of war with reference to Jacob Africander, on account of William Christian not being willing to give up that chief.

The matter was soon settled by my insisting that the prisoners should be handed over to me by sundown, to be dealt with by our Government, which was accordingly done with very great reluctance.

The firearms of Pofadder we agreed to set fire to and destroy.

From instructions received from Cape Town, while in the Field, and at Africander's country, I handed over the command of the forces to Capt. Maclean, with instructions to follow up the enemy as far as Bloemfontein and Zwaart Modder, where Klaas Lucas and Pofadder are supposed to have fled to, the Special Commissioner and myself returning to head-quarter camp, with the prisoner J. Africander under escort, whom I intend to bring on to Cape Town.

Immediately on my arrival in camp, I despatched fifteen days rations to Capt. Maclean, for the forces under his command, to enable him to follow up and pursue Klaas Lucas, Pofadder, Donker Malgas, and Titus.

I hope to reach Cape Town about the 15th or 16th July.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) H. E. McTAGGART,
Commandant N. B. Forces.

The William Christian above alluded to is the man whose small stipend was recently disallowed by the Cape Parliament. Whether it is wise thus to reward faithful services is for the House "in its wisdom" to consider. What will the Bondelswartz say?

The popular and witty member of Government who

directed these northern border affairs tells a good story of a contemplative Boer burgher who was on active service. In one of the fights on the Islands, a very hot one, where the gun had, with herculean efforts, to be dragged through the bush, and the strong streams, breast high, with a rattling fire in the teeth of the attackers—in one of these fights, I say, the narrator was lying by the side of this burgher, while the firing was hot, and the wounded being carried in, when his Dutch friend, after long and due deliberation, heaved a great sigh and said “Ja ; Allamagtig ! maar oorlog is tog gevaarlijk !” This was the conclusion he had arrived at after protracted meditation. A free translation of his sagient remark being “By the Powers ! but warfare is dangerous !”

In one of the deep and very rapid streams running amongst the numerous thicket-woven Islands, Mr. Uppington was swept off his legs and hurled heels over head down stream, Mr. Maclean, however, at once pluckily plunged in, and after considerable difficulty, succeeded in saving the life of the indefatigable Director of Affairs.

The fate of my poor friend Maclean must be described by the following letter of Mr. John H. Scott to the Secretary for Native Affairs :—

Special Commissioner's Office.

Kimberley, May 13th, 1880.

SIR,—I have the honour to report for the information of Government that Inspector W. A. Maclean died at Kakamas on Tuesday, the 4th inst. The Surgeon in charge reports that death was the result of an attack of the malarial fever common to the neighbourhood of the Orange River, complicated with congestion of the lungs, and considers the fatal termination of the disease to a great extent attributable to the enfeeblement of an originally iron constitution by the severe fatigues and exposure undergone on this border by the late Inspector Maclean.

On Captain Maclean's return from the patrol into the desert (on which Donker Malgas was shot) it was very evident that his system had been subjected to a very severe strain, and seeing a great deal of him at that time, I was apprehensive that his health would break down. Captain Maclean had bargained that if he succeeded in capturing

Klaas Lucas, he was to be allowed to convey that Chief to Cape Town. He accordingly left this place on the 21st of October, 1879, and I hoped that the change and rest would re-establish his health.

In December, 1879, I met Capt. Maclean at Victoria West, on his way back to the Border, and found him very seriously ill. I found that his medical attendant had communicated with the Government on the subject of his illness, and that Government had authorised Capt. Maclean to take such leave of absence as should be necessary for recruiting his health. This he had almost decided to do, but feeling somewhat better at the last moment, he made up his mind to proceed to Kenhardt, fearing that it might be thought he had left his post for insufficient cause.

In February last the Orange River came down very suddenly, and overflowing its banks for a great distance, threatened to sweep off the Government boats, and to destroy the camp stores.

Capt. Maclean exerted himself very much to get the camp moved to higher ground, and spent most of the night on the water, securing the boats and warps. Owing to his exertions very little damage was sustained, but since that time he himself had been very unwell, suffering from debility and inflammation, and abscess of the ear.

On the 28th April he showed symptoms of fever, which rapidly developed itself, carrying him off in seven days.

I cannot conclude this report without referring to the services rendered by the late Capt. Maclean on this Border. Of his services in the Gaika and Gcaleka war it is for others to speak.

Captain Maclean arrived at Kenhardt in the end of March, 1879, a very few days before the forces marched to attack the Orange River Islands. He immediately took command of a Zulu levy raised at Kimberley for service here.

Arrived at the new Drift at the Orange River, it was found that the appliances available for putting a force of some 700 men, with some thirty or more wagons, across a swollen river nearly half a mile wide, were miserably inadequate. But Capt. Maclean at once volunteered his services, and bringing to bear the skill acquired in some years spent at sea, managed to ferry across the whole force and its impediments.

This was only accomplished by the severest exertion on his part. Night and day, for a week, he laboured at the steering oar, and it was very greatly attributable to his skill, courage and energy, that the crossing was accomplished without disaster.

The work on the Islands was of the most trying character. "The Islands" is really a tract of forest jungle some fifty miles long, and from two to six wide, intersected by innumerable streams, almost all unfordable, and many of them as swift as mill races. Not a man in the force knew anything accurately about these streams, nor how any particular island had to be reached.

The enemy had to be groped for, streams waded or swum, and that in the face of entrenchments held by the enemy, and our force was unprovided with light boats, lines, or any other appliances for such work.

The Korannas had retired to these fastnesses, scouting the idea that any white force could reach them. Our forces, however, taught them different, and that they were able to do so was very much owing to Capt. Maclean. He got his men across streams that seemed uncrossable, and by his cool contempt for danger inspired his men with courage, until at last the enemy, finding the cattle captured and their strongest position seized, fled for the desert.

At one of the attacks on the Islands, Capt. Maclean was struck by a partially spent bullet, and very seriously hurt. The surgeon in charge at one time thought fatally so.

When the force was moving off again to seek the enemy Capt. Maclean had himself, when hardly able to stand, lifted upon his horse, refusing to be left behind in inactivity.

In June, 1879, he took command of all the forces on the Border. Though he considered he had a grievance against the Government, which in his opinion would have justified him in refusing to serve them longer, he put that matter on one side, saying "that would be time enough to go into when the *work* was done." He at once organised flying patrols, and fell first upon Pofadder and his clan, coming upon them at day-dawn so suddenly that they surrendered without firing a shot, and subsequently followed up Donker Malgas and Klass Lucas right into the desert, taking his men, in the depth of winter, with just what

they could carry on their saddles, marching them thirty-six hours with only such water as they could carry with them, and entirely breaking up the last organised remnant of the enemy, brought back his force without losing a man or horse, thus *bringing to a close a war* which, but for his dash and energy, might have still been dragging on.

Capt. Maclean was eminently a fighting man, courageous and true-hearted, attaching his men and comrades to him, even more careful of them than of himself, and by his influence and example, inspiring all but abject cowards with courage and endurance.

For the special kind of work to which he was suited (and that sort of work became sometimes the most needful to get done) he had few equals.

I have, &c.,

Sgd. JOHN H. SCOTT,
Special Magistrate,
Northern Border.

Many years ago I was in the Civil Service in Natal with Lexie Maclean. He was then Secretary to the Chief Justice, and got a few months' leave of absence in order to visit his relations in England. His salary was limited, but not so his prompt resources. Lexie had insisted, in his youth, on going to sea, and to sea he went accordingly. Just before he sailed for England (with the leave so obtained) I saw him at D'Urban, in Natal, and hardly knew him. The spruce Secretary now appeared in sea-going oilskins, sou'wester, and space-pervading top boots, a huge blanket on his back, and a tin pannikin in his hand. He had shipped for England as an A.B. before the mast. I don't know if he returned in the same manner, but by his pluck he had saved his passage money, and people said he had done a sensible thing. His widow is now at King William's Town; with, it is naturally to be hoped, a comfortable pension. Allan Maclean I never had the pleasure of knowing. Jack, (as I have said) and I were comrades in arms in the Ramelana affair. Another brother, Ronald, I lately met at East London. Colonel Maclean, the father of the above mentioned, was too well known in the

colony to need comment. He married Miss Kate O'Reilly, and the respected couple were very old friends of my parents—peace be to their ashes.

Such was the close of the attacks on the "Islands" or "The Border War." Truly a most difficult war to wage. At an absurd distance from its base; its scene dense jungle amid violent streams, and the enemy, good shots, swift in movement, and possessed of a marvellous power of dispersing at a moment's notice.

The indomitable Capt. W. A. Maclean followed the rebels some 80 miles into the desert—shot Donker Malgas, and captured Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. The former died on Robben Island, the latter at this date (24th March, 1888) is still on the said Robben Island.



CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FIGHTS IN GRIQUALAND WEST, &C.,

As the disturbances in Griqualand West and East, Sikukuni's affairs, and Tembuland, all occurred about the same time, I shall take the engagements as I find them noticed in the Blue Books for 1878-9 as I come across them.

In April, 1878, Sir Bartle Frere reports to Sir H. M. Hicks-Beach the rising of the Griquas in Griqualand East—and it afterwards appeared—many Pondos. Sir Bartle had acted upon the information of Capt. Blyth, Chief Magistrate of Griqualand East, sent on the 12th of April.

Sir Henry Bulwer immediately sent up 219 officers and men of the 3rd Buffs from Maritzburg in Natal, and fifty Mounted Police, whilst Mr. Donald Strachan, the Asst. Magistrate at the Umzimkulu River, moved up in support with 300 natives. The Griquas had made prisoners of Mr. Harold Acutt and his (European) boy, and looted the store of the former. The Griquas bound them and drove them before them with their cattle, but protected them from the Pondos who wanted to kill them. On the prisoners explaining that they belonged to Natal and not to the Cape, with which place the Griquas had a difference regarding land, they were released.

On the 17th of April, 1878, Capt. Spalding writes from King William's Town for the information of the Governor that "Details of Blyth's action have not yet arrived. But to judge from telegrams, his success has been complete, the rebel Chief Adam Muis having been slain."

On the 16th of April, 1878. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the Administrator of the Transvaal, reports to Sir M. Hicks-Beach that Sekukuni was getting troublesome. He had become infatuated in consequence of his late successful resistance to the Boers, and of the flattering manner in which Cetywayo had treated him. "No provocation," says Sir Theophilus, "whatever has been offered by this Govern-

ment to him, and I cannot account for his conduct on the supposition only that he has been led to adopt it by an exaggerated estimate of his own strength, and by encouragement from Cetywayo, who desired to embarrass H. M.'s Government in the Transvaal."

On the 5th of April, 1878, Capt. Van Deventer, by order of Capt. Clark, the Commissioner for Lydenburg, attacked Sekukuni's sister Legolwana at her stronghold kraal Masselaroen. After sweeping off some hundreds of cattle, and counting twenty-seven dead bodies of the enemy, it was deemed advisable to withdraw, as the force was not strong enough to attack the enemy in his rifle pits. Lieut. Lloyd was twice wounded, and another volunteer was struck. Four Zulu police and six native contingent were killed on our side.

On the 12th of May, 1878, Colonel Lanyon reports an engagement with insurgent Griquas and Kafirs in the division of Hay in Griqualand West.

The cause of this war was the same as that urged in Griqualand East, the land question. Some people said Krelie and Cetywayo had a hand in it. It was pointed out that Sekukuni was paying his war indemnity to Sir Theo. Shepstone all right, until Cetywayo's messengers reached him, when he refused to pay up.

On the 3rd of May, 1878, Col. Lanyon marched against Donker Malgas near a place euphoniously called Blaamerboschfontein, with Mr. McKenna and Mr. Roper. The party of the latter was suddenly fired upon, and "several killed" said some Boers who were flying away, and who the Colonel was unable to rally. The latter says: "I then went on and met Mr. Roper accompanied by the rest, save Walton and Essendwine, the former of whom had been killed and the latter wounded."

It appears that Mr. Roper had met and spoken to a native whom he knew, called Rooi Tys (the factotum of Jan Pienaar, *alias* Gamka). This man informed him that they were friendly, and offered to show him where Donker Malgas was. After pointing out the road to him, he went to a small hill close by, and immediately a heavy fire was opened upon the patrol from all sides. By this act of treachery Walton was shot through the thigh, and fell to the ground; the rest pluckily remained under a

heavy fire trying to save him. His companions were Mr. Roper, Sergt. McPherson, Tucker, Okeden, and Williams, a burgher. Tucker had caught a horse for the wounded man, but it was soon struck and broke away. As they were now about to be surrounded by the enemy they had to retire, the Sergt. putting Williams on his horse, up behind him. The end of poor Walton may be imagined. The fighting went on for two hours, Inspector Percy being severely wounded in the groin—the loss of the rebels was ten. As the light was failing the Colonel returned to camp.

Donker Malgas and Co. were Amaxona and Tembu refugees, commonly called Praamberg Kafirs, whose head quarters are at Scheitfontein. These refugees fled from Kafirland about 1828, before the invading Fetecani of the Amangwana tribe under Matiwane who had fled from Tshaka, as we have shown. So that we had actually saved these fellows when about to be exterminated by the terrible Mangwana warrior.

On the 24th of May, 1878, Col. Lanyon reports from Griqua Town an engagement which took place about three miles from there, called Jackals Vley, where the rebels had murdered Mr. Louw, the clerk to Mr. van Druten, the owner of a store there. The Colonel says :—Immediately in front of the position some natives were lying in a hole with some bushes round it, from which they were firing. To storm it would have entailed loss of life, so Lieutenant Doveton then mounted with five of his men, and pluckily galloped past the place, firing into it with revolvers, and at the same time we rushed in on foot from the other side, and took the place without any casualty. In this place we found the bodies of five men, two of whom were ringleaders of the rebels, *i.e.*, Moses Moos, a Griqua, and Piet Jonas, a Kaal Kafir. Only one man was living—the doctor took off his arm—but he died in the night.

Capt. McKenna now crept round the wall of the cattle kraal with the Diamond contingent, and some of the other corps, and gallantly took the kraal by storm. Twenty-five dead Korannas, Griquas, Bushmen, Kaal Kafirs, and one Bechuana were found. All the bodies clothed from Van Druten's store.

On the 12th June, 1878, Capt. Spalding reports the

discovery of the body of Sandilli, who was shot on the 29th of May, with Dukwana. The body was properly identified by Mr. Wright the Magistrate of the Gaika tribe, at the instigation of our jovial, gallant, and popular fellow-citizen the Honourable Col. Schermbrucker. The *post mortem* showing that he was shot "a little above the right loin, through the seventh and eight ribs, the bullet fracturing the ribs extensively—the wound being evidently caused by a Snider bullet."

On the 10th June, 1878, Col. Warren sent Col. Lanyon an account of an engagement that took place at "Withnis" Kloof the day before. He had seventy-five of the Diamond Field Horse and thirteen Hope Town burghers with him. He sent Capt. Rolleston with twenty Diamond Field Horse and thirteen burghers on the lower side of the range, and he himself with the head-quarters of the said Horse, followed the spoor of the enemy and cattle.

The Colonel took the rebels by surprise on the rear just as Capt. Rolleston's party was engaged with them—the Kafirs trying hard to remove their cattle. A hard fight ensued among the krantzes and kloofs, and the combined force completely routed the enemy and silenced their fire. Thirty-one miscellaneous miscreants were killed, and counted.

The enemy fought with extreme tenacity at close quarters, from fifteen to twenty yards, and some at rifle length, but their fire was very bad. About 1,000 cattle of all sorts were taken. The enemy were composed of "Colony Kafirs (Gaikas and Tambookies from Victoria West), Kaal Kafirs, (Gaikas), Korannas and Bushmen. Over a 100 in all."

On June 14th, 1878, Col. Lanyon reports to Sir Bartle Frere a fight that Inspector Nesbitt had on May the 30th with the enemy, who attacked his camp with about 800 men. After an engagement of an hour and a half they were driven back. Owing to the shelter trenches round the camp. Nesbitt had no casualties. He speaks in high terms of the way in which Capt. Maxwell (Thos.), Lieut. Parkins, and the men of the Artillery (Maxwell had brought Artillery from King William's Town) performed their duty under a heavy fire. The place was a very strong one owing to walls, &c., being built. In storming

one of these places Corporal Woodward of the Frontier Police was unfortunately killed—two other men wounded, and five horses shot..

On July 7th, 1878, Col. Lanyon reports that Mr. Ford, with a column of about 90 strong, met the enemy about 10 miles over the border ensconced in a small kopje, which was at once stormed and carried, but with considerable loss. Lieut. Paterson, Sergt. Rawstorne, Corporal H. Davis, Troopers Campbell and Williams were killed, and five wounded out of the 30 men of the column who were engaged in action.

On the 4th of July, 1878, Commandant Ford reports to the Acting Colonial Secretary the engagement above alluded to by Col. Warren and which took place on the 2nd inst. Mr. Ford says the kopje was a strong little one, and the fight was very hot. Early in the afternoon he received a bullet in his leg, and therefore directed Capt. D'Arcy, assisted by Lieut. Bradshaw and Sub-Lieut. Paterson, to lead the storming party.

Sub-Lieut. Paterson was killed whilst storming and cheering on his men. After he fell, he was carried out by Capt. D'Arcy under a heavy fire, Lieut. Paterson (Barkly Rangers) Sergeant Slade, and Trooper Dunne, Clifton, Cray, and Fraser of the Diamond Fields Horse, and Mr. S. Edwards, covering them, as well as other wounded who were being taken out. Other men who deserve special mention are Sergeant R. H. Brooks, Trooper A. C. Williams, and Corporal G. Ford, the former two of the Diamond Fields Horse, and the latter, Barkly Rangers.

On the 30th of July, 1878, Colonel Lanyon, from Kuruman, reports the most "important engagement of this war." The place had been considered for generations the stronghold of the Batlapin nation—it is named Litako or Takoon. Up to the time of this fight it had never been interfered with on account of its great strength. Over fifty years ago, says Lanyon, the fortifications had been raised by Mativo, the then paramount Chief, who then held undisturbed jurisdiction over the Batlapin nation. The Griqua and Bechuana nation were then allied to resist the fierce inroads of the Mantatees, who were then in immense numbers migrating southwards to secure land. Takoon was fortified to resist this inroad.

Some idea may be formed of the great strength of the above place from the following statement. The range of hills is about two miles long, and it is covered throughout with a network of walls. The town is situated about half a mile from the western end of the ridge (where the river runs) in a neck, and from it three kopjes on the ridge. In the first of these—about 150 feet above the river, there were 245 compartments, some round, some square, and others of all shapes, all being connected with each other. In the second kopje there were 88 compartments, and in the third, 175, making in all 508. The enemy obstinately defended these places, and fought to the last. Even after they were driven out of the place, they continued the fight and fired upon the colonial forces from every available spot. The force left Takoon on the 27th of July, 1878.

On the 2nd September, 1878, I may parenthetically remark (as a landmark in history) that General Thesiger reported to the High Commissioner that he had in H.M.'s name taken possession of the *left* bank of the St. John's River, and installed the Rev. Mr. Oxland as Resident in Pondoland. The right bank was taken possession of about a week later.

On the 24th August, 1878, Col. Lanyon reports a fight at Gomaperi against the enemy who were sheltering the murderers of Burness. The Colonel says five of the Colonial forces were killed at Takoon or Taku, alias Litako.

About the 10th August (Kafirs are not particular about dates) Mankoroane met Col. Lanyon at Matlabani town, and said that, acting in his (Lanyon's) aid, he had attacked Botlasitze's people in the valley of the Hart, had defeated them, and killed fifteen of the Kaal Kafirs, amongst whom were several of the murderers of Thompson, a trader.

On the 30th August, 1878, Colonel Lanyon forwards to Sir Bartle Frere copies of the numerous addresses presented to him and to the field force of Griqualand West on their return to Kimberley. The addresses are couched in terms of the warmest approval of the heroic actions of the Diamond Fields Horse, the Barkly Rangers and the rest of the force. Sir Bartle Frere in sending copies of the addresses to Sir Hicks-Beach dwells on the *voluntary* sacrifice endured by these patriotic men—he says that "the

duties performed by these forces have been of a very arduous nature, and the determination they have shown of remaining in the field, notwithstanding the sacrifice which was in many cases entailed by their so doing, is most creditable."

Col. Warren also points out the difference between fighting these dead shots of Griquas, &c., to the old colony Kafirs, where only about twenty per cent. are armed, whereas every Griqua, &c., carries a gun, and a gun of the best manufacture. As the Colonel says, "these natives are accustomed to fire with calmness in their hunts with wild beasts, and stick to their scanzes until they are killed—and won't be taken prisoners."

Col. Warren concludes by saying:—Although I was with my regiment longer actively in the field in the most serious conflicts which took place in the Colony, I cannot consider the fighting or danger there to be in any way comparable with that which had taken place in Griqualand West. In the latter war it was more like fighting experienced and desperate white troops." He says also:—I cannot help thinking that a time will come when the attacking party may suffer considerable losses from the firing of these people.

The following account of a fight at Paarde Kloof in the Langebergen is rather out of date owing to Sir Bartle Frere (as he explains to Sir Hicks-Beach) overlooking the matter.

On June 28th, 1878, Col. Warren, writing from "Potgieter's Farm" says that on the 18th of the above month he had a sharp engagement with the miscellaneous miscreants.

While we were effecting our movements, says he, the enemy commenced a hot cross fire upon us from the hill sides, and from scanzes erected across the valley at distances from 600 to 800 yards. Capt. Maxwell was the first to advance from the right.

I now sent Sergt.-Major Ling with his twenty-six Zulus to extend our line up the hill to the right of Lieut. Tyson, in order to dislodge the enemies' sharpshooters. In advancing, our line was about three quarters of a mile in length.

The Colonel goes on to say:—After an interchange

of heavy firing, I found it necessary to direct Lieut. Parkin to drop a shell into the scanze in front of us, from whence some excellent shooting was made by the enemy—among whom, we ascertained afterwards, was Sam Fortuin, a crack shot amongst the Griquas. The second shell burst on the scanze, and very much reduced the fire therefrom. I then ordered two shells to be thrown on the dyke at the foot of the right hand hill, and here again this second shell exploded precisely on the spot indicated, and considerably reduced the fire of the enemy from this point.

A message now arrived from Capt. Ward, stating that Rademan's Kloof was defended by about 100 armed Kafirs, and requiring reinforcements. I sent up ten men of the Star Brigade and Light Infantry, and also sent a party of eight men directly up the left hand hill. These latter, though they gallantly stood their ground, were unable to advance more than a short way up the hill on account of the heavy fire from the Kafirs lining the sides.

We continued to be hotly engaged with the enemy, advancing very slowly, when another message arrived from Capt. Ward, requiring Lieut. Parkin and his gun to secure his advance in Rademan's Kloof. I sent on the gun with an escort, but finding after a time that there was little hope of the left hand hill being taken by Rademan's Kloof, on account of the position of the enemy there, I decided to take the scanzes—at its foot—in front of us, by a rush. I therefore desired Lieut. Doveton with about fifteen men of Star Brigade and Diamond Field Horse, to mount and gallop up near the position, and then to dismount and rush up to the scanzes, and proceeded with them myself. On getting into them, we found that the enemy had retired before us, and that we had now effected a lodgment in their line.

We were here almost in line with the enemy both above us on the hill, and below us in the valley; we had therefore to keep a sharp look out that we were not surprised from above, while we poured in a cross fire upon those below, at from 400 to 1,000 yards. The enemy could not stand this fire in addition to the direct fire from Capt. Rolleston, Capt. Alexander and Lieut. Tyson's troops in the valley, and, though disputing their ground step by step, began reluctantly to retire. I now sent messages

to the A. C. and D. troops, and to the Zulus to advance quickly, and also to Capt. Ward to take the hill above us if possible.

The Zulus at this time were working well on the right hand hill, driving the enemy back step by step. The whole line now advanced and closed in on the enemy, who persistently clung to their scanzes and sluits, but who evidently could fire more accurately at long ranges than when under the excitement of the near approach of our men. In many cases they did not leave their cover until our troops had arrived within thirty to sixty yards of them ; they then doubled on and took new positions.

I continued to keep up an enfilading fire upon the retiring enemy until our line had taken their positions, one by one, and were up with us, and then, finding the hill side above us still occupied by the enemy, I took up one party to dislodge them. These heights are cut by a slight valley, and we were obliged to ascend by the ridge to the east. Having driven the enemy over the crest of the hill they opened a hot fire on us from the other side of this valley, and I found it necessary to call up the reserve, who were with the artillery, to assist in dislodging them. While these men were ascending, clouds of dust appeared along the road in the distance, to the north, and having heard that an army under Gamka was expected to come to the assistance of the enemy, I sent directions to Lieut. Heintz, with the wagons, to prepare to resist an attack.

The party that made the dust was your Excellency's, and you kindly allowed me to continue in direction of the day's proceedings.

I now returned to the front and found our line rapidly advancing, the enemy having taken to flight all along the line on the storming of the hills.

Capt. Rolleston had taken the water that I had determined on seizing, as, failing that, we should have been many hours without it, and our troops were now proceeding up the kloof.

Thirty-five wagons were found about the water which the enemy had left. They had, in most cases, taken out the linch pins, but had no time to remove the contents. The kloof was full of cattle and goats, and as it was apparent the enemy were trying to drive them over the

mountains, Lieut. Parkin, whose gun was brought up to the water, was ordered to fire two shells at about 1,500 yards, over our heads into the kloof to check the enemy in their retreat. As soon as this was done our advance was continued, and the enemy driven up the kloof. I had now an addition to our strength, Lieut. Heintz and the baggage guard.

About 500 yards above the water, the kloof separated into two narrow gullies. Lieut. Bach took that to the left, and Lieut. Tyson that to the right, and fought the rebels till sundown, dislodging them from the summit of the ranges, from whence they were firing upon us. By sunset they were all driven over the summit, many of their sharpshooters being killed.

Having heard that Capt. Ward was not strong enough to take Rademan's Kloof, I sent word to Capt. Bellew to take a reinforcement to him over the hills, and by sunset he, Capt. Ward, was enabled to take the water of that kloof also, where about 10 wagons were found. In this operation Lieut. Barret of the Star Brigade and Orpen's burghers rendered great assistance.

Having completely scoured Paarde Kloof, I left a strong piquet of forty men to hold the water during the night, and brought the remainder of the column into camp at the wagons.

The results of the day were, thirty-five of the enemy killed, 100 women taken prisoners, 2,000 head of cattle, 2,000 goats and sheep, and 200 horses captured.

I recommend Capt. Rolleston to be Major, and Lieut. Parkin, Captain.

On the 28th of September, 1870, Capt. Back reports to Capt. Rolleston an engagement with the enemy on the 27th inst., he says:—I have the honour to report for your information that on the morning of the 27th September, at 4.30 a.m., the camp at Moosfontein was attacked by about 400 of the rebels headed by Gamka and Windwaai. The attack was made from three different points. The enemy managed to get into a sluit about 150 yards distant from the camp, south. They opened a very brisk fire upon the camp, but, fortunately their shooting being high. I myself being awake at the time, got the troop under arms in a very short time, and then made a charge at the sluit,

completely routing the enemy, killing three while in pursuit, but, unfortunately being a very bad light, could not see them, unless lying down, to fire a shot. After being out for about an hour one of the men came to me and asked me if I did not hear the enemy talking on the left. Turning round, I saw against the horizon a troop of about 300 on a small Kopje about 800 yards off. I then thought it advisable to withdraw the men from pursuing the enemy, so lined the slit to the north west of the camp, thinking that the enemy would make a determined stand, being in force.

Completed the full complement of ammunition to the men, leaving me without a single round in the camp, so accordingly had to be very cautious. After following the enemy for about four miles on foot, shooting nine or thereabouts, returned to camp. Gave orders to have the horses saddled to go in pursuit; when just before starting Lieut. Williams arrived with the army service corps, and eight burghers, twenty-two all told. Pursued the enemy as far as Droogfontein. They stopped and commenced to build scanzes, and opened fire on our approach, at 100 yards, but did no harm. We fired and killed several—the enemy were on all sides, but I could not follow up, as my total strength was only fifty-five.

The enemy had built their scanzes between thick patches of bush, it being impossible to see a scanze before coming right upon it. Here all the damage was done, Corporal Thorntou being killed, and Troopers Cowley, Rogers, Slatter, and a burgher wounded. Finding that one scanze only was occupied, gave the order to charge, which was done, eight of the enemy being killed in this small place. The number of enemy killed was thirty-two (bodies counted) besides a number of blood spoors found in several parts, and in other scanzes. I myself estimate the loss of the enemy at fifty killed and wounded. After all was over, sent for the mule wagon for the dead and wounded, which were soon dispatched.

On the 13th of October, 1878, Capt. Stanley Lowe reports an engagement with the rebels the day before in a kloof of Makoloque's Mountain. He says :—In a branch kloof to the left we engaged the enemy, killing five of their number. Continuing the advance we were again fired at

from a branch kloof on the right, when Trooper Niekerk, Diamond Field Horse, was severely wounded by men concealed in caves. In covering the wounded man and endeavouring to get a sight of enemy in the caves, I regret to state one man, Trooper Jubber was killed, and Trooper Wood slightly wounded. The Zulus and a company of light infantry having continued their advance over the side of the hill, there engaged the enemy. Capt. Back, with a troop of the Diamond Field Horse, went to their assistance. He also engaged the enemy, killing fifteen of them, and capturing a number of women and children, and two men prisoners, and returned down the kloof. We had to keep up a fire on the enemy in the caves to enable us to remove the killed and wounded, when several of the enemy were shot. We started for camp, destroying seven wagons not worth removing, bringing in the cattle and prisoners.

On the 16th of October, Colonel Warren says that he removed his forces to Gobatsie, and having, with great trouble, dragged a field piece on top of a high range, some 1,000 feet in height, engaged the rebels on the 14th. He puts down the enemy killed at thirty-six—having captured twenty-one wagons and about 600 head of cattle, besides a number of male and female prisoners. He says the enemy seemed very much puzzled and disheartened by finding the Colonial forces in the midst of their strongholds, and so made less pertinacious fighting, firing and flying at the same time. They had expected the Colonel to approach from the West and had fortified extensively accordingly. But the colonial forces attacked from the East, otherwise their loss would have been heavy.

On the 21st of October, 1878, Colonel Warren, continuing his report of the 16th says:—I have called the action of the 11th inst. Gamgagiana; of the 12th Mokoloque; and of 14th inst. Gobatsie Heights.

On the 13th of November, 1878, Colonel Lanyon, having beaten and dispersed the rebels everywhere (Malgas, Windwaai, and Gamka—fugitives in hiding) issued his Proclamation of Amnesty.

A venerable colonial authority, indubitably the best on this special subject, Mr. Francis H. Orpen, says, in his notes to Parliament regarding the causes of this outbreak: 'The first overt acts of rebellion near Prieska were com-

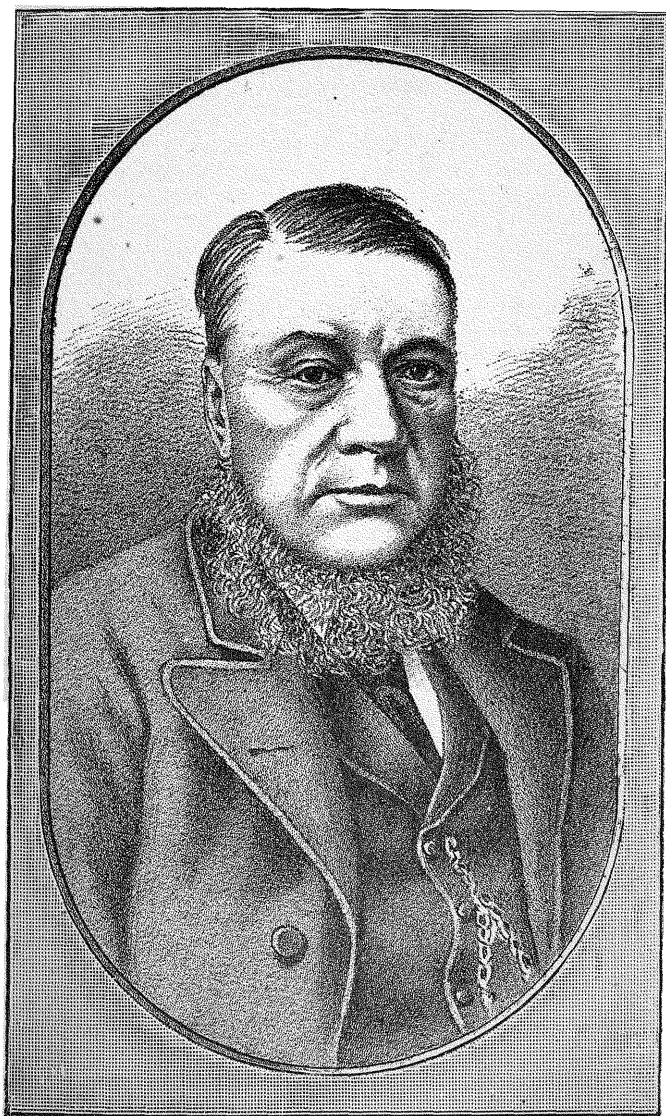
mitted by Colonial Kafirs, Tamhookies and Gaikas from the district of Carnarvon, and were probably traceable to the influence of messengers among them from the tribes of the eastern Cape Frontier, who in the hope of creating a diversion, disseminated false reports of native successes against the Colonial forces.

“Thus our war at its commencement was merely a branch of the Colonial Kafir war, and the history and politics of Griqualand, with its land questions and native relations, has had nothing to do with the commencement of hostilities.

“It is true that, even at the commencement, the Kafirs were joined by those of their own nation, not very many in number, then resident in Griqualand ; but these men had always been looked upon as aliens by the Griquas, and their conduct is attributable merely to tribal sympathy.

“At the commencement, also, the Praamberg, Scheit Fontein, or, collectively, Carnarvon Kafirs, were also joined by a horde of those Springbok, Kat, Veldtschoendrager, Bitterbosch, Hartebeest, and other Korannas, who had fought with Sir Walter Currie in 1867-8, and who, being by nature and descent free-booters, cordially joined in *any* enterprise promising plunder ; but as these people have, time out of mind, roamed as predatory hordes along both banks of the Orange River below the western limit of Griqualand, and have often been at war with the Griquas, and always at enmity, their conduct is also not the result of any action of the British Government of the Province.”

NOTE.—Owing to the voracious printers being at my heels, I shall be obliged to leave other contemporaneous matter, such as the Sekukuni affair, &c., for insertion in the Appendix, and, in the meantime, proceed with prepared copy.



Murray & St. Leger.

MR. S. J. PAUL KRÜGER.

Cape Town.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE TRANSVAAL.*

THE preceding chapter on the Griquas, &c. brings us down, it will be perceived, to 1878, and so to the subject of the Transvaal, which magnificent tract of land, remarkable for its salubrity, richness, and fertility, became a British possession on the 12th of April in the year 1877. Confining myself as much as possible to matter involved in the title of this book, and having in former chapters brought the history of the Dutch Boers down to about the time of their leaving Natal, after the British occupation thereof, I will now proceed with slight sketches of their history, having reference, however, to the Transvaal.

Before thus taking up the thread of the narrative it would doubtless be interesting to notice a record of the death in Zululand, in 1838, of Mr. Uys and his son, near relatives of the gallant old Piet Uys, who, joining Colonel Wood's column near Utrecht, was assailed by the Zulus whilst conducting a retreat of his men down the Zlobane Mountain. In the year alluded to, an army of Boers marched against Dingaan, headed by Uys, Maritz, and Potgieter, but were defeated with great loss. Mr. Noble thus tells the story :—"Uys and his son, a youth of about fourteen years of age, had as yet escaped unhurt ; but whilst the former stopped his horse to sharpen the flint of his gun, the enemy approached and threw an assegai at him, which wounded him mortally in the loins. He, however, pulled out the weapon, and even took up another man behind him, but he soon fainted with loss of blood. Recovering again, he was held on his horse for some distance by a man on each side of him. At last he declared that he felt his end approaching, and desired to be laid upon the ground. He then said to his son and to the other men about him, "Here I must die ; you cannot get me any further, and

* This account first appeared in the 1st Vol. of these works, and was written in Australia, early in 1879.

there is no use to try it. Save yourselves, but fight like brave fellows to the last, and hold God before your eyes." Upon this they left him, but not before they saw that to remain longer on the spot would be certain death. After galloping for a hundred yards, the younger Uys, on looking back, saw the enemy closing in numbers upon his dying father, and at the same time he saw him lifting his head. This was too much for the feelings of the lad; he turned round his horse, and alone, rushing upon the enemy, shot three Zulus, and was killed.

In 1843 Natal was proclaimed British territory. Some Boers remained in Natal, but many others at once started north, saying they would go on, conquer the heathen, and possess the land—quoting the divine commands in the Pentateuch. The modern western man may smile at his self-righteousness and perfect faith, and deem the Boer a narrow fanatic; but the Boer was not a modern western. He had been formed and fashioned in a mould of its own pattern, and criticism should consider the mould as well as the image. It should be remembered that the Trek-Boer of 1833-8 was the descendant of Dutch Calvinists and Huguenots of the seventeenth century, brought up in the wilderness of South Africa, in the midst of savage conditions and barbarous tribes; separated from European influences by an ocean which no steamers traversed, over which letters, newspapers, or books never passed, shut up almost entirely by themselves, and governed in former days by their Batavian masters in the most despotic manner. Circumstances of this nature, acting upon that original stock, could not possibly have produced a progeny remarkable for largeness of view, wide sympathies, philosophic universalism, tender benevolence, and subtle self-questioning. The life of the Boer had narrowed and hardened him, as winter freezes and as tropical suns scorch. His circumstances tended to encourage within him a concentrating individualism. His religion made him one of the elect. He was the Lord's, and the Lord was his Lord in whom the heathen had no part. Character has in his case, as in all cases, to be accounted for before it is censured or ridiculed. If Pretorius, when he led his commando in wrath against Dingaan, sang psalms instead of national anthems, and prayed instead of huzzaed, it is

enough to say that it was not from affectation, but from inherited habit. At all events, the six hundred marched only between matins and evensong, and when they came nigh to the enemy they vowed a vow to the Most High, "that should the Lord be pleased to grant them the victory they would raise a house to the memory of His great name, wherever it should please Him, and note the day in a book to make it known to their latest posterity." The victory was theirs, and the Dutch Reformed Church at this day standing in Pietermaritzburg is the fulfilment of the vow.

The Transvaal was first taken possession of by the Boers in 1835, who (or their ancestors), fleeing, as we have seen, from the continent from religious persecution after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had at first settled at the Cape, but, amongst other reasons getting disgusted, as stated, with the emancipation of their slaves under British rule, and maddened by the depreciation of the paper currency of the time, and by the frequent and disastrous raids of bands of warlike Kafirs, from whom the Government afforded them no protection, sought out pastures new, and like Lot and Abraham, gathered their flocks and their herds, and their household gods, fought their way through lions and savages, and many of them settled down on the grassy, diamondiferous, and sunny slopes of the Likwa or Vaal River. Necessarily, the life of these "Voor-trekkers" was rough. It was hard work for men, women, and children. Every day did not bring its daily tread; water was now and then not to be had; and the lions roared the camp or laager awake every morning. It is said that the Boers slew two hundred lions between the Orange and Vaal Rivers in this trek. The culture of the grape and the production of wine, taught to the Dutch at the Cape by the French refugees, is to this day carried on in the districts about Pretoria, where the grape thrives wonderfully, and has, I believe, no insect enemy.

Many French names are still among the Boers, such as Labuschague, Du Plessis, Joubert, Du Pree, Villiers, and Silliers, &c., &c.

Many Boer families, after the British occupation of Natal, remained, as I have before said, in Natal, but the

great majority struck their tents, yoked their fine oxen to the "trektouw," hung their pots and water kegs to the wagon-sides, placed wife and child within, cracked their long whips, turned their backs upon Natal as they had done upon the Cape, and again manfully struck out for the wilderness. (Alas, when we again followed them up in 1877 they again repeated the above process, and tried to penetrate to the region about the Great Lake, but owing to severe suffering from drought they had to abandon their wagons, household goods, and even their cattle, to predatory tribes, and endeavour to find their way back to the confines of comparative civilization. The majority roamed about for a while in the Transvaal, and finally made it their home. They were not alone; other bands had preceded them. Potgieter and his company had already marked out a township, now known as Mooi River Dorp, or Potchefstroom, from Potgieter and the first magistrate, Vander Chef; "Stroom," *i.e.*, "Stream." At last a resting-place had been found. The land from the Vaal to the Limpopo was in possession of no dangerous native tribes, and, over wide regions, was without inhabitants but the lion, the antelope, the zebra, the rhinoceros, and the elephant, and the British Government had never claimed an inch of it. So up went the flag once more, and again cannon and roer belched forth their hoarse salutes. A Government was formed upon the republican principle; the laws of the old Dutch Colony of the Cape were revived; the natives were placed in what was considered their "proper place" of subjection, disability, and servitude. Huge areas were selected for farms. Beacons were set up far and wide. Pleasant spots by the side of streams and near the eyes of fountains were chosen for homesteads; the flocks and herds were driven out by day on rich pastures and folded at night in safe kraals. The oxen were at last loosened from the yoke and bent their galled necks to the grazing. The peach, the fig, and the vine were planted in sheltered nooks; the furrow was let into the gardens where the mealie and pumpkin grew. The farmer sharpened the flint of his gun for a day's sport; the women sat, as they loved to do, in the chair in the best room's best place; the children played in the sun without dread of Zulu war-whoop, and

the psalms of David were sung, not as battle cries, but as thanksgivings and the purrings of fireside content. And yet, even then, the inevitable hand overtook them. One day a proclamation from Governor Napier reached Potchefstroom, declaring that the emigrant farmers were not released from allegiance to the British Crown, and that as British subjects they were under law, especially for offences against the natives, as long as they were south of the 25th degree of south latitude. This induced some to go north towards the Limpopo and east towards the Drakensberg. But there was no further interference of importance from Cape Town with the emigrants over the Vaal, and on the 17th January, 1852, the British Commissioners in the Free State signed the Convention of Sand River, by which the Transvaal was virtually declared to be an independent State, by the subsequent approval of Sir George Cathcart, Governor of the Cape.

This convention relieved the Boers of all doubts. After nearly twenty years of marching and counter-marching, privation, war, and suspicion, they had not only found a country, but an acknowledged right to dwell in it and to govern themselves. At that time it was very likely supposed by them that they had at last escaped the hand which had so frequently overtaken them. It was not anticipated that, twenty-five years afterwards, the British power would be once more extended over them, and their land taken from river to river. But to put it shortly, the Boers broke two of the clauses of the Sand River Convention, which set forth that no slavery was to be carried on, and that there should be no interference with the surrounding tribes; the result of which was the self-preserving exercise of British power being carried to the extreme length of annexation.

After the signing of the Convention, the Boers, however, broke up into as many little republics as there were villages. Andreas Pretorius, on his death-bed, had exhorted them to cause strife and ambition to cease, and to cherish love and union; and on his death on the 23rd July, 1853, his son, Martinus Wessels Pretorius, was appointed first President of the Transvaal. In 1871 he resigned, and Mr. Burgers, a Dutch colonist of note, born at the Cape and educated in Holland, reigned in his stead. He set his

mind upon a railway, which should open out the heart of his country and its secret hoard of mineral wealth to the near port of Delagoa Bay. In this enterprise he was warmly aided by Mr. G. P. Moodie, a member of his Government, and a surveyor, and a brother of the present writer. Mr. Burgers, having made a large concession of land to the Portugese, who hold Delagoa Bay and the adjacent strip of territory, Mr. Moodie working in concert with him, went to Lisbon and Amsterdam to carry out necessary arrangements ; but the first British Government after the annexation broke their promises as to respecting treaties made under the Dutch Government, and wishing, perhaps naturally, that the projected railway should run to the borders of the British colony of Natal, instead of to the foreign port of Delagoa, caused the project to fall to the ground. Delagoa Bay was offered to a British Cabinet, under Gladstone I believe, for a monetary consideration by the Portugese Government, and it is certainly a thousand pities that the offer was not taken advantage of. However, a difficulty afterwards arose between England and Portugal as to the possession of the place, and the matter was referred to the arbitration of Marshal McMahan, and as usual John Bull was cast and had to pay the piper and all hands. As hopelessly bad as is the port of Natal, is the harbour of Delagoa unparelled in every way—deep, roomy, and wind-locked, and a magnificent outlet for the countless treasures of the splendid region of the Transvaal. Mr. Moodie undertook the perilous task of finding out and surveying a route for a railway through the unhealthy and broad strip of country lying between the Transvaal and the bay spoken of; and which is infested with lions, savage tribes, &c. He was successful in finding a healthy route all along a line of gentle hills, which gradually sloped to the seaboard. He walked the distance on foot, with an escort of ten Kafirs, making scientific observations by the way. The Royal Geographical Society in London made him a member for his trouble. The “gront wet,” or “fundamental law” of the Boers, which sanctioned wars of extermination with natives, was the deathblow of Mr. Burgers, and the cause of the extinction of the independence of the Boers. The latter forced him into the Sekukuni War, but the natives were not to be beaten down.

The Treasury was empty ; Government fell into hopeless disrepute ; faith with the foreign creditor could not be kept ; and whilst this was the case the Zulus and other tribes began to show signs of a terrible excitement, which threatened to extend itself sympathetically throughout the great mass of South African natives. Is it to be wondered at, then, that at this moment the hand of the paramount power should once more make itself felt ?

On the 12th of April, 1877, the territory up to that time known as "The South African Transvaal Republic" became a British possession by the act of Special Commissioner Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

It is impossible to avoid looking forward to the effect which the annexation of this fine tract will have upon the Government and people of England.* Will the immense wealth of the prize dropped into the mouth of old England be appreciated ? Will the people of England be ready to open their purse-strings and take military possession of the country in such a manner that it can be held against all comers, black or white ? Will the capitalists of England be ready to see in this wonderfully rich country one of the grandest fields that ever was presented to man for the investment of capital ? And will they be ready to let flow into the Transvaal at least a portion of the incalculable wealth now pent up at home, idle, useless, and uninvested.

Capital and immigration are the only two great requirements there now. By a judicious investment of capital in opening up the country with roads, and by settling it with immigrants, it will soon be found out that the acquisition of the Transvaal is the richest prize that has ever yet fallen to the lot of our mother country. The mineral wealth is inexhaustible. For an extent of over 100 miles good coal crops up on the road side, on the banks of rivers—everywhere in fact—and it is the customary fuel of the inhabitants. Seams of coal thirty feet in thickness exist, and wagons are backed into it and filled with first-class coal with the same ease that a wagon might be filled with rock from an ordinary mountain. This coal the Boer delivers even at considerable distances at about 15s. a ton, and iron

* As before remarked, this was written in 1879, and appeared in the first Edition of the 1st Vol. of these works, in Australia

ore of singularly rich quality lies side by side with this great coal field as though to invite the capitalist to come and utilise both. Lead, gold, cobalt, and sundry other minerals exist in prolific abundance. The soil is inferior to none in the world—not even the vast western plains of America—the fertility of which is beyond all description.

The climate permits the potato and pine apple, the turnip and the banana, the apple and the orange, all to flourish side by side.

In recording the events and pointing out the causes which have terminated in annexation, it has been necessary to give prominence to the public faults and errors of the Boers. Let it however be acknowledged that they are of noble stock ; and those qualities of character in which they differ from the English temper are not necessarily to their disadvantage. Some passages of their history are heroic ; many of their leaders were rich in manhood ; their faults are to be traced back to a time when they were considered to be either virtues or stern necessities. They never had the guidance or restraint from a watchful Imperial power ; while long before the British set foot on South Africa they (the Boers) had to struggle unaided with savage hordes and rude conditions, their life and character receiving form from the rough mould. All this should be perceived, and should beget respect as well as forbearance. It must also be recognised by the British power that, in this day, over two hundred years since the first settlement, there are other natives in South Africa besides the blacks, and that in order to secure successful colonization the special aptitudes and characteristics of all classes must be liberally considered.

While closing these sheets we notice the following home telegram of June 12, 1879 :—“ The latest advices from Cape Town up to May 24 state that, in order to meet the demands of the Boers, a temporary Constitution has been granted to the Transvaal, with which concession the leading Boers express themselves satisfied.”*

* This “ temporary constitution was promised by the late Sir Bartle Frere, and when the Gladstone Government ensued it did not fulfil this promise, Sir Bartle frequently warned the home Government that danger would ensue. His words were not heeded. The result is known.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TRANSVAAL.

THE exodus of the Boers from the Cape Colony, their occupation of the present Orange Free State, their conquest of Natal and the Transvaal, and establishment of the former South African Republic, their hardships and warfare with the powerful native races under Dingaan and Mosilikatze, their struggles for freedom and independence, but utter failure in self-government, form a chapter of peculiar interest in the annals of modern history, and, as Mr. Froude remarked, deserved a clearer record than has as yet been given. "The character of one of their leaders, Pieter Retief, who was murdered by Dingaan," Mr. Froude speaks of as "really grand and epic." "The establishment of the Dutch in these countries," Mr. Froude says, "was not at its outset at the cost of the natives, from whom they had previously obtained territories by purchase or grant. The natives broke faith with them, stole their cattle, set upon their camps, and murdered their women and little ones. The immigrants, though enormously outnumbered, defended themselves with extraordinary courage. They maintained their position, punished the savages for their treachery, and compelled them to respect their treaties. Their conduct received scanty justice from British opinion. Powerful races never come in contact with barbarous races without events occurring which must be both regretted and condemned. These Dutch farmers were no exception to the universal rule; but if their conduct is compared with that of ourselves or any other people under similar trials, they will not be found to have deserved exceptional censure."

It is assumed that about the year 1820, the first Boers crossed the Orange River in search of "fresh fields and pastures new," but it appears that they were mere squatters, and that they returned to the Cape Colony at certain seasons of the year to attend to their extensive farms.

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But their number increased every year, and they began to settle in the territory north of the Orange River in strong parties, until, in August, 1836, a general exodus took place under Hendrik Potgieter, which was soon followed by a numerous *trek* under Gert Maritz, Karl Landman, and others, from Graaff-Reinet, Albany, and Uitenhage. The principal reasons for this desertion of their farms and homesteads in the Cape Colony, the land of their birth, are stated to be the "unrestrained vagrancy of the natives, pecuniary losses sustained by the slave emancipation, wholesale plunder by Kafirs and Hottentots, desolating and ruining the frontier divisions, and the unjustifiable odium cast upon the inhabitants by interested persons, whose testimony was believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in their favour.* Cloete† also gave the following reasons for the migration of the Boers, viz :—

1. The Hottentot question.
2. The Slave question ; and
3. The Kafir question ; which he explained at great length in his lectures.

In the early days, the present Orange Free State was not inhabited by any definite race, but was only periodically occupied by marauding bands of Kafirs, Bushmen, or Corannas, who infested these regions, with a view of securing pastures for their flocks, or escaping destruction at the hands of some stronger and inimical race. Not satisfied with the vast territory the Boers occupied, and following the impulse of their nomadic nature, which Providence has given to these people, they commenced gradually to spread over the whole of South Eastern Africa, from the banks of the Orange River to the Limpopo, and even to the unhealthy swamps on the East Coast, while a numerous party under the leadership of Jacobus Uys, Gert Maritz, Hendrik Potgieter, and the celebrated Piet Retief, crossed the Drakensberg and descended into Natal by a central pass, discovered by Retief. They found their way to the Bay, and were

* Wilmot's History of the Cape Colony, pp. 342-3.

† "Three Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Cape Colony," by Henry Cloete, Chief Justice of Natal. Pietermaritzburg, 1852.

welcomed there by a small party of English settlers under Capt. Gardiner. Natal was then in possession of Dingaan, who killed his brother Chaka and succeeded him as Chief of the Zulus in 1828. As we have stated, Retief was delegated by his party to proceed to the head-kraal of Dingaan at Umgungunhlovu, for the purpose of negotiating with him for a cession of territory in Natal, and he succeeded in obtaining a large tract of country, embracing the greatest part of the present Colony of Natal, by a formal cession, dated 4th Feb., 1838, drawn up and prepared by the Rev. F. Owen, an English missionary resident at the head-kraal. But before he could carry out this treaty, Retief and his party, consisting of some seventy white men and thirty coloured servants, were invited by the perfidious chief to take a parting cup at his kraal. They left their arms outside the enclosure, and were suddenly, at a sign from the treacherous chief, set upon by an overwhelming number of Zulus, and butchered to a man. The bodies of these unfortunate men were then drawn out of the kraal to a neighbouring hill, and left there to be devoured by birds of prey! Not satisfied with this, and intending to follow up success, Dingaan sent an army across the Tugela to attack the settlers in the Northern districts of Natal. They succeeded in surprising a laager formed by the Dutch in the neighbourhood of the present township of Weenen, and killed "two hundred innocent children, ninety-five women, and thirty-three men."* Other parties near the Blaauwkrantz River were killed at the same time. After being reinforced by their friends from beyond the Drakensberg, the Boers found themselves strong enough in December, 1838, to cross the Tugela, and to attack the forces of Dingaan near the Umslatoos. After a severe engagement, they defeated the natives, some 12,000 to 15,000 strong, killed more than 3,000 of the enemy, burnt the head-kraal of Dingaan, and carried 6,000 head of cattle away with them. Dingaan fled and concealed himself in the bush. Panda, Dingaan's younger brother, was then living in Natal. He made overtures to the Boers, and formed alliance with them against his brother. This led

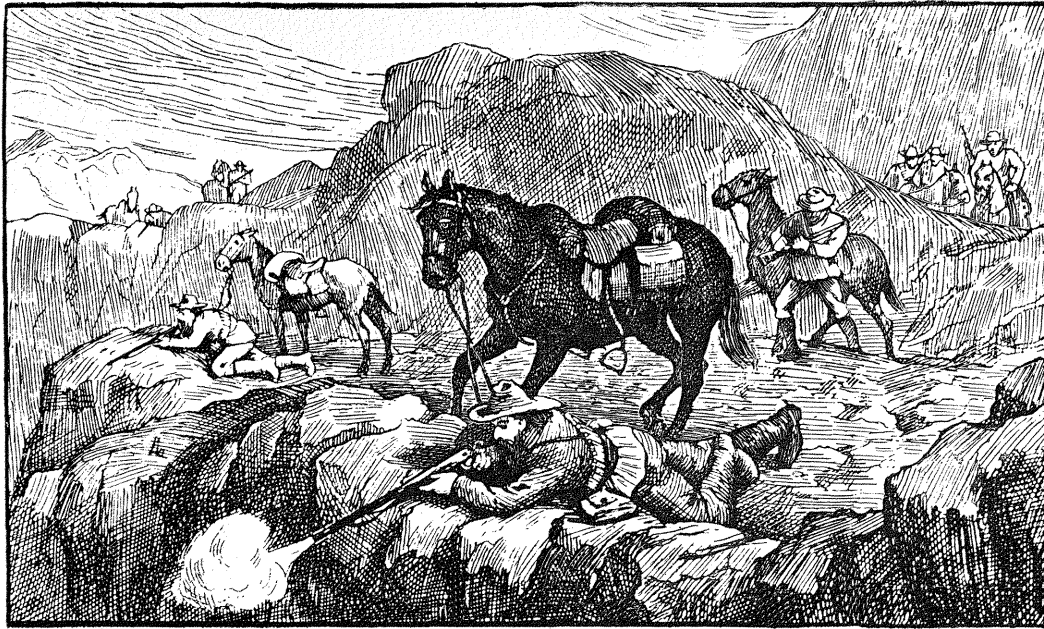
* "The Journal of a Voor Trekker," *C. M. Magazine*, September, 1876.

to a combined expedition, in which 400 Boers, under Pretorius, and 4,000 of Panda's men, took part. Dingaan was again attacked and defeated by this force, and soon after fell beneath the assegais of a hostile tribe, while seeking concealment near Delagoa Bay.* Panda was proclaimed King by the Boers, and as compensation for the war expenses caused by the former commandos, amounting to more than £9,000, which could not be obtained from Dingaan or demanded from his successor, Andries Pretorius annexed a great portion of Zululand from the Tugela to the Black Umfolozi, including the sea-coast and St. Lucia Bay, by Proclamation dated 14th February, 1840.†

Some years before matters came to this crisis, another party of Boers under Potgieter had crossed the Vaal River and taken possession of the fertile regions north of this river, then inhabited by the Kafir chief Umziligazi. He had been an under-captain of Tshaka, and one of his bravest and most cunning warriors; but he roused the anger of his chief, as he was in the habit of keeping for himself the best part of the spoil taken in war. When Tshaka came out with an *impi* to punish him, he fled with his followers into the regions beyond the Drakensberg, where the first Boers found him in possession. Morilikatse found the country thickly inhabited by Betchuanos, Basutos, Balaka, Bapedi, Makatees, and other tribes, who proved no match for the warlike Zulus. The men were killed in battle, the kraals burned, the women and children murdered, and the flocks captured. After clearing the southern portion of the country of his enemies, he settled down at Mosiga, in the present district of Marico. On the 2nd September, 1836, he perpetrated the cruel massacre of a small party of men, women, and children, under the leadership of Taljaard, but the Boers attacked him in force and defeated him at Mosiga, under the command of Gert Maritz, in the commencement of the year 1837. The Boers remained now for some time in free and undisturbed possession of the territory, and began to settle

* "The Colony of Natal," by Dr. R. J. Mann. 1859.

† "De Hollandsche Afrikanen en hunne Republiek in Zuid Afrika," door Jacob Stuart. Amsterdam, 1854.



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THE BOERS' METHOD OF FIGHTING

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along the slopes of the Magalies Range, while Umziligazi crossed the Limpopo and took possession of the present Matabele country. He died sixteen years ago, and was succeeded in 1870 by Lo-Bengula, the present Paramount Chief of the Matabele.

During the year 1834 some twenty-seven families, under van Rensburg and Carl Trichard, tried to reach the Portuguese possessions on the coast, for the purpose of opening commercial communications. Without any knowledge of the country, or the character of the native tribes by which those parts were inhabited, they entered the unknown regions, and commenced their perilous journey, from which few were destined to return. They passed along the Olifants River, and crossed the Drakensberg with great difficulty. Here the two parties separated. Rensburg's proceeded in a north-easterly direction towards Sofala, while Trichard's went south-east to Delagoa Bay. It is supposed that the Rensburgs had several engagements with the natives, but they were ultimately surrounded and killed by the chief Manikos.* Trichard's party reached Delagoa Bay after great difficulties and hardships. All the oxen were killed by the tsetse, and Trichard himself and most of his party died from fever. The small remnant who managed to reach Delagoa Bay were kindly received by the Portuguese Governor, and sent on to Natal.†

After the defeat and death of Dingaan, the Boers began to settle in different localities in Natal. They appointed Andries Pretorius as their head commandant, established a Republic and a Legislative body, laid out the township of Pietermaritzburg, and lived in comparative peace and happiness with the surrounding tribes. Having conquered

* In September, 1867, four white human beings (man, wife, and two children), were delivered up by Letonga, the late Amaswazi chief, to the Landdrost of Lydenburg. The adults were reported to have lived since their second year among the native tribes, and were believed to be the only survivors of the Rensburg party of 1835. They were almost naked, and spoke only the Kafir language. Arrangements were immediately made to supply them with clothing and food, and to provide the necessary tuition at the expense of the State.

† *Beitrage sur Kenntniss Sud Afrika's*, by A. Merensky. Berlin, 1875.

the territory from the natives, they considered it their own, but this fond dream was doomed to be dispelled very soon. Dr. Mann tells us that the policy of the British Government seems to have been very undecided at this time with reference to Natal. He says "immediately after the first victory of the Dutch emigrants over Dingaan, at the close of the year 1838, a small detachment of British troops was landed at the Bay, under the command of Major Charteris. This detachment was sent to Natal by Sir George Napier, who had just succeeded Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the Government of the Cape, to prevent the emigrants from the Cape Colony who were held to be still British subjects, from acquiring independent territory from the natives. By the judicious management of Captain Jervis, who remained in command of this detachment, the Dutch emigrants were soon brought to feel its presence a benefit rather than an injury, and cordial relations were established between the British soldiers and the settlers. In the following year the British troops were withdrawn from Durban, in consequence of the disinclination of the Home Government of that time to take any decided steps for the retention of the territory under its own rule. On leaving, Captain Jervis addressed a letter to the Dutch Landdrost at the Bay, expressing the most friendly feeling towards the young community, and the best wishes for its ultimate prosperity and success. The Dutch settlers, considering the departure of Captain Jervis in the light of an abandonment of all claims to the territory on the part of the British Government, immediately hoisted the colours of what they thenceforth called the *Republic of Natalia*."*

But, when the British authorities were informed of the proceedings of the Boers in Natal, they refused to acknowledge their independence, and informed them that they still claimed their obedience and fealty, although the military force had been withdrawn. The Dutch maintained the position which they had assumed, and the upshot was that two hundred soldiers and two field-pieces, under the command of Captain Smith, arrived in the Bay on the 6th

* This slight repetition is necessary to a coherent account of the Transvaal.

establish himself in an entrenched camp at the Congella, close to the Boer position under the command of Pretorius. When the Dutch seized about sixty oxen belonging to the troops, and refused to disperse, Captain Smith, with his small band, resolved to attack them in their camp. On the night of the 23rd May, 1842, he left his encampment, and came along the shores of the inner Bay, with one hundred men and two guns, but after a severe conflict he was repulsed by the Dutch, with the loss of several men and both the guns. Some days afterwards the Dutch seized the "Point" and two small vessels lying in the inner Bay. Cut off from the sea, and surrounded by the Boers, Captain Smith, with his small force, was now completely blockaded within his camp; but he managed to send a messenger to the Cape Colony, in the person of R. King, who accomplished a journey of six hundred miles, through a wild country, inhabited by natives, in eight days. Sixteen days after this the *Mazeppa*, one of the vessels seized by the Dutch, managed to slip her cable, and made her way out to sea under the fire of the Boers at the Point, to seek for British cruisers near Delagoa Bay.*

On the 24th June the schooner *Conch*, from Algoa Bay, and on the following day the flag-ship *Southampton*, arrived with reinforcements from the Cape, which were landed on the 26th June, under the command of Lieut-Colonel Cloete; a junction was effected with Captain Smith, and the Dutch retired towards Maritzburg. On the 5th July the Boers submitted, and an amnesty was granted. The greater portion of the troops were re-embarked, and Captain Smith remained in undisputed possession of the Port.

In May, 1843, Mr. Henry Cloete, brother of the Lieut.-Colonel, was sent to Natal by the British Government to come to terms with the Boers, and after long negotiations he succeeded in making an agreement, by which the Dutch recognised the Colony of Natal as a British dependency, on the 8th August, 1843. The majority of the Boers were, however, dissatisfied with this agreement, and would not submit to British rule. They abandoned their farms, crossed the Drakensberg, and joined their countrymen

* Dr. Mann's "Natal."

May, 1842, and the Boers, receiving the forces with demonstrations of intended hostility, Captain Smith had to beyond the Vaal. But, before doing so, they determined to make one more and final effort to obtain their freedom by negotiations with the Government of the Cape Colony. Andries Pretorius was elected to proceed to Graham's Town, where the Governor, Sir H. Pottinger, resided at the time. He started on his mission, travelling overland, chiefly on horseback, for roads scarcely then existed through what is now the Orange Free State, and upon arrival at Graham's Town, after a very fatiguing journey of some 800 miles, at once opened up communications with the Governor, and solicited an interview. But His Excellency refused to receive him, or hold any communication with him upon the subject about which he had undertaken so long a journey. This was a bitter disappointment, and Pretorius returned to Natal, more determined than ever, if possible, to secure the desired object.* On his return to Natal, with the tidings of the failure of his mission, the people at once prepared to trek. A small party, under Spies and others, settled in the upland districts, between the Tugela and the Buffalo Rivers, and advanced an independent claim, on the strength of a cession from Pauda, but ultimately they all crossed the Buffalo and took possession of the present district of Utrecht.

While these events were taking place in Natal, a number of settlers had abandoned the Cape Colony and followed their countrymen across the Orange River. They formed themselves into a community, after the model of the old Dutch Government of the Cape Colony, and lived in peace and harmony for a number of years, having but one desire, to remain free and independent. But to this the Cape Government would not agree, and matters were brought to a crisis when a dispute arose between the Griquas, inhabiting a narrow strip of country along the right bank of the Orange River, and the emigrants, in which the British Government interfered by assisting the Griquas with troops. This led to the battle of Zwaart Koppies, on the 30th April, 1845, in which the Boers lost a number of wagons, guns, some thousands of cattle and sheep, and had three

* "The Battle of Boomplaats, and what led to it!"—*C. M. Magazine* October, 1871.

men killed. The principal leader of the emigrants in this affair was a certain Jan Kock, who fled with his followers across the Vaal, and took up his residence on a farm between the Vaal River and Potchefstroom. To prevent a repetition of such collisions, Major Warden was appointed British Resident at Bloemfontein, and a small force was given him to support his authority. But on account of a certain Treaty, entered into between the British Government and Adam Kok, the chief of the Griquas, which affected the land titles of the Boers, great dissatisfaction and discontent prevailed among the Dutch. Andries Pretorius used every endeavour to procure an amelioration of the terms, but without success. After Sir Harry Smith's Proclamation of Her Majesty's Sovereignty over the territory, in February, 1848, discontent broke out into hostilities. Pretorius called a commando, and marched on Bloemfontein. The British authorities were driven across the Orange River; but Sir Harry Smith came up in person with a strong force, which met the Boer commando at Boomplaats, and defeated it after a short but sharp encounter, whereby British authority became once more established in the Orange River Sovereignty.* In this engagement, which took place on the 29th August, 1848, twenty-five men (including one officer, Capt. Murray) belonging to the 45th and 91st Regiments, were killed, and the same number wounded, while the loss of the Boers has never been ascertained. After reinstating Major Warden in his office at Bloemfontein, Sir H. Smith proceeded to Winburg, where the Boers were supposed to make another stand; but they had no intention of doing so, and after a stay of three or four days the Governor returned to the Colony. Among other proclamations there was one issued at the time, in which rewards of various amounts, from £2,000 downwards, were offered for the apprehension of Andries Pretorius, Andrian Stander,† Jan Kock, and other prominent leaders. But these were all safely across the Vaal, and busy forming a new Republic.

Owing to continual difficulties with the Basutos under

* *Orange Free State Almanack for 1876* —p. 19.

† Now Member of the Legislative Assembly.