

WITH

# THE BOERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

---

---

## CHAPTER I.

### CAPE HISTORY.

Early Cape History—Forefathers of the Boers—Settlement of the Dutch East India Company—Extension of Colony—Dissatisfaction of the Settlers—Mode of Life—English Rule—Restoration of Dutch Rule—Improved Government System—Recapture by and Final Cession to Great Britain—Native Troubles, 1811–12—Eastern Frontier fixed at Great Fish River—“Slaughters Nek” Rebellion—Commencement of British Immigration—Political Condition—Struggles for Liberty—High-handed Proceedings of Lord Q. Somerset—First Royal Commission—Its Recommendations.

THE descendants of the early mixed Dutch population of the Cape now inhabit and are spread over a large proportion of the whole of South Africa; throughout the Cape Colony, especially in the more retired portions, the population is mostly of that origin. In Natal there is still a small portion, now, however, rapidly amalgamating with the English; but for the real sample of the early “Voor-trekkers” we have to go to the Orange Free State and the “Transvaal Republic,” where we find them the principal inheritors of the land—living thereon in the same rough, simple, uneducated and solitary manner that was so great a characteristic of their forefathers, and one of the principal causes of their voluntary exodus into the wilderness, beginning in 1838 and lasting until 1852. From time to time there have been various names applied to these men, such as Dutch Boers, Afrikanders, and Dutchmen; but

these titles are all more or less misleading or incorrect. It must not be forgotten that although originally the Cape of Good Hope was a Dutch settlement, established purely for the advancement of the exclusive rights of trade of the Dutch East India Company, which owned and governed it, yet even previous to its first capture and final cession to Great Britain, its population, then very mixed, was largely reinforced by events in Europe arising out of the persecution of the Protestants. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, by Louis XIV., and the religious persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont and the Italian Alpine districts, drove hundreds of families of all classes in life to seek homes in other and more tolerant lands. The Dutch Government then generously stepped forward, seized the opportunity, and offered them an asylum. Many of these exiles afterwards emigrated to the Cape, introducing a new element of success and addition to the industrial resources of the country, viz. vine culture, the first vineyard in Constantia being planted in 1688, and they materially helped to found the basis upon which the present successful Cape Colony has arisen. So that it will easily be understood that the introduction of the French Huguenots, Flemings, Germans, Moravians, Piedmontese, Savoyards and others, gave fresh vigour to the enfeebled mercantile settlement, and entirely altered the character and nationality of its inhabitants. The new-comers brought with them their love of freedom, simple habits, and religious ideas, which soon began to clash with the selfish monopoly, and autocratic system of Government then pursued by the different Dutch Governors. Upon their spread inland they still kept together as far as possible in national communities; so that in time districts became either entirely French, Dutch, or German, as the case might be, while the nationality of the early pure Dutch inhabitants, being mixed, both with the natives, and later on with the English, after their arrival in the colony, soon became lost or amalgamated. Before, however, the close of the last century the different languages or dialects had become less used and spoken, and a kind of Dutch patois, now termed Afrikander Dutch, was and is now, in the O. F. State and

Transvaal, almost universally spoken by the inhabitants, and used in connection with all but official business. Moreover, although some traces of a national feeling in favour of the Fatherland may have lingered, the late Judge Watermeyer, himself of Dutch extraction, says that "substantially every man in the colony, of every hue, was benefited when the incubus of the Dutch East India Company was removed and the colony came under British government."

For a long time after its final capture by the English and the close of the Dutch Government, the Cape remained purely a military and naval station; but its limits were being gradually extended by its inhabitants, until at last they came into contact with several powerful native tribes on the east and north, creating a series of disputes about the proprietorship of the soil, which have broken out periodically during this century as the white race advanced, and have lasted with gradually increasing severity and force until the present time. And this was not all; for slavery in all its worst forms was legally recognized by the Dutch Government (the first cargo of slaves from Guinea being brought to the Cape in 1658, and the last in 1807), and eventually produced ruptures between the two races. Later on, its abolition by the English in 1834 confirmed the previous bitter feelings against the more civilized system of government then introduced, and led to an enormous increase in the numbers of those dissatisfied ones who "trekked" further into the interior, out of range of any official restraint, where they were able to enjoy that nomadic life which was so suited to them, obtaining sustenance by killing the game, everywhere plentiful at that time, and living upon the produce of their horses, cattle and sheep. This kind of life had also its drawbacks; for, owing to the steady increase in their flocks, the scarcity of water and constant droughts, it became necessary for these pastoral patriarchs to "trek" still further away. Thus they became totally unaccustomed to any other restraining influence than their own wishes and requirements necessitated. Most of them, however, had been brought up in all the strictness of the Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist,

or Dutch Reformed Churches; and, being deeply read in the simple teaching of the Bible, were able to maintain a fair amount of civilization, which, however, decreased as the younger generations sprang up, uneducated and devoid of any visible examples.

The following extract from a comprehensive work on South African History and Geography, written by Mr. G. M. Theal, and published by the Lovedale Press, a South African Missionary Institution, brings out very clearly the mode of life then existing among the inhabitants, and will still apply to the more remote portion of the Transvaal Boers:—"In Cape Town and its neighbourhood, the ordinary comforts and conveniences of life were obtainable, and were enjoyed by most of the whites; but on the lone farms in the interior, comfort, as it is understood now-a-days, was an unknown word. The hovels in which the graziers lived seldom contained more than two rooms, and frequently only one,"—in which, I may add, the whole family of perhaps two or three generations lived;—"they were destitute of the most ordinary furniture. The great waggon-chest, which served for a table as well as a receptacle for clothing, a couple of camp stools, and a cartel or two—wooden frames with a network of strips of raw hides stretched across them—were the only household goods possessed by many. Crockeryware, so liable to be broken in long land journeys, they could not reasonably be expected to have had; but it is difficult to account for their being without such common and useful articles as knives and forks. A great portion of their clothing was made of the skins of animals; their blankets, like those of the natives, were karosses of skins. They lived in this manner, not from necessity, but through choice and custom. Many of them were very wealthy in flocks and herds, but, having become accustomed to a nomad life, they considered as a superfluity everything that could not easily be removed in a waggon from place to place without damage. A gun, ammunition, and a waggon were the only products of mechanical skill that were absolutely indispensable to a grazier; with these he could provide himself with every other necessary. Some cotton goods for shirts and clothing for females, hats, coffee and sugar, were almost the

only other articles he ever thought of purchasing. Poverty, in that sense of the word which implies a lack of the means of sustaining life, was unknown throughout the colony. Every white person had food in abundance, and might have had more of the comforts of life if their use had been known or their want felt. The people of the interior were rude, ignorant, and sometimes cruel. The last of these qualities was the effect partly of their holding human beings in slavery, and partly from their having had for a long period the native races of the country at their mercy, without any check from the Government."

Notwithstanding all the efforts of successive Governments to provide for their civil and religious wants, by taking in the districts inhabited by them—thus enlarging the colony—by appointing magistrates and clergymen to minister to their requirements, they improved very little until the transfer of government to the English in 1795. The Dutch inhabitants, for the most part, then made the best of circumstances, and accepted the change in government, accompanied as it was by most liberal promises for the future—with the exception of a portion in the more remote districts. In Graaf-Reinet, which district was established as a magistracy in 1796, many of the Burghers refused to take the oath of allegiance, joined those of Swellundam, ejected their Landdrosts, and rose in open rebellion. This necessitated the first advance of British troops into that part of the country to awe the refractory and install the new magistrate in his office. Sir John Barrow accompanied this force, and afterwards published his well-known work on South Africa, which was the first book written on the subject, and obtained much attention and popularity at the time, while giving much publicity to South African affairs. Border quarrels with the natives, brought on principally by cattle thefts and retaliation, but ending in victory to neither side, were constant throughout the first seven years during which the English Government held the Cape; and finally a sort of patched-up peace was made with the Kaffir tribes and Hottentots, just previous to the execution of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, by which the colony reverted to its original owners. During the British occupancy, however,

over £1,000,000 sterling had been spent on defensive and other purely military works, which materially assisted the onward progress of the colony. The first thing done by the new Dutch Governor Janssens, was to journey throughout the colony, visiting the frontiers, settlers, and native chiefs, listening to their grievances, and striving earnestly to provide for their remedy in the future; and this was the earliest and first step taken in the right direction towards a juster, truer, and more liberal treatment of both the white and black inhabitants of the Cape Colony.

The improved administration thus begun had little time given it to develop, as upon war breaking out again in Europe between England and France, the importance of such a station for naval and military purposes was so great that a fleet and complement of soldiers was sent out to recapture it. This was done by General Sir D. Baird, after a gallant though useless defence made by General Janssens at the head of his Dutch forces and native allies. The capitulation was confirmed shortly afterwards, and in 1806, the Cape again came under British government, and has remained so ever since. The total population at that time was about 62,000, exclusive of Kaffirs, divided as follows:—21,000 whites, 26,000 slaves, and 15,000 Hottentots; with a revenue of under £100,000. Cape Town alone had about 1,200 houses, inhabited by 5,500 whites, and 10,000 slaves. Mr. Noble, in his work, says, with reference to this period:—“The Cape of Good Hope for some years after this continued to be regarded by the British Government as merely a temporary possession by conquest; but the achievements of the allied forces in Europe having secured a permanent peace, in 1814, a convention was then agreed to, between the Prince, Sovereign of the restored and United Netherlands, and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, by which, in consideration of certain charges provided by the latter for the defence of the Low Countries, and their settlement in union with Holland, the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, together with Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, was ceded in perpetuity to the British Crown. The colony thus definitively became a sharer in the importance of the mother country, and in the benefits of her

commercial power." Things, after this, went on quietly and slowly, but progressively, the presence of a large military force necessitating a heavy expenditure, and producing a corresponding amount of agricultural industry and commercial activity. The condition of the towns improved rapidly, but the larger and more scattered rural population was still far behind in educational and social advantages. Being in isolated positions, and far away from one another, the young people of both sexes had little or no communication with others than those in their own immediate family circle, so they necessarily grew up without a knowledge of even the rudiments of education, with selfish views, and bigoted and narrow-minded opinions. As these also married and had families it became necessary for them to leave the paternal home and "trek" away still further, with the share of cattle, &c., given them for a start by their relations, as is customary among them. As the eastern border of the colony had been fixed at the Fish River in 1778, and the country beyond swarmed with Kaffirs (many of whom were settled even to the west of the border or within Cape territory), there was little inducement for these men to go eastward. Consequently, as a vast expanse of country more suited to pastoral pursuits, and less thickly populated with natives, lay away to the north, they chose that direction and soon began to establish themselves over the then almost imaginary northern border line. To do away with or lessen cattle-thieving and border quarrels, steps were taken by the Government, on the recommendation of Colonel Collins, in 1809, to drive out all the Kaffirs, then living in the colony, over the Fish River, and to compel them to remain there. A force to effect this object was collected, consisting of some military and some Burghers, the former under Colonel Graham, and the latter under Mr. Stockenstrom, the first English Landdrost of Graaf Reinet. The end in view was attained, though with the loss, through treachery, of Mr. Stockenstrom and several Burghers; and for some time afterwards a chain of forts, about a mile apart, defended the Fish River border and kept the Kaffirs in check, Grahamstown becoming the advanced head quarters of the military.

Again, for some years, peace reigned, and was only broken

by an attempt at rebellion in 1815, brought about by a party of Dutch Burghers in a quarrel of one of them, Bezuidenhout, with his Hottentot servant. The interference of a field cornet, their own appointed local officer, was resisted, and the escort accompanying him was fired upon by Bezuidenhout, who was thereupon quickly shot. His relatives assembled to urge and carry out reprisals, and tried to obtain the aid of the natives against their so-called tyrants. The officer in command of the nearest military station promptly arrested the ringleader, H. Prinsloo, and martial law was proclaimed. The insurgents, however, assembled in arms, but finding the native chiefs would not assist them, and seeing the strong preparations made by the military for their punishment, the leaders fled, while their followers laid down their arms and appealed for mercy. Some of the latter were pardoned, but over thirty were tried for high treason, in Uitenhage, and five of them were found guilty and executed. Their names were Hendrick Prinsloo, Cornelius Faber, Abraham Bothma, Stephanus Bothma, and Theunis de Klerk. The others were transported or banished, and thus ended the "Slaughters Nek" rebellion. But the bitter feelings then created have borne fruit ever since. In 1820, a scheme was proposed by Lord Charles Somerset, the then Governor, to induce English emigrants to fill up the border districts or neutral ground (then recently evacuated by the Kaffirs), by free land grants; and the British Government having voted £50,000, just after the close of the great war with Napoleon Bonaparte, large numbers being unemployed at the time, there were nearly 100,000 applications, of which only about 5,000 were accepted and the persons sent out. These settlers, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, after many trials and vicissitudes, succeeded in finally establishing themselves, and to their energy and perseverance that part of the country now called the Eastern Province owes its present proud position of being first and foremost in agriculture, commerce, and enterprise.

Between 1820 (in which year the Royal observatory was founded) and 1834, when the first great Kaffir war broke out, some civil and judicial reforms were carried out; the liberty



of the Press was secured after a hard struggle—with which the name of John Fairbairn is indelibly connected—and native affairs were placed on a different basis. But all this was as nothing, as against the system of absolute despotism of Government carried out by Lord Charles Somerset, which quickly provoked the love of liberty and spirit of grumbling inherent in the English nation. In these struggles for more liberty and a less oppressive system of government, the more recent English colonists were joined by their Dutch brethren. Mr. Fairbairn, in describing the condition of the colony in 1827, paid the following high tribute to the character of the Cape Dutch population :—“ For industry, loyalty, filial attachment, and all the features and virtues of a rising community, they would stand high in comparison with any nation on record. Their love of freedom also is strong and unquenchable, and their notion of it is simple and just; they despise declamation, and seldom, if ever, use the word ‘liberty.’ But, speak to them of security to person and property,—of the power of checking a bad and foolish Government by a popular assembly,—of aiding the judge in the discovery of truth, and standing between the accused and the rancour and blindness of a political bench,—of regulating the taxes by the local knowledge of those who have to pay them,—and you will at once perceive that, without having read, they have the law of liberty written in their hearts.”

Similar language has been more recently used by the Transvaal Boers in their declarations, during the struggle for independence, and shows that the same feelings exist among them now as formerly. Public feeling at that time ran so high that steps were taken to call together public meetings for the consideration and expression of their grievances, in order to make them more fully known to the Government. But a high-handed proclamation was issued by the Governor in 1822, notifying that public meetings for the discussion of official and political subjects were contrary to the ancient laws, and any contravention thereof would be severely punished. He also resuscitated a number of old laws of the Dutch East India Company; including one prohibiting all trade with Kaffirs.

But the most important, and that which produced the worst effect, undoubtedly, was one which prevented any of the colonists or their servants from going about the country without an official pass, under penalty of being arrested and thrown into prison. This was an invasion of the rights of the subject, such as has been rarely heard of or exercised in a so-called free country; and its outcome was not long in showing itself. Not being able to meet together to discuss matters publicly, the colonists got up a memorial addressed to Earl Bathurst, which came before the House of Commons and resulted in a Royal Commission being formed, consisting of three independent members, Messrs. Bigge, Colebrook, and Blair, who visited the country and concluded their report in 1826. Some of the recommendations contained therein and subsequently carried out were:—The separation of the colony into two provinces, the Western and Eastern; the appointment of a chief magistrate on the frontier, uniting in his hands the civil and military power in connection with the treatment of the border natives; the appointment of a supreme and circuit courts; the abolition of all monopolies; the appointment of civil commissioners instead of landdrosts, several districts being sub-divided and new magistrates established; and, finally, the English language was ordered to be exclusively used in all official proceedings and documents. As far back as 1823, all documents issued from the Colonial Office had been drawn up in English, as also were all official notices in the colony, after 1825; but the order for the employment of the English language exclusively in judicial acts and throughout the colony did not take effect until the year 1827.

## CHAPTER II.

### CAPE HISTORY—*continued.*

First Lighthouse and Newspapers—First Commissioner-General, Mr. Stockenstrom—Treaty with Ngaika—Second Kaffir War, 1818—Eastern Border extended to the Keiskamma River—Kat River Hottentot Settlement—Border Raids and Reprisals—New Native System introduced—Discontent of the Farmers—Third Kaffir War, 1834-35—Energy of Colonel (Sir H.) Smith—Fingoes located between Fish and Keiskamma Rivers—Country annexed up to Kat River—Abolition of Slavery—Beginning of Race Hatred—Aylward's Plea for early Boer Independence—Native Wars, 1846-8, 1850-3, 1876-7.

THE first lighthouse at Green Point was erected on the coast of South Africa in 1824, and the same year saw the publication of the first Cape newspaper, *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, in Dutch and English, by Mr. Greig, of Cape Town, under the joint supervision and editorship of Messrs. Fairbairn and Pringle. The former of these gentlemen was an able writer, brilliant speaker, and humane philanthropist; while the latter was also an able writer, a poet of no mean merit, and a personal friend of Sir Walter Scott. He was also the first librarian to the South African Public Library, the beginning of which was formed in 1761, though it was not made much use of, as a public institution, until the year 1800, on the publication of the first *Government Gazette*, which occurred towards the close of the first British occupation. From this time commences a new era in South African history. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Andries Stockenstrom, who had been officially connected with the government of the border colonists and natives all his life, and who had an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of both the Boers and Kaffirs, was the first Commissioner-General appointed to take charge of the Border under the recommendations of the Royal Commission. But the anomaly of the position was soon made manifest; as, owing to his disapproval of the system hitherto in vogue of military

patrols and Burgher reprisals, and his being totally at variance with the ideas of his immediate superior, the Governor, it seemed impossible for the civil and military powers to work together.

The state of affairs on the border with the natives was now becoming critical; and from the time of Lord Charles Somerset's acknowledgment of Ngaika as the supreme chief of the Amascosa tribes in Kaffirland, in 1817, troubles commenced, first between Ngaika and other Amascosa chiefs, who refused to acknowledge his supremacy, and in which we supported Ngaika; and then between the Border colonists and the whole of the natives combined. A cattle dispute led to a combined attack of natives upon Ngaika, who was defeated with great loss, and compelled to fly to the mountains. The Colonial Government then came to his assistance, sent 4,000 troops under Colonel Brereton in 1818, routed the enemy under Ndlambe, reinstated Ngaika, and captured 20,000 head of cattle, half of which were given to Ngaika, and the rest divided as compensation among those Boers and colonists along the Border who had suffered from the Kaffir raids. Shortly afterwards the beaten tribes re-united invaded the colony under their celebrated prophet chief, Makanna (the Lynx). They cleared the district of its inhabitants and their stock, penetrated as far as Uitenhage, and even attacked the garrison town, Grahamstown, with such bravery as to render the issue doubtful but for the reinforcements of Hottentots and guns which came up, and succeeded in driving off the invaders. This severe lesson frightened the colonists so much that they determined to follow up their slight advantage while they were able. An enormous combined force of military, Burghers, and native allies was poured into Kaffirland, breaking up the power of the various tribes, and capturing 80,000 head of cattle. This closed the second Kaffir war, after which the boundaries of the colony were again extended eastward of the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, the country between them and the Fish River being neutral, and to remain unoccupied; advanced posts were established in Forts Beaufort and Wiltshire, now the centre of British Kaffraria. Lord C. Somerset again visited the frontier and interviewed Ngaika,

who agreed, though unwillingly, a year afterwards to the settlement of the neutral territory. It was also proposed to locate some Scotch Highlanders on the Kat River, and some other settlers on the Ibeka. These plans, however, were never carried out; but the country did not remain long unoccupied, both whites and blacks soon moving into it. Among the latter was Macomo, the eldest son of Ngaika, who was allowed to occupy the very key of Kaffirland without interference by the Government for some time, until his attacking and plundering propensities overcame his feelings of respect for the military power. His tribe, in the course of a squabble with some loyal Tambookies, captured their cattle and murdered many of the men. After this, of course, he was driven out of the tract of land in 1829, and retreated, vowing vengeance against the white race. Six months afterwards the old chief, Ngaika, died, leaving his "great son," Sandilli, a minor, under the regency of Macomo, who was only the "right-hand son." But in this way the latter gained an enormous increase of power, and consolidated the tribes wherever possible.

The clearance of this country, and the necessity for placing some buffer between the Kaffirs and whites, gave Mr. Stockenström the occasion and power to carry out a scheme which had previously occurred to him, of settling the scattered descendants of the original Hottentot tribes in locations in that district; and, the Government sanction being obtained, the scheme was soon carried out. The abolition of the semi-slavery laws for the Hottentots in 1828, although at the time much condemned and regretted by the farming portion of the community, was eventually of great benefit to the country. Large numbers of Hottentots had just been released, and the chance of settling themselves in a free life, and under the guidance of civilizing influences, was eagerly seized by many. To the number of nearly 5,000, they were soon settled down on the Kat River, and became an orderly and industrious portion of the colony, and valuable allies in the native wars which occurred in succession in 1819, 1823, 1829, and 1830; until in 1851, when, to the surprise and horror of the colonists, these men, who had been always well treated by the English, joined the

Kaffirs, and were beaten with them, when their lands were forfeited and given up to European families. In those earlier Native wars Burgher "commandoes" were constantly called out to assist the military, causing dissatisfaction among the farmers, and heavy losses to their herds, homes, and businesses. After 1831 the Commissioner-General for Frontier Affairs, Mr. Stockenstrom, again set himself against these border raids and "commandoes," as being both injurious to the colonists and unsettling to the natives. On one occasion he refused his sanction to the military entering Kaffirland with troops on another "commando." This brought matters to a crisis; and as his views did not coincide with those of the Government, or meet with their approbation—though strongly supported by all the Boer and colonial farmers—he applied for leave to visit England, and while there his office was abolished. During this period a tribe of Kaffirs, under Lyali, had occupied, like Macomo, on sufferance during good conduct, a portion of the Kat River settlement; but they were again forcibly removed beyond the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers.

Matters remained in *statu quo* until, in 1834, Sir B. Durban was appointed Governor. Acting under instructions from home, he commenced a policy of friendly intercourse and conciliation with the various frontier chiefs, and desired to enter into treaties with them, and appointed men of high tact, knowledge, and standing as resident agents among them. But, while he was carrying out these schemes, the Gaika tribes united, to the number of about 20,000, under the chief command of Macomo and Lyali, invaded the country without any warning, and spread devastation along the Albany and Somerset Border Districts. The missionaries were the only people not attacked by them, although many had narrow escapes. The Governor at once ordered Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith to the frontier, and this officer's wonderful feat, in journeying 600 miles from Cape Town to Grahamstown in six days, is still remembered both by natives and colonists. The military garrisons in the country had, unfortunately, been considerably reduced during preceding years; but every available man was sent to the front, and all the Burghers were

placed under arms, while martial law was proclaimed, and the Governor himself went forward to the scene of action. A vigorous attack was made on the principal points of the enemy's country, resulting in a complete victory and terms of peace being sued for by some of them. These were not accepted, and the whole country was scourged by the troops, who released and brought away with them over 15,000 Fingoes, the remnants of some early Kaffir tribes dispersed by the conquests of Charka and Moselekatze in the north and north-east, and held in subjection and a kind of absolute slavery by the Amascosa tribes. In five months things were settled, and Hintza, the last chief who held out, surrendered, and undertook to deliver 50,000 head of cattle and 1,000 horses, to give up for punishment the murderers of some traders, and to give two hostages (his own son and brother) for the due fulfilment of the treaty terms. Hintza himself accompanied Colonel Smith's party despatched to receive the cattle. But, having previously sent secret instructions to form an ambush and drive the cattle out of reach, he was shot, while endeavouring to escape, after a series of adventures well described by General Bissett in his book entitled "Sport and War; or, Fighting and Hunting in South Africa." His son Sarili was then raised to the chieftainship, and concluded a treaty of peace with the British. The country of the defeated tribes, up to the Kat River, was annexed to the Cape, and British residents were appointed over the various divisions and locations. The rescued Fingoes, to the number of nearly 17,000, were then located between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers; and they have remained there ever since, proving faithful subjects, orderly servants, and useful allies in the more recent wars. Colonel Smith was appointed the first British Chief Commissioner of the new province, and the seat of government was established at King Williams Town.

From this time the questions with regard to slavery, and the better treatment of the native tribes, became national ones, and were brought strongly before the Home Government; and after much inquiry they terminated in the total emancipation of slaves throughout the whole of the British dominions on

December 1st, 1834. This led to a consequent dissatisfaction and migration of the Dutch portion, and the trial of many new systems of native policy. From the year 1808, when the English Parliament had passed a law abolishing the foreign slave trade, it was seen that the total abolition of slavery was merely a question of time. The price of slaves—once the supply was stopped—rose very high, notwithstanding that the cargoes of the slavers captured by British men-of-war were brought to the Cape, and the rescued slaves were apprenticed for a term of fourteen years to those colonists who desired to avail themselves of the opportunity and applied for them; while the position of the Hottentots, under the oppressive laws then proclaimed for their government, was little better than that of the slaves themselves, until those laws were abrogated in 1828, whereby all persons of colour, not Kaffirs or slaves, were placed on the same footing as the white people. The policy of this was shown by the successful establishment of the Kat River Settlement before referred to. Hitherto there had been little, if any, race hatred or national jealousy exhibited by either the foreign or English colonists towards the others, except when the use of the English language was universally enforced, and the conduct and strictness of the new courts of law pressed, as they thought, hardly upon them. But at the first sign of the intention of the British Government to take steps, first to alleviate the condition of the slaves, and then for their emancipation, such a strenuous resistance was offered to the scheme that, in the then disturbed state of the country, it was thought inadvisable to enforce the law framed in 1830, appointing guardians to the slaves, and regulating the punishment which it would be lawful to inflict upon them; and intimation was sent to the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, to that effect. However, owing to the renewed exertions of philanthropists at home—prominent among whom were Lord Brougham, Rev. Dr. Philips, and Mr. Fowell Buxton—a law was passed in 1833, whereby all slaves should become free on the 1st of December, 1834, throughout the whole of the British dominions (thus anticipating by nearly thirty years the American Slave Abolition Law). But it was further provided, in the



interests of their masters, that they should be entitled to retain the slaves as apprentices for four years longer—upon proper application being made. In consideration for this deprivation of their vested rights, and the confiscation of money value, a sum of £20,000,000 was voted willingly by the Parliament of Great Britain by way of compensation. Valuers were appointed by the Government, and in the Cape Colony alone nearly 40,000 were released, and appraised at £3,000,000, or about £80 each. Of this, £1,200,000 was paid, the rest being unclaimed or in many cases refused.

This period may be regarded as the actual starting point from which begins the history proper of the Emigrant Boers. Their plea for being independent and free subjects, even at that time, is so ably and plausibly given from their own point of view by their admirer and champion, Mr. Aylward, in his "*Transvaal of To-day*," that it merits reproduction. He says:—"In 1833, a large number of farmers found themselves, without any desire on their parts to become British subjects, in the position of 'accidents of territory' ceded to the British by the Dutch. The sovereignty over the LAND on which they dwelt was undoubtedly vested in the European Government of Holland; but it is an important question whether the cession of territorial sovereignty can really be held to include the transfer of people as serfs from one Government to another. A serf is undoubtedly a person attached, and owing certain servitude to the soil on which he is born. I know of no law, human or Divine, by which the rights of the Dutch inhabitants to remove from the soil transferred to the sovereignty of England can be denied. Therefore, if any one of those 'subjects by cession' desired to remove himself, with his belongings, to the Dutch East Indies, there could be no objection to his doing so; nor, because he fell under British dominion by the cession of the Cape territory, could he have been prevented from returning to other Dutch territory and to his Dutch allegiance. I hold that he had only become a British subject in relation to his occupation of British territory, and that it was perfectly open to him to cease to be a subject by quitting that territory. It is certain that if the Emigrant

Boers had passed on, in their flight from British rule, to lands subject to the authority of other states they would have again become foreign subjects, and would no longer have been compelled to own an allegiance to England. But the land to which the Boers retired did not happen to belong to any recognized or constituted authority. They fled from what they rightly or wrongly considered to be misrule, into 'the desolate places of the earth,' where no man was master. . . . The Boers did not want to be British subjects. They found, what even Englishmen to-day are complaining of, as an inconvenience, if not an evil threatening their very existence. They said they were badly protected as against the aborigines of the country—a set of thieving savages, whose conduct on the frontier in 1878 seems to differ very little from what they were guilty of in 1834. The Boers knew that the territory then actually under British rule in South Africa was limited; and, gathering together their flocks and herds, they proceeded to march out of it to 'fresh fields and pastures new.' It must never be said that any hatred of civilized government, as such, led to this step. This would be a base calumny on the character of a body of men whose motives were as pure as those that actuated the 'Pilgrim Fathers'—Englishmen who left England for conscience sake."

The Cape Colony itself was again engaged in 1846–8 in another great Kaffir war, entitled the *War of the Axe*, from its arising through a native having stolen an axe, and being brought down as a prisoner manacled to a Hottentot. The guard was attacked by Kaffirs, who, not being able to undo the manacles, and being eager to release the Kaffir, cut off the Hottentot's arm, and left the poor wretch to bleed to death. This again was followed by a fifth war in 1850, which lasted until 1853—in which year a new Constitution was granted to the Cape—and by the more recent campaigns of 1876–7 against the Gaikas and Galekas. With the other events and rapid progress of the Cape Colony between 1835 and 1880 we have nothing further to do.

## CHAPTER III.

## NATAL FOUNDED.

Causes of the Great "Trek"—Over the Orange River—Contact with Natives—Government Steps to prevent the Exodus—Boers trek to Natal—Emigrants' Proclamation—Conflicts with Zulus—Hardships and Exploits of Boers—Their Proclamation of Independence—Death of Dingaan and Coronation of Umpanda—British Interference and Authority claimed—Arrival of Captain Jervis and Troops—Major Charteris on the Condition of the Boers—Troops Withdrawn—Captain Jervis's Farewell Address—Boer Independence Re-proclaimed—Republican Government Established—Towns Laid Out—Reassertion of British Sovereignty—Captain Smith's Arrival with more Troops—First Collision between Boers and British—The Military Besieged—Mr. King's Journey with Despatches—Relief sent from Cape under Colonel Cloete—Dispersal and Submission of Boers—Lenient Terms given—Acceptance of Conditions—Natal Proclaimed British Colony—Retirement of the Dissatisfied Boers over Berg.

THE primary causes of the great Boer exodus from the Cape Colony can be briefly summarized, and arose principally from the manner in which the Home and Cape Governments treated the natives from time to time:—1st. In connection with the laws relating to Hottentots being allowed to leave their masters *en masse*, and settle down on locations, or under missionaries, and other laws interfering with or restraining the treatment of household servants; 2nd. In the liberation of all their slaves on the 1st of December, 1834, which deprived their masters of what they had always looked upon as valuable property; and, occurring as this did, in the middle of a harvest season—the slaves mostly leaving on the day of their liberation, and few of the farmers having applied to keep them for the further term of four years' apprenticeship, as allowed by the law—the masters were left in a helpless condition, and their agricultural and pastoral pursuits brought suddenly to a standstill; and, 3rd. Owing to the unsatisfactory manner in which the native question was settled after the war of 1834, during the Lieu-

tenant-Governorship of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who advocated the firm operation of the Glenelg treaties, in which more liberty was given to the Kaffirs, and less protection to the Colonists against the plundering propensities of their more savage neighbours. Even in 1825, many of the border farmers had penetrated the country beyond the Orange River, then thinly inhabited by a mixed race called the Griquas, descended from the aboriginal Cape Hottentots, and by the remnants of those native tribes who, flying from the persecution of the powerful northern nations, had settled down wherever they found water, pasture, and game, sufficient to keep themselves and their few cattle. The nomad Bushmen, the original inhabitants of the soil, were either obliged to leave it, being robbed of all they possessed by the stronger nations, sought the protection of the new-comers, or relapsed entirely into a wild life, being hunted and killed wherever and whenever found.

It was into this country that the farmers first began to drive their herds for better pasturage and water in the seasons of drought that frequently occurred in the northern Cape districts. They gradually began a trade with the natives, and in course of time acquired land by purchase, or leased it from the Griquas on easy terms. The Government at once tried to prevent this migration. Orders were given for all Colonials to return, and Stockenstrom went over the Orange River among them himself to see that the Government instructions were carried out. But everything that was done was unavailing to stop the spread of these hardy and determined pioneers, who, finding that there was no law to prevent them, still continued hiring land or sending their cattle to graze, and maintained their rights. Then came the rumours of discontent at the probable emancipation of the slaves, and other causes of dislike to the Government. Large parties, having heard of the Natal country to the east, started from Uitenhage and other parts on exploring tours. The Commandant of the Frontier, Colonel Somerset, then the Chief Commissioner, and the Governor, all tried to remove the discontent which existed, and allay the consequent excitement, but to no purpose. The

Attorney-General, Mr. Olophant, when appealed to for repressive and prohibitory legislation, simply referred the Government to the old Dutch proclamations. "But," he said, "the class of persons under consideration evidently mean to seek their fortunes in another land, and to consider themselves no longer British subjects, so far as the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is concerned. Would it, therefore, be prudent or just, even if it were possible, to prevent persons, discontented with their condition, trying to better themselves in whatever part of the world they please? The same sort of removal takes place every day from Great Britain to the United States. Is there any effectual means of arresting persons determined to run away short of shooting them as they pass the boundary line? I apprehend not; and if so, the remedy is worse than the disease. The Government, therefore, if I am correct in my conclusions, is, and must ever remain, without the power of effectually preventing the evil—if evil it be."

Mr. Noble says on the same subject:—"Wise measures on the part of the Government at that time might have directed and led the movement, and introduced among the tribes beyond the limits of the colony a more civilized colonization, the influence of which would soon have extended to the centre of Africa. But, unfortunately, nothing was done. The emigrants were laughed at for crossing the boundary 'for freedom and grass,' or spoken of as 'professional squatters,' who in the boundless interior saw scope for the indulgence of their natural propensities." "The Frontier Boer," wrote the ablest writer of that day, "looks with pity on the busy hives of humanity in cities, or even in villages; and, regarding with disdain the grand, but to him unintelligible, results of combined industry, the beauty and excellence of which he cannot know, because they are only intellectually discerned, he tosses up his head like the wild horse, utters a neigh of exultation, and plunges into the wilderness."

One party under the command of Piet Uys started with fourteen waggons from Uitenhage in 1834, and succeeded in finding a pass over the Drakensberg, by which they reached Durban, in Natal, where they found a small English trading

settlement. After remaining there a short time, shooting elephants and other large game, which then abounded, on hearing of the Kaffir war at the Cape they returned home. In 1835-36, the exodus increased, until large detachments, having sold their farms and dead stock for what they would fetch, and taking with them only their waggons, horses, oxen, and sheep, began their march from almost all the eastern districts into the interior and to the north-east. The earlier emigrants went away under the guidance of an old Albany farmer, Louis Trichard, and were quickly followed by another party under Gert Maritz from Graaf-Reinet, and by a number of families under the leadership of Uys, Landmann, and Rudolph. They met with kindness and sympathy from the English settlers all along their route, who expressed much regret at their departure.

A prominent—"Voortrekker"—figure is now introduced on the scene, in the person of Mr. Pieter Retief, descended from a good old Huguenot family, born and bred in the Paarl, whence he moved to the eastern frontier, and there dwelt for twenty years in high estimation. He held the official position of Field Commandant of his district, and was the mouthpiece of the discontented Boers, whose needs he represented constantly and straightforwardly to the authorities. No attempts being made to redress their grievances, he also joined the others, but, before crossing the boundary, he addressed a manifesto to the Government, declaring their motives in taking such a step, and the relations which they wished to take up with the Colony and any native tribes they might meet with. In this document, signed by him "by authority of the farmers," he stated:—"We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future. We propose, in the course of our journey, and on arriving in the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the first principles of liberty; but while we shall

take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime, and preserve proper relations between master and servant." This was followed by a declaration of the reasons which induced their course of action (which I have given at the beginning of this chapter); but there is little doubt that many were induced to join the exodus from false rumours, which were circulated by interested parties, and certainly influenced the more uneducated among them. Others looked forward to finding a better country to the north, from the descriptions given by those who had been there; while, lastly, there were many religious bigots of the advanced "Dopper" type, who likened their exodus to that of the Israelites, and who hoped in time to reach the "promised land" spoken about in the Bible. It will be best, at this portion of the history of the emigrant Boers, to follow the steps of those who penetrated into Natal; to show what difficulties they had to contend with, both from the nature of the country and from the Zulus; and to follow them throughout their short stay there, their quarrel with the English, and the subsequent settlement of some of them, and the return of the others to the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

The first small party which penetrated into Natal was followed in 1836 by a second and larger one, under the leadership of Gert Maritz and Pieter Retief, a combination of whose names was given to the present capital and seat of government in Natal, Pietermaritzburg. They soon came in contact with Dingaan, at that time King of the Zulus, a tribe who had depopulated Natal, and finding an English settlement on the coast and fearing disputes about land, they determined to proceed into Zululand for the purpose of obtaining a cession of land direct from the King himself. Upon their arrival, Dingaan promised them what is now Natal, upon condition of their making a neighbouring native chief, Sikonyella, restore a large number of cattle stolen from the Zulus. This they succeeded in doing, and they brought back, from beyond the Drakensberg, sixty horses and seven hundred oxen. A treaty was then prepared by Mr. Owen, an English missionary, who

had resided for some time near the King's royal kraal at Umgungunhlova, when Retief and his party were feasted for two days, and this treaty was formally proclaimed. The Dutchmen were then invited to make a farewell visit to the King within the enclosure occupied solely by his own huts, and to leave their arms outside, as was customary. To this Retief incautiously acceded, and after they had partaken of some native beer, and had a short "indaba," they were set upon by several thousands of Dingaan's armed soldiers, placed in ambush, and nearly all slain. Dingaan followed up this massacre by sending parties of his warriors over the Tugela into Natal, and they attacked, without warning, all the small parties of Dutchmen carelessly encamped in various directions. They completely surprised and slew to a man one large party on the Blaukranz river, and then spread southward. But the other Boers were warned in time, converted their waggons into strong laagers and beat the Zulus off, while the small English settlement in the Bay sent a small party of whites and native allies across the Tugela to cause a diversion: but they were repulsed with loss, and upon the Zulus advancing to the attack of Durban those left took refuge in a ship in the Bay.

Shortly afterwards 400 more Boers came over the Drakensberg, and another advance was made into Zululand, ending in defeat and the loss of their most gallant leader, P. Uys, and his no less gallant son. But in December following, having been further strongly reinforced, a party of 550 well-armed and mounted men, under Andries Pretorius and Carl Landmann, crossed the Tugela and gave battle to the Zulu forces of Dingaan, estimated at 12,000 men, near the Umslatoosi river, and after a severe fight defeated them entirely, killing over 2,000, and driving back with them into Natal over 5,000 head of cattle. They burned the King's kraal down to the ground, and established themselves in confidence in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and other places, feeling conscious that they had effectually broken, at any rate for many years, the fighting power and will of the Zulu nation. A brother of Dingaan, named Umpanda, living at that time as a refugee in Natal, then made advances of friendship towards



the Dutch; and at last an alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into between them. A combined force was sent against Dingaan, who was again defeated and had to fly for his life, being shortly afterwards killed by a tribe to the north with whom he had taken refuge. Umpanda was immediately proclaimed supreme chief of the Zulus in 1840, by Andries Pretorius, before a large assemblage of Boers and natives on the banks of the River Umvoloosi. The Boers then reserved to themselves the greater portion of the whole territory from the Black Umvoloosi to St. John's river, and assumed paramount authority even over Umpanda himself. As an indemnity for their previous losses they received from him 36,000 head of cattle, of which 14,000 were delivered to those of their friends who had come over the Drakensberg only to help them, while the remaining 22,000 were taken into Natal and divided between themselves and those who had claims for losses caused by the Zulu nation. The whole of the territory thus claimed they intended making into an independent Republic, under the name of the "Zuid Afrikansche Maatschappij," and arrangements to forward this object were quickly projected and carried out. This scheme did not, however, find favour with the Cape authorities, who still considered the Boers as emigrant British subjects, and who had already begun to attach some importance to the settlement at Durban established by Lieut. Farewell and Mr. H. Fynn in 1823. The Imperial Government also refused to permit the erection of any independent governments by its subjects in any part of South Africa; so that in 1838, when the news arrived at the Cape of the bloodshed and devastation, and the consequent reprisals which had followed on the "Retief Massacre," Sir George Napier despatched a military force to Natal to look after British interests. He also issued a rather hastily-worded proclamation as to the "unwarrantable acts" of the emigrant Boers, and directed all arms and ammunition to be seized, and all trade stopped, except such as had the Government license. This caused more angry feelings and discontent, both of which were fanned into flames by the sympathy shown by many of the Cape colonists for their unfortunate self-expatriated countrymen.

Only 100 men of the 72nd, under Captain Jervis, were sent round to Durban, with ten artillerymen and one officer, the civil and military power being deputed to Major Charteris, R.A., whose instructions were to use no force unless attacked. On his arrival most of the Boers were away fighting Dingaan, and the few English settlers had surrounded themselves by refugee Kaffirs, who worked for them, and gladly lived under their protection. Major Charteris quickly returned to the Colony overland, leaving Captain Jervis in command; and in his report to the Government he said:—"The Boers in these camps had built huts for themselves, a few of them were tolerably comfortable, but, generally speaking, there existed every indication of squalid poverty and wretchedness; and it was deplorable to see many families who, a short time previously, had been living in ease and comfort in the Colony, now reduced to poverty and misery. They bore up against these calamities with wonderful firmness, however, and, with very few exceptions, showed no inclination to return. They considered themselves as unjustly and harshly treated by the Colonial Government while under its jurisdiction, and all they now desired from it was to leave them to their own resources, and not molest them again. This spirit of dislike to the English sway was remarkably dominant amongst the women. Most of these, who formerly had lived in affluence, but were now in comparative want and subject to all the inconveniences accompanying the insecure state in which they were existing, having lost moreover their husbands and brothers by the savages, still rejected with scorn the idea of returning to the Colony. If any of the men began to droop, or lose courage, they urged them on to fresh exertions and kept alive the spirit of resistance within them."

Friendly feelings were, however, maintained, principally through the tact and moderation of Captain Jervis, until the close of 1839, when the Government withdrew the troops, being ordered to send the 72nd home. In a letter addressed to the Landdrost Roos of Durban, on his departure, *inter alia*, Captain Jervis concluded as follows:—"It now only remains for me to wish you, one and all, as a community every

happiness, sincerely hoping that, aware of your strength, peace may be the object of your councils; justice, prudence, and moderation be the law of your actions; that your proceedings may be actuated by motives worthy of you as men and Christians; that hereafter your arrival may be hailed as a benefit, having enlightened ignorance, dispelled superstition, and caused crime, bloodshed, and oppression to cease; and that you may cultivate those beautiful regions in quiet and prosperity, ever regardful of the rights of the inhabitants whose country you have adopted, and whose home you have made your own." The withdrawal of the troops and this valedictory address, combined with the knowledge that the Home Government did not wish to extend its South African colonies, made the Boers believe fully that the country was abandoned to their governance. They at once installed themselves in the deserted Government buildings at the Bay, fired a salute, hoisted their colours, and again proclaimed the "Republic of Natal," with great rejoicing—which was, alas! soon turned into sorrow at the action of the Cape Governor.

A form of government, after the example of Holland, was inaugurated, such as was then in force at the Cape, excepting in matters of a local nature, and a Council, or "Volksraad," was established. The members of the Council, being anxious to have their independence officially admitted and recognized, sent a memorial, praying for the same, to the Cape Governor, who answered it in the negative. The leaders of the people then reiterated their demands, stating that they were Dutch South Africans by birth; that at once, after leaving the Cape, they had proclaimed their independence, and, consequently, were no longer British subjects, and would remain in the country they had conquered, under their present system of government. The arrival at Natal about this time of a vessel from Holland with supplies, and the unauthorized statements of the captain and supercargo, that the King of Holland would protect and assist them in the formation of their Republic, led the Boers to consider the advisability of resisting any attempts at annexation. After some negotiation another military force, consisting of 250 men and two guns, was sent up from the

Cape overland to regain possession of Natal, and at the same time to awe some unruly Kaffir tribes *en route*. The command of this force was entrusted to Captain (afterwards General) Smith, of the 27th Regiment. On the arrival of the troops at Durban, in May 1842, Captain Smith received an order from the Boers to withdraw from their territory, "as they were no longer British subjects, but under the protection of Holland." The Boers, having been reinforced from the inland districts, formed an intrenched camp at the Congella, three miles from the British position, and showed signs of a vigorous resistance. Captain Smith then summoned them to disperse, and while he was arranging to attack their camp by night, eleven days after the arrival of the soldiers, the Boers commenced hostilities themselves by capturing sixty oxen belonging to the troops. This was immediately followed up, on Captain Smith's part, by the projected night attack, resulting in complete failure, owing to the Boers being previously informed of the plan—how is not known—and forming an ambuscade. After this, the British troops were completely hemmed in at the fort, the Boers capturing the guns and some prisoners in the town, who were sent up to Pietermaritzburg. A messenger was, however, found—Mr. Richard King—who swam his horse across the Bay at night, and, after unheard-of adventures, reached the frontiers of the Cape, a distance of 600 miles, in ten days, with despatches announcing the desperate position of Captain Smith's small but brave garrison.

Arrangements were immediately made to forward help. A small schooner, the *Conch*, then lying in Algoa Bay, was despatched to their relief, with all the available troops under Colonel Hare, and succeeded in reaching the beleaguered camp within a month from the departure of the messenger sent to request assistance. H.M.S. *Southampton* was also sent up with more troops under Colonel Cloete, and arrived only twenty-four hours after the *Conch*. About a fortnight after the beginning of the siege the *Mazeppa*, a local vessel, had managed to slip her cable and get away to sea—under fire from the Dutch fort at the point—and transferred the women and children from the British camp to Delagoa Bay, in reach

of any of H.M. ships of war. In the meantime the besieged were falling short of provisions, but gallantly made several sorties against the Boer camp, fighting with great pluck. By the 18th June the garrison—already diminished by deaths and sickness, though not desponding—were reduced to *biltong* (dried horse-flesh), rice, biscuit dust, and forage corn, with execrable water. Six days afterwards they were cheered at perceiving rockets from the sea, and again on the night following. The reinforcements, to the number of 700, were soon landed, and the Boers, although they fired on the open boats entering the narrow harbour-channel—a fire soon silenced by a few shells from the *Southampton*—made no other stand, but retired at once to Maritzburg, whence, upon Colonel Cloete's advance, they sent a deputation to meet him, and offered terms of submission. On the 5th of July Colonel (afterwards Sir Josias) Cloete, having offered a free pardon to all but their leaders, accepted their submission in Pietermaritzburg, and granted a general amnesty to all, with the exception of A. W. Pretorius, J. Prinsloo, J. J. Burgher, and M. N. S. Van Breda, only the former of whom was afterwards included in the amnesty. The principal portion of the troops was then re-embarked in the *Southampton*, and Captain Smith was again left in command.

By the terms of peace the Boers were allowed to return to their homes, with their horses and arms, and no confiscation of property should take place, while their existing civil government system was also left *pro tem.*; but the command over the port was kept in the hands of the military. Colonel Cloete's leniency was approved by the Home Government, who hoped thereby to turn the steadfast hatred, hitherto manifested against the British Government by the Boers, into a certain amount of gratitude and loyalty. At the end of 1842, the then Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, informed the Boers that Her Majesty could not be insensible to their good qualities, nor to the past hardships which they had undergone; and, in consideration thereof, had been pleased to bury in oblivion all past transactions, and invited an expression of their wishes for the future government of the country, subject only to the follow-

ing conditions:—1, That there should not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction of colour, or disqualification whatever, founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, should be extended impartially to all alike. 2, That no aggression should be made upon the natives. And, 3, That slavery, in any shape or under any modification, was absolutely unlawful. The Hon. Henry Cloete, brother of Colonel Cloete, was sent round as Commissioner, to consider and satisfy the claims of the Boers. He was supported by a small escort of the 45th Regiment, as there was still some irritation among the people, and much excitement consequent on the arrival of a deputation of armed Boers from beyond the Drakensberg, who were awaiting his arrival under the impression that the Government was going to claim all the territory up to the Orange River. However, upon his explaining that the Drakensberg range of mountains was to be the northern boundary, that was accepted as a basis of settlement, and they then withdrew, accompanied by many who still did not desire to live under British rule; while the rest, including Andries Pretorius, Stephanus Maritz, D. Poortman, P. M. Zeitsman, and J. N. Boshoff, acting on behalf of the Volksraad, accepted the terms offered, and on the 8th August, 1843, Natal became annexed to the British Crown.

Refugee natives from Zululand and elsewhere began to flock in from all parts under the protection of the whites. Their numbers increased yearly from 3,000, when the English first settled in the Bay, to 80,000 or 100,000 in a few years; and at present amount to nearly half-a-million. The natives have continued to live peacefully up to the present time—with a few minor exceptions—under a system of government organized and superintended by the Shepstones—a family which came out, with many others of colonial note, in 1820, and which has since given many useful members to the colonial service.

The history of Natal may thus fitly be summed up as having been for many years the home of a peaceful and primitive people, who were ruthlessly “eaten up” by the Zulu hordes under Charka. Then, early in the nineteenth

century, the Dutch established a small trading settlement, at what is now Durban, which was, however, soon abandoned. They were followed by an English band of traders, in 1823, who, with the scattered remnants of the surrounding native tribes and Zulu refugees, remained there quietly for nearly thirteen years, only to be succeeded by another seven years of varying fortune, attendant upon the immigration of the Boers and their numerous conflicts with the Zulu nation, and then with the more civilized power of Great Britain. Finally, the country became a British colony, by proclamation, "for the peace, protection, and salutary control of all classes of men settled in and surrounding this important portion of South Africa."

## CHAPTER IV.

## GREAT EXODUS NORTHWARDS.

The Migration Northwards—Conflict with Moselekatze—Potchefstroom Founded—Further “Trekking”—Boer Collision with Griquas—Swaart Koppie’s Engagement—Peace Patched up—The Natal Exodus—Reasons therefor and Steps taken—Pretorius’ Journey to the Cape—His Letter and Actions—Sir H. Smith’s Arrival—Meeting with Boers—Conciliatory Promises—His Manifesto—Armed Opposition—Boers drive out British from Orange River Territory—The Battle of Boomplat—Subsequent Steps—Pacification of Country—Dutch Reformed Church Mission to Boers.

WHILE the stream of emigration had been directed to the north-east, resulting in the settlement of Natal, as shown in the previous chapter, others and larger ones flowed straight northward, settling down as fancy dictated or the look of the country justified, in the enormous tracts of pasture lands between the Orange and Vaal Rivers; others even going beyond the Vaal, in the then unknown country to the north and north-east. These parties were composed principally of those Boers from the Cape who were determined not to remain any longer under the oppressive British rule; but partly also of others, who had been more or less concerned in previous antagonism to the Government, and included many whose positions as leaders had marked them out for special punishment by the authorities, and whose lives and properties were therefore considered as being unsafe while within the reach of the law. The total number of emigrants who thus voluntarily left the Cape Colony, during the years 1835–36, was variously estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000. But from what I have since learned from many of the men themselves or their descendants, I think the higher estimate is the more correct, if we include those who colonized Natal. If we consider the number of the white population of the Cape, in 1806,



which was about 21,000, and that ascertained by the census of 1865, viz., nearly 200,000, we may fairly estimate the number in 1835 to have been, at the outside, about 100,000. Of these a tenth part willingly expatriated themselves, giving up comparative riches and comfort for poverty and hardships of every description. The history—first attempted by Aylward—of these brave, hardy, and simple people, who have done everything for the opening up and colonization of South Africa, when more fully written and brought before the other nations of the world, will rank as equal, for perseverance, endurance, pluck, and adventures, with any other similar movement, either in America or elsewhere; and will gain the respect, if not the admiration, of all. While, with the exception of a few dark deeds,—nothing in comparison with what has occurred and still happens in America, Asia, and the Australasian groups—their simple method of life, religious character, primitive Government, and constant struggles against both white and black neighbours and the forces of nature, will compare favourably with the history of any other pioneering or colonizing attempts, either of ancient or modern days.

But to return to the exodus northwards:—The first parties had but little difficulty with the natives between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, consisting of only scattered remnants of various tribes, Bushmen, Griquas, Basutos, Baralongs, Bechuanas, Mantatus, and Korumas, who had been destroyed, scattered, or subjected by Moselekatze, the powerful Zulu chief who had seceded from Charka some ten years previously, and had established the Amatabele nation for himself. The sway of this chief then extended from the Vaal River to the Limpopo; but since the establishment of the Orange Free State and Transvaal, his son and successor, Lo Benjula, has only held command over the district between the Limpopo and the Zambesi. Moselekatze soon heard of the advance of the white men, and attacked them on several occasions with varied fortune. In 1838, a large force of Boers, collected together from all parts, crossed the Vaal and attacked one of Moselekatze's principal towns. Having beaten the natives and recaptured the cattle, &c., previously taken from them, they

retired to the Sand River. There, having seen the necessity of combined action and a settled form of government, Retief and other leaders established a state on the old Dutch system, concluded treaties with the surrounding tribes, and finally settled down in scattered communities all over the Modder, Vet, and Sand River districts, establishing the seat of government at Bloemfontein, where they were joined from time to time by others.

Another large party, which, under Potgieter and Uys, had gone into Natal to help the other Boers then fighting the Zulus, returned after the death of Uys, and crossed the Vaal River in 1838. Finding the country abandoned by Moselekatze, they settled themselves over the border, founding the town of Potchefstrom or Mooi River Darp. But when a proclamation reached them from Governor Napier, stating that they were not yet released from their allegiance to the Crown, and that all offences committed by British subjects, up to 25° of south latitude, were punishable in the Cape Colony Courts, they abandoned the Potchefstrom district, "trekked" further on again, and founded new settlements at Zoutpansberg and Leydenberg, whence they opened up communications with the Portuguese settlements on the east coast, and for a time were left in peace. The Boers who had settled down in the Orange River territory rented or bought lands from the Griqua and Basuto chiefs—who, being the strongest, claimed paramount authority over their respective districts—but they were soon brought face to face with numerous difficulties and troubles, caused by many disputes about land with the natives, and resulting in an actual collision between the Griqua chief, Adam Kok, and a few of the more headstrong and foolish Boers under men named Mocke and Diederickse. They were advised and encouraged in this resistance to the native pretensions by many of those who had returned from Natal to the north, after breaking the power of two such powerful chiefs as Dingaan and Moselekatze.

The Boers expressed their determination to drive out the natives, and one thing led to another until Adam Kok at last applied to the British authorities for help and protection. Mr.

Menzies, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, then sitting at Colesberg, accompanied the magistrate to remonstrate with the Boers, and a little way over the boundary they were met by the party under Mocke. After a stormy interview, Judge Menzies declared that, in Her Majesty's name, he took possession of all the country lying south of 25° south latitude and east of 22° east longitude. This act served temporarily as a check to the Boers, but it was disallowed by the Government, and no further steps were taken, except that some troops were moved up and stationed at Colesberg to watch the course of events. Later on, Colonel Hare, then in command of the troops and also Lieutenant-Governor, issued a proclamation, stating his intention of enforcing the submission of every British subject beyond the boundary, and offering a free pardon to all who at once submitted, except the actual leaders. A conference being held, many submitted, and others stated the reasons of their discontent, complaining that the Griquas and other natives were allowed greater liberty of self-government than was granted to themselves. No more active steps were taken by the Boers till 1843, after treaties of peace were entered into by the British authorities with Adam Kok, chief of the Griquas, and Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, similar to the treaty concluded in 1834 with another Griqua chief, Waterboer. Subsequently, war broke out between the Boers and Griquas about the rights of the former to punish their Griqua servants—a right denied by Adam Kok—the Griqua town of Philipolis was attacked by a Boer commando, and several men shot and cattle captured. The Government of Cape Colony then again interfered, and sent up a force of cavalry to co-operate with the infantry at Colesberg. Colonel Richardson, who was in command—finding that the negotiations between the Boers and the magistrate at Colesberg, both for the delivering up of the men who had shot the natives and for the return of the captured cattle, were unsuccessful—marched up his troop of the 7th Dragoon Guards, with Cape Mounted Rifles, and some of the 91st Foot, attacked the Boer camp suddenly at Zwart Koppies, thirty miles to the north of Philipolis, and completely dislodged them from their rocky

position, pursuing them across a plain, where, but for the unusual mercy shown them, they would have been all cut down. That night most of the fugitives sent in their submission, stating that they had no intention of taking up arms against the British, and that their quarrel was entirely with the Griquas, who had recently assumed an insolent attitude towards them, after their treaty of peace had been made with the Colonial Government. There was doubtless a great deal of truth in this, as after events have proved, and as our recent more intimate knowledge of the natives has shown. Every allowance ought therefore to be made for the action taken by the Boers. The leaders, however, declined to submit, and retired still further to the northward, with a stronger determination than ever not to come again under British rule. The principal of these were Mocke, Steyn, Du Plooy, and Kok.

The Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir P. Maitland, set out at once for the border, accompanied by Mr. Porter, the Attorney-General. Having held several conferences with Boers, Griquas, and Basutos, he finally arranged to divide the lands to be held by the natives—entitled Inalienable, from those of the Boers, called Alienable—giving the latter leases for payment of a quit rent, out of the proceeds of which the expenses of a British Resident were to be defrayed, the balance going to the chiefs of the tribes in whose districts the lands lay. This worked well enough as a general rule; but there were many Boers settled on lands which were declared to be part of the "Inalienable" districts; and as it would not have been just to order their immediate removal, a forty years' lease was granted them. But they were bound to leave their farms entirely, without compensation of any kind, at the expiration of their leases. As, however, the Boers had built on, improved, ploughed, enclosed, and irrigated their property, this settlement was unjust to them, and was the cause of much future trouble. An important event now occurred which led to the second collision between the Boers and the British, and finally to the freedom of the Orange Free State.

In Natal, previous to its being constituted a separate Govern-

ment in 1845, those Boers that remained became very unsettled in consequence of the large influx of Zulu refugees, and the uncertainty then existing as to the future intentions of the British Government. Their Volksraad passed a resolution requiring the Zulus to move out of the Colony within fourteen days, and applied to the military commandant, Major Smith, for assistance in carrying out this difficult and certainly hasty measure. In answer to their request, the British commandant stated his inability to comply with their demands, and advised them to wait until the new Government was established. This they were disinclined to do; and by the time a Constitution was granted to Natal, the farmers had again begun to "trek." Many steps were taken to prevent further discontent and the continuance of the exodus. Land grants were made easy and of enlarged proportions, and other laws were relaxed; but to little permanent good, as the effect thus produced was more than counterbalanced by the report of a Commission appointed to regulate the control of the large number of natives then settled in Natal.

Sir T. Shepstone, the chief Political Resident at Fort Peddie, among the Fingoes, Dr. Stanger, the Surgeon-General, Lieut. Gibb, R.E., and two American missionaries, Lindley and Adams, formed the Commission; and they drew up a plan, based on the scheme proposed by Mr. Cloete, whereby the natives should be placed on and confined exclusively to reserves of locations in different districts, and be solely under the control of responsible European magistrates. This scheme required money; but none was forthcoming from England, where Earl Grey's policy was the reduction of Colonial expenditure. This left matters in the same unsatisfactory state, and effectually crippled the hands of Mr. T. Shepstone, the Secretary of Native Affairs, who, in one of his reports after a slight outbreak, very candidly and justly wrote:—"By neglecting to invest money in the profitable occupation of improving"—the natives—"we have been forced to lavish it in the unproductive, miserable, melancholy work of repression; and the necessity for this last kind of expenditure will increase in the exact proportion in which we continue to neglect the first."

Finally, the Dutch farmers determined to "trek," as they considered the native element too treacherous and powerful to be relied upon for the future peace and safety of the Colony in the hands of the Government, unless backed up with a large military force. But before leaving to join their relatives in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, they deputed Mr. Andries Pretorius, their former head and representative in the Natal Volksraad, personally to see the new Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape, to explain these grievances and appeal for their redress. Pretorius accordingly proceeded overland through the Orange Free State; and, on his way, he met a body of emigrants at Winburg, under Commandant Kok, who decided also to send a deputy, Mr. C. Du Plooy, to the Governor with him. Upon their arrival at Grahamstown, Sir Henry Pottinger, the new Governor, absolutely refused to see them, even after their long tedious journey, and in spite of the critical state of affairs throughout South Africa, asserting that what the Deputies had to state should be submitted in writing. This was done in a memorial recapitulating all their previous grievances, to which was added a more recent one, which occurred at Bloemfontein, where the British Resident had disarmed many of the emigrants, and thus deprived them of their chief means of support and defence. Finding that even then no redress could be obtained from the Governor, Mr. Pretorius issued a series of letters to the public through the medium of the press, written most ably, eloquently, and moderately. He said, in conclusion:—"I resume my journey to Natal tomorrow with a heavy heart. The object for which I braved every difficulty, and left my wife and family almost unprotected for a considerable period, I have not obtained, and have thus performed a long journey to no purpose; and I go back to my constituents to inform them that I have neither seen nor spoken to the Lion of the Colony, Sir Henry Pottinger; that I have not received a proper answer to my written representations—the document purporting to be such appearing to me unsuitable, and the remarks contained in it so irrelevant, that it is impossible for me to conjecture what bad results may be the consequence when it becomes known amongst us. I return, I

say, to abide the time when I shall surely see realized all I have said about murder, robbery, and the firebrand; perhaps to sacrifice my life. But I have the satisfaction of knowing that I raised my voice against misrule, the fruits whereof will be clearly seen when it shall be too late to go back."

How moderate and true these utterances were, recent events and the course of the last twenty years have shown. On the return of Pretorius to Natal desperate proceedings were proposed by some; but all determined to "trek." Another new Governor then turned up, Sir Harry Smith, well known and previously liked by many colonists. He soon put things a little straight in the Colony, and came up quietly to the Border, where he had a series of interviews with the native chiefs and the Boers, arranging affairs satisfactorily for all parties, at any rate *pro tem*. He then travelled over the Berg to Natal, and at the Tugela he met Pretorius and his fellow-countrymen, who had already started for the Vaal River. The miserable condition in which he found them—it being the height of the wet season—their friendly feelings towards himself, and calm statement of their various complaints, aroused in him a strong feeling of admiration and pity; and he determined to do what he could to alleviate their condition and induce them to return to the homes they had founded with many vicissitudes in Natal. He promised them legal titles to their lands, appointing a Commission, on which was their own leader, Pretorius, to carry this out and receive applications; granted an amnesty for all political offences; ordered the removal of the natives beyond certain boundaries; organized a police force; legalized marriages duly contracted between them, though without the presence of any authorized minister, and not in conformity with the Cape laws (which are very strict on the subject of inheritance), and promised to promote education and the erection of schools and churches. These measures, thankfully accepted at the time, were not however sufficient to restrain many of the more embittered among them. Within a month of Sir H. Smith's return to Cape Town, he learnt, much to his regret, that Pretorius had left Natal, thrown in his lot with the more discontented of the Boers in the Orange Free State and Trans-

vaal, and determined to oppose by force the further encroachments of the British. This step received such an amount of support, that the news thereof produced regret for the present and fear for the future in the minds of the more sensible among the Cape Colonists. A Commission of the Dutch Church Synod was sent up to visit and advise the Boers; and Sir H. Smith published a manifesto which attracted much attention at the time, being of a semi-pathetic and religious nature, ending with threats of the utmost severity. Its circulation, however, combined with the appointment of magistrates to the new districts of Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Caledon, smoothed matters over in that part of the Orange Free State. It was different, however, further north, where the most dissatisfied of the Boers dwelt. They held meetings, claimed the country between the Vet and Vaal Rivers as having been purchased by Potgieter in 1838 from the chief Makwana for some cows; and finally, at a large meeting held at Potchefstrom, adopted certain resolutions which were sent to the High Commissioner.

The leaders at that time were Pretorius, Kruger, Potgieter, Bothes, Prinsloo, Kok, and Steyn. They also issued a counter manifesto, and tried to unite some native allies against the probable military operations then threatened. In this document they stated that no faith could be placed in Sir H. Smith's promises; that the Government was only extending its rule to make soldiers of them; that it was useless to fly further north, where fevers had killed so many of them, and sickness thinned their cattle; and they appealed to the women to send their husbands and sons to fight for their country and faith; and concluded with a threat of forfeiture of lands to those who did not join them. For some time Sir H. Smith would not credit the importance of the reports of Major Warden, the British Resident at Bloemfontein; nor yet of a communication made by Sir A. Stockenstrom of the warlike plans of Pretorius and others. But in the meantime, Pretorius had commenced the contest, making his head-quarters at Winburg, and began to expel all the British officers and inhabitants from the territory north of the Orange River. Two



hundred men joined him from beyond the Vaal, but Potgieter himself did not accompany them. On the 17th July they appeared before Bloemfontein, their numbers having been increased on the road to nearly 500. They encamped about two miles off, and sent a letter to the Resident demanding his retirement from the country with the British forces, which only amounted to less than 100 men, including civilians and deserters from the Boers. The Magistrate, being also encumbered with over 200 women and children, badly provisioned, and with a number of refugee natives, accepted the terms offered—to evacuate with all their property—and proceeded to Colesberg. Similar terms were accepted by the Magistrates at Winburg and Caledon.

When this news reached Sir H. Smith, at Cape Town, he sent up troops to the Orange River, and issued a proclamation offering £2,000 reward for the apprehension of A. W. Pretorius, who was declared a rebel; and he himself quickly reached Colesberg, where he awaited the concentration of troops. Here he received a message from Pretorius, as “Chief of the whole United Emigrant Force,” desiring to speak with him; but the Governor declined to see or treat with “rebels in arms.” The river was crossed and an advance made at once by the troops, consisting of two companies each of the 45th, 91st, and Rifle Brigade; two troops of Cape Mounted Rifles, and two field guns, or altogether about 700 men. A number of Griquas, under Waterboer and Adam Kok, and some loyal Boers joined them on the march. No opposition was encountered until the 28th August, 1848. The Boers were then found strongly posted at Boomplaats. They were under the command of Pretorius, Gut Kruger, Andries Stander, and engaged the British force in a severe conflict, lasting nearly three hours, and resulting in their ultimate defeat and flight, but only after having inflicted severe losses on the military; who lost one officer and eight men killed, and six officers and thirty-nine men wounded. The Boers left forty-nine dead on the field, the number of wounded not being known. Pretorius, with a few relatives, fled out of the Orange Free State and across the Vaal River. Two only of the Boer force were taken prisoners, a Cape farmer, Dreyer,

and Quigley, a deserter from the 45th Regiment. They were tried, convicted, and shot, at Bloemfontein, and were buried in the exact spot where Major Warden signed the capitulation of the town to Pretorius. Sir H. Smith rode on to Winburg, all opposition having ceased, and the people coming forward readily to take the oath of allegiance. Two of the Boer commanders, Paul Bester and Gut Kruger, were pardoned, and heavy fines were inflicted on all those who were known to have taken a part in the rebellion, the money, which amounted to over £10,000, being applied to defray the expenses of the troops through having had to cross the Orange River. Subsequently, on the 8th September, Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the Orange Free State as a British Sovereignty, with a salute of twenty-one guns, and reinstated Major Warden and the other British officials. He granted the inhabitants a liberal government; and, knowing their peculiar character and religious ideas, he gave them the fullest possible liberty, and encouraged and assisted a mission to them from the Dutch Reformed Church at Cape Town. This mission was undertaken by the Reverends Dr. Robertson and Fame, who even penetrated as far as the Magaliesberg, to the north of the Vaal, where Pretorius and others had founded the beginning of the Transvaal Republic. The effect of this mission has thus been stated by Noble:—  
“ Their communication with the exiles in the Transvaal had a most beneficial influence: they held religious services with them, baptized and married many, both young and old, and administered the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, the celebration of which had never been witnessed by the emigrants since they had commenced their wild and wandering life. Some of the people showed a keen jealousy of any interference with them in political matters, and even formed a very strong prejudice with respect to the signatures required from such as desired to have their marriages registered, imagining that they were thereby, in some degree, made British subjects. But, generally, they gave a hearty reception to the mission, and expressed their appreciation of the friendship and interest manifested in their condition and prospects by their colonial fellow-countrymen.”

## CHAPTER V.

## ORANGE FREE STATE SETTLEMENT.

The Events in 1850—The Basutos—Embroidment of the British Residents—Ear Grey's Policy—Removal of Sir H. Smith—Arrival of Commissioners Hogge and Owen—Meeting with Transvaal Boers—Sand River Convention—Row with Basutos—Sir George Cathcart and his Policy—The Berea Fight—Moshesh and Sir George—Abandonment of Territory—Sir George Clerk's Work—Free State Convention—Removal of Griquas—Basuto and Free State Wars—Annexation of Basutoland—Boundary Disputes—Waterboer's Griqua Territory—Diamonds Found—Griqualand was annexed—Boshoff, first President, succeeded by Brand.

OF the progress of the Orange Free State, during six years, while it remained under British rule, until the final relinquishment of the territory to the Boer inhabitants, in 1854, I can only give a short *résumé* in this chapter; but in a later one I shall have more to say of its rapid advance under President Brand's term of office, its present position and prospects, and its inhabitants, as I found them in 1881. While the white population in the Orange River Sovereignty, after the events just recorded, had settled down into a peaceful life, hostilities unfortunately broke out in 1850 between the native tribes, which led to important results, and indirectly to the abandonment of the territory. Moshesh, the consolidator of the Basuto nation, and its most powerful and able chief—the only chief who ever made a successful stand against the all-powerful Charka and his Zulus—claimed authority over the lands occupied by the Manlatees, Korannas, Baralongs, and Bastards, small tribes living in his vicinity. He welcomed the advent of missionaries and traders among his people, and through his just and careful government gained a large following, increased by refugees from other tribes, and the respect of all. The President, unfortunately, became mixed up in these matters, and assisted

the smaller tribes in their attempts at independence, calling out the Boers and Griquas to his aid against Moshesh, who, of course, retaliated on the surrounding natives. The Basutos, being victorious in most of their forays, at last became involved in war with the British; but the Burghers, called upon by the President, refused to muster and arm against Moshesh or interfere at all in the native quarrels. They could not understand why, if it were necessary to interfere at all, the military could not do it without their help. During this period of disturbance, Sir H. Smith had the Kaffir war of 1850-1 on his hands and could do little to help. The Governor of Natal, however, Sir B. Pine, sent up two companies of the 45th Regiment and 700 Zulus across the Drakensberg, which gave a little increased confidence. But that did not last long, as Major Warden found himself in no position to attack Moshesh, who had 10,000 good men to back him, in a difficult country; and, combined with this, the Zulus became impatient and returned to their homes; while, out of 1,000 Burghers called out, only seventy-five answered to the call.

Earl Grey, after hearing of these things, sent a despatch to Sir H. Smith, saying, that as the consent of the British Government had only with reluctance been given to the annexation of the Orange Free State, and the inhabitants did not seem to wish for, or continue to support, the British authority, he recommended that, at the close of 1851, the Sovereignty should ultimately be abandoned; and then continued:—"If you are enabled to effect this object, you will distinctly understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterwards occur between the different tribes and communities, which will be left in a state of independence beyond the colonial boundary, are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference. Any inroads upon the colony must be promptly and severely punished, but, after the experience which has been gained as to the effect of British interference in the vain hope of preserving peace among the barbarous or semi-civilized inhabitants of these distant regions, I cannot sanction a renewal of similar measures." "Therefore," says Noble, "the old and warmly-cherished policy of England, based on the great and noble

principle that she was responsible for the conduct of her subjects towards the aboriginal races among whom they settled—‘the protector of the weak, the civilizer of the barbarian, and the preacher of righteousness to the heathen’—was thus suddenly reversed. It had been maintained for years, at no small cost of blood and treasure; but it threatened, if pursued further, to indefinitely enlarge the demands on the revenue and military force of the Kingdom. To prevent any future complications, the officers representing the Crown were interdicted, in terms as explicit as could be employed, from making or sanctioning any extension, however small, of Her Majesty’s dominions in South Africa.” If such views had only prevailed at the time of the annexation of the Transvaal, and even upon other occasions, both previously and subsequently, much British blood, treasure, and reputation would, I venture to think, have been saved. This first act of abandonment was considered by every one in South Africa, both white and black, to have been, not only a mistake injurious to the colonial interests of the Empire, but certainly a confession of great weakness, unworthy of Great Britain. What she then shrank from undertaking has since been successfully accomplished by the Burghers of the Free State alone, without an organized military force: so that Moshesh was forced to sue for peace, and claim for his tribe of Basutos British protection, from utter extermination at the hands of these few thousand Boers. *Tempora mutantur!*

In fulfilment of this new policy, Sir Harry Smith was recalled, Major Warden was dismissed from the post of Administrator of the Orange River Territory, and two Commissioners, Major Hogge and Mr. C. M. Owen, were instructed to proceed to the District to inquire into matters, with full authority to act as they thought best. In the course of the inquiry they found that Moroko, chief of the Baralongs, by the agreement made by the former British Resident, had clearly been entitled to protection, as well as the Boers, who had been plundered promiscuously by all. The difficulty was, how to get compensation out of Moshesh, who had retired to his mountain fastnesses, and sent messages that he did not want to fight the British, but only desired his rights from the natives, and to

be protected from encroachments. The Commissioners, after much deliberation, considered that it would be necessary to vindicate the authority of the British; and the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir George Cathcart, agreed to march up a large force against Moshesh, so soon as he had brought to a satisfactory conclusion the Kaffir war then progressing. In the meantime, while the Commissioners remained in Bloemfontein striving to settle matters there satisfactorily, messengers came to them from Pretorius and the Boers over the Vaal, to negotiate for peace and the friendship of the British, as against the natives and the rebellious efforts of those in the Sovereignty who were trying to excite others to rise again. This was thought to be a favourable opportunity to re-establish good feeling between the Boers and the British—in which case they could despise the Blacks; wherefore the sentences of outlawry were cancelled, and a meeting was arranged; which took place near the Sand River, and resulted in a Convention being entered into on behalf of Her Majesty, allowing the Boers to the north of the Vaal to establish an independent government of their own, upon certain conditions. The Convention was approved of by the Governor and the Home Authorities, who hoped that the freedom at last granted the emigrant Boers would conduce to peace and good order among themselves, and friendship with the Imperial Government. The following is the record of the proceedings:—

“Minute of a meeting held on the farm of Mr. P. A. Venter, Sand River, on Friday, the 16th day of January, 1852, between Her Majesty’s Commissioners, Major W. S. Hogge and C. M. Owen, appointed to settle the affairs of the East and North-East boundaries of the Cape Colony, on the one part; and the following deputies of the emigrant Boers, living north of Vaal River, on the other hand—A. W. J. Pretorius, Comdt.-General; H. S. Lombard, Landdrost; H. F. Joubert, Comdt.-General; G. F. Krieger, Commandant, and twelve others.

“1. The Assistant Commissioner sguarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their

own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government; and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond, to the north of the Vaal River, with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting, or who may inhabit, that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.

“ 2. Should any misunderstanding hereafter arise as to the true meaning of the words, ‘ The Vaal River,’ this question, in so far as it regards the line from the source of that river, over the Drakensberg, shall be settled and adjusted by Commissioners chosen by both parties.

“ 3. Her Majesty’s Assistant Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River,

“ 4. It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers.

“ 5. Mutual facilities and liberty shall be afforded to traders and travellers on both sides of the Vaal River: it being understood that every waggon containing firearms, coming from the south side of the Vaal River, shall produce a certificate signed by a British magistrate, or other functionary, duly authorized to grant such, and which shall state the quantities of such articles contained in said waggon to the nearest magistrate north of the Vaal River, who shall act in the case as the regulations of the emigrant farmers direct. It is agreed that no objections shall be made by any British authority against the emigrant Boers purchasing their supplies of ammunition in any of the British colonies and possessions of South Africa; it being mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with the native tribes is prohibited, both by the British Government and the emigrant farmers on both sides of the Vaal River.

“ 6. It is agreed that, so far as possible, all criminals and other guilty parties who may fly from justice either way across the Vaal River shall be mutually delivered up, if such should

be required ; and that the British courts, as well as those of the emigrant farmers, shall be mutually open to each other for all legitimate processes, and that summonses for witnesses sent either way across the Vaal River shall be backed by the magistrates on each side of the same respectively, to compel the attendance of such witnesses when required.

“ 7. It is agreed that certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities of the emigrant farmers shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle children of such marriages to receive portions accruing to them in any British colony or possession in South Africa.

“ 8. It is agreed that any and every person now in possession of land, and residing in British territory, shall have free right and power to sell his said property, and remove unmolested across the Vaal River and *vice versa* ; it being distinctly understood that this arrangement does not comprehend criminals or debtors without providing for the payment of their just and lawful debts.”

At the end of that year, 1852, the Governor found himself in a position to move towards the Orange River Territory, in which a new Resident, Mr. Green, had been managing matters fairly well ; but he had never been able to check the constant warfare going on between the Basutos on the one hand, and the Baralongs and the Burghers on the other. Moshesh had repeatedly promised amends and restitution of cattle, but never fulfilled any of his promises. The arrival of 2,000 troops (450 cavalry, a battery of artillery, and the rest infantry) at Platberg, with the General, brought matters to a crisis. An immediate demand for 10,000 head of cattle and 1,000 horses, to be delivered to the British Resident in three days, met with no response, although Moshesh had come in on the day after the demand was made, and promised compliance. As only 3,500 were sent in on the day appointed, an advance was made in three columns on Thaba Bossigo. They found the Basutos prepared for war, and, after several blunders made by the commanders of two of the columns, they were suddenly assailed by a large force of the enemy in a difficult place, and at a critical time, and were compelled



to retire with heavy loss. The other column did little better; but they at length repulsed the enemy and bivouacked on the field, marching back next day with some captured guns and cattle to the camp at Caledon River, with the intention of resuming the war next day. That morning, however, Moshesh sent a letter under a flag of truce, asking for peace, and saying that as they had captured some cattle, he hoped they would be satisfied and give them as compensation to the Boers. The letter was written in English by a son, Nehemiah Moshesh, who had been educated at the Cape, and spoke and wrote English well. Under the then circumstances, and knowing the critical state of the whole of the country, Governor Cathcart decided to grant the terms, and make the best of a bad bargain. A proclamation was therefore issued, declaring peace with the Basutos, declining any interference in the future on the part of the Government with native affairs, and giving the Burghers full power to protect, secure and recover their property after the fashion of the colonial "commando" system. The Governor had seen enough to convince him that the Government must either abandon the Orange River Territory at once, or keep a force of 2,000 men there permanently, and organize a proper system of government. In consequence of his reports, the Home Government decided to relinquish the sovereignty at once, and sent out Sir G. R. Clerk, an eminent Indian statesman, for that purpose. On his arrival at Bloemfontein, in August 1853, he invited the inhabitants to elect delegates to meet together and arrange the basis of a Convention for their separation. This was bitterly opposed by all the English residents and a number of farmers, as well as by the Cape Colony people. Two delegates were even sent home to appeal against this decision of abandonment. This was of no avail, as even Sir G. R. Clerk's opinion was in favour of it; and at last several of the leading Burghers came forward to assist the Special Commissioner—"Not," they said, "because they regarded the British Crown with any antipathy; their discontent arose solely with the mismanagement of Her Majesty's servants." And at an assembly of the delegates at Bloemfontein on the 23rd of Feb-