

Erasmus, had now come up ; but there seemed no possibility of immediately renewing the contest. Pretorius discovered that his supplies of ammunition were running short ; that many of the burghers were discouraged and disheartened by their failure ; and that a great many more, although too much devoted to the cause of their Republic to entertain the idea of submitting to the British, were anxious to return to their homes for a time, in order to make provision for the safety of their families. Those who had come from a long distance—more especially the men from the western side of the Drakensberg and from the Zulu frontier—were apprehensive as to what might happen, now that the natives knew of the struggle between the two white nationalities and had been invited to take sides with what had become the winning Power. It was decided, therefore, to retreat inland and await developments.

Retreat of
Pretorius.

At about four o'clock, Colonel Cloete, without further opposition, marched into Captain Smith's camp, and thus raised the siege. Pretorius fell back with a small commando of burghers, and took up a position a few miles inland—near where the village of Pinetown is now. Here he formed a laager. Being then called upon by the British commander to submit to the authority of the Queen, he refused to do so—hoping still to be able to make a stand against the invading force, when reinforcements from the interior should have reached his laager.

But he was compelled to give up this idea by reason of the shamefully dishonourable means resorted

to for the purpose of extending Her Majesty's dominions. A band of Kaffirs had been got together by Ogle, King, and other Englishmen, when hostilities first commenced between Captain Smith and the Emigrants. They had been used as scouts and videttes by the British officer. These Kaffirs were now sent by Cloete to procure horses and cattle from the farms. Their instructions were to bring as many as they could capture, and to "take particular care not to *kill* any women or children."* No other restrictions were placed on the *noble savages*. No European officers were sent to superintend the work For Empire. of these marauders, who murdered Cornelis van Schalkwyk, Theunis Oosthuizen and his son, and Dirk van Rooyen. The wives and children of these men were not killed. They were stripped stark naked; in that condition, driven across the veld; and left to wander about without food. After three days of misery and suffering, they were found and rescued by Bart Pretorius, who was scouting in the neighbourhood with a small burgher patrol.

* Letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete to Andries Pretorius, dated 3rd July, 1842. But the word "kill" is here italicised so as to indicate clearly the interpretation which the Kaffirs undoubtedly put on the order which they had received.

From what follows, it will be seen that solicitude for the safety and security of women and children weighed as a heavy load of responsibility on the shoulders of the military representative of the British Crown in those days, just as in the case of a great Empire-extending Privy-Councillor-Director and his lieutenant (the Imperial Administrator) recently. We have been told that the distinguished men were, all three, actuated by high and noble motives. At any rate, the official sense of duty and responsibility found expression, then, as now—in words.

Still the order for the Kaffir marauding expeditions remained in force, and Colonel Cloete, in reply to a letter from Andries Pretorius, refused to withdraw it. "You have caused this state of things by rebelling, and you must bear the consequences." Such was the answer, word for word, of the gallant representative of England's might and England's honour to the man whose treatment of the non-combatants (women and children and wounded) on the British side had been nothing less than chivalrous and noble. The simple-minded, honest farmers had set an example in the methods of civilised warfare to mighty England, whose military commanders in the vanquished country now proved that they knew so little of such generosity of spirit as should actuate officers and gentlemen, and allowed their zeal in the cause of Empire so far to minimise the claims of humanity, that they did not hesitate to resort to unfair and dastardly means to attain their object—the establishment of the authority of their Sovereign.

CHAPTER XXVIII

HOW NATAL WAS LOST

The Cape Town Plot Succeeds—Terms of Surrender—Amnesty—The proscribed “Irreclaimable Rebels”—The Mote in the Eye of the Africander Farmer—Zulu Incursion into Natal—Flight of Mawa—Smellenkamp—The *Brazilis*—No Hollander Clergyman, Schoolmaster, or Books Admitted—Commissioner Henry Cloete—Meetings and Resolutions—An Armed Demonstration—Cloete Master of the Situation—A Mere Coincidence—More Light—Commandant Mocke—Debate and Discussion—Submission.

ONCE more the Emigrants found that an evil return was being made to them for their own good actions and magnanimity.

The little Nation of hardy pioneers was already impoverished and exhausted by the long-continued and cruel struggle against the barbaric Zulu Power. And now, with their harbour and their sea coasts in possession of a much more formidable foe—a civilised Power which carried on hostilities without strictly adhering to the rules of civilised nations; with all their supplies of ammunition cut off; threatened and coerced, not only by England's ships and cannon, and troops, but by the menace of another Zulu invasion, which, it was said, the British Commanders could no longer avert if submission to British rule were delayed or rejected, but which, as was well known, one of those Commanders had in reality invited; with their burghers actually being murdered,

and their women and children maltreated by the Kaffir scouts and marauders attached to the British army: the brave peasants could no longer stand in defence of their national existence.

Nor could the leaders find it in their hearts to ask the people for further sacrifices in the cause of liberty. The burgher riflemen formed the only defensive forces of the new fatherland. The unfair and unmanly strategy now resorted to by the British Commander made it impossible for these forces to remain in the field without exposing their homes and families to the danger of being outraged and pillaged by the Kaffir mercenaries and marauders.

Submission.

The Plot
Succeeds.

There was, therefore, no choice but submission. By such infamous means was Natal made a British Colony. The plot—of the Cape Town and London merchants, the intriguing Governor, and the scheming missionaries and Uitlanders—had been entirely successful.

Pretorius had retreated on Maritzburg and disbanded his commando, when, on the first Monday of July, 1842, the Volksraad met and began to discuss the question of submission. When it was proposed to abandon the contest, several members spoke excitedly against the proposal. J. N. Boshoff and Carel Landman, as well as Andries Pretorius himself, were convinced that the struggle could not be continued. They, and a great many other influential burghers, advised coming to terms with Cloete, in order to gain time and afterwards obtain the intervention of Holland; but many others were bitterly opposed to

all negotiations with England. There were several stormy scenes in the Volksraad. There was a lamentable amount of violent invective and recrimination, all of which made the leaders despair more than ever of being able to continue to defend the Republic.

After much wrangling and quarrelling in the Volksraad, about half the members retired from the assembly, and returned to their farms. Then, when there was a bare quorum of the Raad, it was agreed to submit to the British *on condition that the oath of allegiance should not be subscribed to*; to give up all the cannon and ammunition taken from the troops; to release all prisoners of war; and to restore all public and private property which had been seized by the orders of the Government of the Emigrants.

TERMS of
Surrender.

These terms of capitulation were subscribed to, on the 15th of July, by J. N. Boshoff, President, and eleven members of the Raad.

The British Government, through its military representative, Colonel Cloete, agreed on its part to respect all private property; to allow the Emigrant Farmers to return to their homes with their rifles as well as their horses; to protect them against any attack on the part of the Zulus; that there should be no tampering whatever with the existing ownership of land, this condition, however, to be subject to subsequent resolutions and enactments by Her Majesty's Government; that, outside the limits of the military occupation on the Bay, the existing Government should remain as it was until Her Majesty's pleasure concerning the point could be made known;

and that the Kaffirs should, in the first instance, remain in occupation of those parts of the country which they occupied when the troops landed—this condition also to be subject to such subsequent arrangements as might be found necessary in the interests of general safety and security.

With the exception of Boshoff, all the most influential men and tried leaders of the Emigrants were absent when this agreement was concluded. Of the twenty-four members of the new Volksraad, only eleven had subscribed to it; and the adjunct Raad of Winburg and Potchefstroom was not represented at all at the deliberations. It was, therefore, a question whether the treaty of submission was valid. In order to disarm further possible resistance, the British authorities at once issued a proclamation of general amnesty and free pardon for all concerned in the recent hostilities, excepting Joachim Prinsloo, A. W. Pretorius, J. J. Burger, Michiel van Breda, and Servaas van Breda. Joachim Prinsloo was one of the survivors of those who had witnessed the execution scene of Slachtersnek, and a near relative of the National leader, Hendrik Prinsloo. He had been President of the Volksraad during the war, and was one of the chief representatives of those among the Emigrants who were still bitterly opposed to submission. A. W. Pretorius was dangerous to the conquerors on account of his known skill as a military leader, and also because he, as well as J. J. Burger, the Secretary of the Volksraad, was much esteemed and respected, and possessed great influence among the Farmers. Michiel van Breda and his son

Amnesty.

The Proscribed
"Irreclaimable
Rebels."

Servaas, were members of one of the oldest Western Cape families. They had led the party of burghers who had seized the *Mazeppa* and *Pilot*, on 26th May.

In the case of Pretorius, by a subsequent proclamation—in consideration of his humane conduct towards the prisoners of war and his “general moderation,” as well as in recognition of his having used his influence to bring about peace—his name was removed from the list of the proscribed. The four others were outlawed.

Not one of these men had a stain or a blemish on his character. They were all universally esteemed and respected in Natal, as brave and honest men. Their only crime was that they had defended their country, and that they had dared to come forward as leaders of the people. They were now styled “irreclaimable rebels,” and a reward of £250 was offered for the “bringing” of each of them, “dead or alive,” to the British military authorities.

For a considerable time, although Pretorius had submitted, and Boshoff and the eleven Volksraad members acting with him had entered into the above-mentioned agreement with Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete, it remained doubtful whether, after all, hostilities would not be resumed. The English occupation was confined to the Bay and its immediate neighbourhood. At Pietermaritzburg, the Volksraad was continuing its sessions, as if the country was still an independent Republic. Indeed, the majority of the Emigrants now maintained that it was. Andries Pretorius had resigned the post of Commandant-General, and

Gerrit Rudolph had been elected in his place. There were in reality two Governments in Natal; for the authorities at Cape Town had already gone far beyond their instructions, and they had to wait for complete approval before taking further steps. That approval was obtained in the British Colonial Secretary's despatch of October, 1842. In December followed instructions for a Royal Commissioner to proceed to Natal, to investigate affairs and bring about an arrangement for the permanent tranquillity of the country.

Captain Smith, who (for his gallant defence of the British camp) had been promoted to the rank of Major, and who, on the departure of Colonel Cloete for India, had been left in command of the military forces at Port Natal, now found himself confronted by a serious difficulty on the frontiers of Zululand. The Chief, Panda, while he remained a vassal of the Republic, had never dared to permit any of those massacres and wholesale murders, among his people, which had been the order of the day in Dingaan's time all over Zululand. On the day of his accession to the chieftaincy, in the presence of all the great indunas and councillors, he had been solemnly warned and exhorted by Pretorius not even in war time to allow any women or children to be put to death (*see* p. 153). The compact entered into on the upper waters of the White Umveloosi between the Emigrants and Panda was kept to the letter, because he feared the power of the white people. This fear was, probably, the sole restraining influence which had prevented the savages

from reverting to their former barbarous and brutal atrocities. Now that the white men had been fighting against each other, the case was different. The Zulu Chief was quick to see that he need no longer fear anything—that while the power of the Emigrants was broken, that of their conquerors was by no means so firmly established as in any way to threaten the independence of Zululand. Nor were the British forces so placed as to be able to overawe the Chief, whose vanity had already been flattered by the request that had been made to him to come to their aid. In Panda's eyes, the British commanders were not all-powerful; nor had they set him an example of chivalrous adherence to the rules and usages of civilised warfare, as Pretorius had done. In fact, Captain Smith's invitation to the Zulus to invade Natal, as well as Colonel Cloete's treatment of non-combatants, were nothing less than infamous violations and inhuman disregard of the law of nations.

The kind and well-meaning philanthropists of England had sent missionaries—noble, self-denying men—to preach the Gospel of Peace and of Mercy, to Chaka and to Dingaan—without avail; for murder and massacre had gone on unchecked in Zululand. Then the Africander farmer-Commandant had spoken to the nation. On the 16th of December, 1838, he and his countrymen had punished the evil-doers; and afterwards, standing on that rock in the heart of Zululand, he had preached his sermon—just one sermon—to Panda and his assembled chieftains and captains. Murder had ceased, on the instant; and

The Mote in the
Eye of the
Africander
Farmer.

there were no more massacres. Still, the English philanthropists and merchants were not satisfied; for, all the way from London and Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, they saw and judged that the "Boer" had done very wrong when he had used his rifle to defend his own wife and child from being murdered. The wise and good men, and the calculating merchants, saw the mote in the eye of the Africander Farmer; and then they, and the good missionaries, and the scheming Governor, sent the brave soldiers of Britain to extinguish the rule of the men who were so "unenlightened and reactionary and unprogressive" as to prefer their own Republican Government to that of the Empire-extendors and the worshippers of the Golden Calf. And now, when the regiments and the force of Britain had put down and suppressed the Africander, the words of the sermon from the rock no longer echoed in the ears of the Zulu Chief. Panda, no longer kept in restraint, had large numbers of his subjects put to death. The witch-finders were active, and all those who opposed, or were thought to oppose the Chief in any of his schemes, were doomed to destruction. The wives and children of those who were murdered were not allowed to escape; and all their adherents shared their fate. One of the first and chief victims was a brother of Panda. All those in his kraal were slaughtered. Women were ripped open; children had their brains dashed out against the stones; all the nameless horrors and atrocities which had disgraced the country in Dingaan's time were

re-enacted. Once more murder and massacre were rampant in Zululand.

There was a beam in the eye of the philanthropist of England, who was indirectly responsible for all the outrages ; but he saw only the mote in the eye of the Africander frontiersman.

A chieftainess of the royal house, named Mawa, as The Flight of Mawa. well as some rulers and indunas of less importance and influence in Zululand, managed to escape with large numbers of their followers. These all made their way towards the Natal frontier. They were followed by others—in thousands, for the former sybarite of the Umveloosi now proved himself to be possessed by the same demon spirit of maniacal frenzy, by the same passion for slaying and destroying, which had been characteristic of Dingaan; and bloodshed, murder, and outrage, raged unchecked and unrestrained in every part of the Zulu country. In less than a week, some thirty thousand fugitives had crossed the Tugela; in ten days, the number had increased to fifty thousand men, women, and children. Many of the Zulus brought their flocks and herds of sheep and cattle with them into Natal. They Zulu Incursion into Natal. seized whatever pasturage and lands they wanted. They terrorised the farmers on the isolated and scattered homesteads, and drove many of the settlers into the towns for safety. The country soon became more disorganised and more disturbed than when it was at war with England.

In the treaty of submission, concluded at Pietermaritzburg, the British Government had pledged

itself to protect the Farmers against inroads or incursions by the Zulus; but the military authorities now found themselves powerless to render any assistance to the white inhabitants, who saw ruin staring them in the face.

Smellenkamp.

Early in May, 1843, the Dutch ship *Brazilië*, with *Administrateur* Smellenkamp on board, had again appeared off Port Natal. On the occasion of its previous visit, part only of its cargo had been sold to the Emigrants. Captain Reus had then returned to Batavia, and afterwards to Holland. Smellenkamp, after having been arrested at Swellendam, as related in a previous chapter, had been taken to Cape Town, and then allowed to leave for Europe by mail packet. When he arrived in Holland he had again interested himself in the cause of the Africanders, but had received no encouragement whatever from the Government. A strict neutrality proclamation had already been published at the Hague, and copies of this document had been sent to Natal and to other parts of South Africa. The Farmers, however, absolutely refused to believe that the document was genuine. Although the Government of the Netherlands was bound, by the laws of neutrality, to prevent any of its subjects from fitting out expeditions intended to carry on or in any way assist in hostilities against the British forces in Natal, it could not be expected to restrain its people from showing their sympathy with the Emigrants; and when a society, which had been started in Amsterdam, sent out a clergyman, a schoolmaster, some books, and various

articles of merchandise, no objection was raised. The vessel chosen by the authorities in Holland for the voyage was the *Brazilië*, and Smellenkamp was once The *Brazilië* more on board as supercargo and chief director.

Arrived in the harbour of Natal,* however, he was informed by the British officers that he would not be permitted to land any of his cargo without a permit from Cape Town, which, of course, he was known not to have with him. No one on board was allowed to communicate with the Emigrants at Pietermaritzburg. The young clergyman and his wife, as well as the schoolmaster, were refused permission to land. Even No Hollander, Clergyman, Schoolmaster, or Books, Admitted. the books were prohibited, and had to be taken on to Delagoa Bay in the *Brazilië*. This autocratic and unreasonable militarism was not calculated to impress the Afrianders favourably with the advantages of British rule, and was regarded as a breach of, at least, the spirit of the agreement of the treaty of submission, while the inaction of the English Commander, in face of the Zulu incursion, formed a distinct violation of the letter of that agreement, which stipulated for protection against such inroads on the part of the Kaffirs.

At Delagoa Bay, Smellenkamp and the clergyman—the Rev. Mr. Ham—and his wife landed and remained on shore, while the *Brazilië* proceeded to Batavia. The schoolmaster, Mr. Martineau, had died at sea between the ports of Durban and Lourenço Marques. At Delagoa Mrs. Ham died in childbed.

* 8th May, 1843. "Smellenkamp's Diary," published in Stuart's "Hollandsche Afrikanen."

Commissioner
Henry Cloete.

Meanwhile, the English Commissioner from Cape Town had arrived in Natal. Advocate Henry Cloete, brother of Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete, and a member of the Cape Legislative Council, had up to then been known merely as one of the leading barristers of Cape Town. He was destined to make a name for himself by guiding and directing the peaceful incorporation with the British Empire of that province which his brother had seized, but not effectually subdued. That he was able to bring about this great work of aggrandisement and Empire-extension for England, without having further recourse to the keen arbitrament of the sword, proved his skill as a diplomatist. Born under the shadow of Table Mountain, and brought up in that atmosphere of worshipful adulation of Government House which was fashionable at a time when the autocratic representatives of the British Crown in South Africa ruled with almost unlimited powers, he had afterwards been fortunate in enjoying a very liberal European education. He had studied at the University of Leiden, and also in England, and was an accomplished classical scholar, as well as a distinguished lawyer.

On the 5th of June, 1843, Commissioner Cloete arrived at Durban. On the 8th, there was a mass meeting of burghers at Pietermaritzburg, at which it was resolved, almost unanimously, that no negotiations whatever should be entered into with the English Commissioner before Smellenkamp had been communicated with at Delagoa. On the 9th, Cloete addressed a meeting of some five hundred people at

Maritzburg, speaking in favour of a settled Government under British rule, which was to bring prosperity to the country. Then one of the Farmers present—Meetings and Resolutions. Antonie Fick by name—in a loud and clear voice, read out the resolution which had been adopted at the mass meeting on the previous day. A scene of confusion and uproar followed, and the meeting broke up without passing any resolution.

C. Bodenstein, the Secretary to the Volksraad, then wrote to the Commissioner, to inform him that that Assembly had adjourned until August, when members from the adjunct-raad of Winburg and Potchefstroom would take part in the deliberations. And now large numbers of farmers and ranchmen from the other side of the Drakensberg mountains began to emerge from the passes leading to Natal. They were all well armed and mounted, and travelled in separate parties, each under its own leader. An Armed Demonstration. Commandants Jan Mocke, Greyling, Jan Kock, and J. P. Delport, were the best-known of these leaders.

It is said that Cloete ascertained that there were, in all, some ten thousand armed horsemen when they reached Pietermaritzburg. It is, however, quite impossible that there could have been so many. The communities of Potchefstroom and Winburg, with all the other smaller settlements north of the Orange river, could not then put a fighting force of more than one-tenth of that number in the field; and, besides, nearly all the Potgieter faction—by far the larger body west of the mountains—were holding aloof from the complications in Natal.

The objects of this armed demonstration seem to have been (1) to overawe the invading host of Mawa's emigrant Zulus; (2) to raise the drooping spirits of the party in favour of further armed resistance to the English; (3) to make an impression on the British Commissioner, by proving to him that the cause of the Natal Republicans had the support of their countrymen beyond Drakensberg; (4) in case of failing to save Natal from being annexed by England, to make sure of the Hinterland to the west of the mountains for the Republicans.

Cloete Master
of the Situation.

As far as Natal itself was concerned, Cloete appeared master of the situation.

By their submission on the 15th of July, 1842, J. N. Boshoff, and the Volksraad members who acted with him, had cut the ground from under the feet of the party which was in favour of upholding the Republic. The English authorities took good care to insist on the agreement which had been entered into on that date being carried out to the letter—as far as concerned the obligations which the Natalians had undertaken. As to England's obligations, one of the first and foremost of these was deliberately ignored when the Zulu incursion was allowed to go on unchecked. It was, presumably, nothing more than an interesting coincidence that this sudden influx of fifty thousand savages into the country came at the very time when it was in the interests of England to make the position of those opposed to the dominion of the British Crown as insecure as possible. There are several startling coincidences in the history of

A Mere
Coincidence.

South Africa. Certain it is that the burghers of Natal, when they indignantly protested against this violation of the terms of the agreement, were not only left helpless and unassisted, but were expressly warned by Major Smith that they would not be allowed to take steps to protect themselves by driving out the Zulus. Here, at any rate, More Light. we have to deal with more than a mere coincidence. If we remember that, before Captain Smith's raid into Natal, the Emigrants, in their letter to the Cape Town Governor, dated 21st February, 1842, had complained of emissaries visiting various native chiefs and inciting them to range themselves and their warriors on the side of the British, and to obtain for reward the flocks and herds of the farmers (*see* p. 201); if we further bear in mind such facts of history as the British officer's shameful appeal to Panda to invade Natal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete's barbarous *foraging parties* with the accompanying murders of peaceful farmers and outrages on women; then we can see more light thrown on the disgraceful means by which the British Representatives established the authority and the rule of their Sovereign.

With Mawa's hordes, in their thousands, terrorising the land, and occupying whatever tracts of country they chose to seize; with these savages not only unhindered and unchecked in their aggressive attitude, but actually encouraged by the English Commander, when he refused to allow the Farmers themselves to call out a commando to punish the intruders;—all further agricultural progress and industry at once

became impossible. In order to safeguard the lives of their families, the burghers had to remove to the towns, or to form laagers for security, in many cases submitting to the loss of their property. The Port and its revenue were in the hands of the British. The former was now closed to all commerce from abroad.

In face of the great danger of further native atrocities in case of a resumption of hostilities, the Volksraad, which met on the 7th of August, declared that they had no choice but to accept the Commissioner's conditions.

But this resolution was not arrived at without considerable discussion and violent argument between the different parties and factions. Pretorius, Landman, Prinsloo, Burger, and many others, had taken no part in the deliberations in July, 1842; but it was quite well known that most of them now despaired of success, in case the struggle had to be resumed immediately. Not so the leaders from the other side of the mountains. The most determined of these was Commandant Mocke. With some hundreds of his adherents, he came forward, and demanded that a new Volksraad of thirty-six members should be chosen to represent all the Emigrants. Those already elected for Natal would not agree to this, and they carried the day. It was then ascertained that Cloete would not regard the agreement of submission already entered into, and now to be further defined and ratified, as applying to any part of the country west of Drakensberg. Thereupon all those from the other side

Commandant
Mocke.

of the mountains withdrew from the deliberations, and it was decided by the Volksraad of Natal to bow to the inevitable and accept the conditions of surrender laid down by the British Commissioner. But this was done only after long continued debate and discussion, and after every possible attempt to obtain better conditions. The Volksraad first proposed that England should take a strip of coast territory only, and that the rest of Natal should be allowed to remain an independent Republic. Cloete replied that he had no authority to accept anything short of complete surrender. Then the civil equality of Black and White inhabitants, on which principle the British Commissioner stated that he had instructions to insist as a *sine qua non* of the new order of things to be inaugurated by English rule, was objected to by the Farmer assembly. But the objection was without avail.*

* See Appendix: "England's Native Policy, Past and Present, in South Africa."

CHAPTER XXIX

ONCE MORE ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS TO LIBERTY OR DEATH

A BRIGHT RAINBOW IN THE BLACK CLOUDS

Conditions laid down by Cloete—Futility of Further Resistance—Petition and Deputation of the Women of Maritzburg—The Face of the Cards—Ownership of Landed Property—The Crown Lands obtained—Demands of the Volksraad—Autonomy not Granted—Subjects in Place of Citizens—Recommendations of the Volksraad ignored—Annexation of Natal to Cape Colony—Treaty with Panda—The Proscribed Leaders—Pardon for Pretorius—Death of Prinsloo and Michiel van Breda—Arrest of Wife and Daughters of the Latter—Servaas van Breda Pardoned—Volksraad Abolished—Natal overrun by Zulu Refugees—The Locations—Ruin of the Farmers—Once more through the Mountain Passes—Lost.

THE other conditions laid down by Commissioner Cloete for the acceptance of the Volksraad (besides that of complete civil equality for Black and White) were the following :

That there should be equal rights for all religions and all creeds ; that slavery or any modification of it should be prohibited ; that no association of men, nor any individuals, should be allowed to molest or attack the natives beyond the borders.

Other
Conditions of
Surrender.

To all these conditions the Volksraad readily assented. The two last-named were principles already acknowledged and provided for by the Grondwet or elementary Constitutional Law of the Republic. To

say, as Anti-Africander writers say, that the British Government, when it annexed Natal, put a stop to slavery, is untrue. Had it been a fact that slavery existed in Natal, then, surely, the British Government, after the annexation, would have proceeded to take steps to liberate the slaves. That there is no record of such measures on the part of the new rulers proves that there were no slaves to set free.

If the system of apprenticeship as it existed in the Republic—although to a much more limited extent than in the Cape Colony—is to be called a modified form of slavery, and brought into court against the “Boer,” then the British Government itself stands condemned; for its officials had introduced the system, long before the Natal Republic came into existence.

As to the wars which the Republic had had to carry on against the natives, these cannot, with fairness and justice, be called wars of aggression; for they were hostilities which had been forced on the burghers. The Zulu war was a struggle for national existence. The campaign against Ncapayi was an expedition to protect the frontiers of the State from robber incursions and raids.

On the evening of 8th August, the Volksraad agreed to accept all the conditions proposed by the British Commissioner, including that of civil equality for Black and White. There had been a good deal of discussion before an understanding could be arrived at on this point; but discussion was quite useless; for the Commissioner stated that he had no authority

Futility of
further
Resistance.

to make any alteration whatever in the conditions which he had laid before the Volksraad for acceptance. Even the party most determined not to submit to British rule now saw the hopelessness of any further attempts at armed resistance. They had already made up their minds to seek a new home beyond the mountains of the Drakensberg range. As on a former occasion, the women again showed their attachment to the Republic, and to the cause of independent nationality. They sent a deputation to the British Commissioner. He received them in the Landdrost Court at Pietermaritzburg, where he listened patiently to a pathetic recital of the people's grievances and of the reasons why they could never submit to be ruled by England.

It was the wife of the aged missionary chaplain, Erasmus Smit, who spoke. The hardships and sufferings which the Emigrants had already undergone were eloquently described. Their poverty and distress were only referred to in order to emphasise their determination to remain true to the cause of the Republic. They could not give up the ideals and the aspirations of the heroes—men, women, and children—who had fallen in the great struggle for freedom.

The Women of
Pietermaritz-
burg.

“You have invaded our country. You have seized our harbour. You have allowed the Kaffirs to overwhelm us. You have suppressed our flag and ruined our land. We are footsore and weary with wandering and suffering; but we shall march once more across those mountains to liberty or death.”

Her voice was feeble; but her words may yet some day make a grand refrain for the hymn of liberty of the Federal United South African Republic. She clearly saw what was coming—she predicted the future.

While the twenty-four simple farmers, who were then the remaining members of the Volksraad—the twelve representatives of the *Overberg* or Trans-Drakensberg country had retired from the assembly—deluding themselves with the vain hope that the existing institutions, the official language, the rights to property, etc., would remain under British rule as they had been under the Republic and as they had been guaranteed by the British officers on the occasion of the first agreement of capitulation, finally signed away the independence of their little State, the people, “without seeing the face of the cards,” as Motley says of some of their ancestors, “suspected the real truth.”

“The Face of the Cards.”

Troops and artillery had already been moved to Maritzburg; and then, when all was ready, it was made known that the British Government would only acknowledge titles to landed property where it could be claimed and proved that the ground had been in actual occupation by the claimant for a full year previous to the arrival of Commissioner Cloete in Natal. As during part of that time the burghers had been in the field against the British, and during the remainder encamped in laagers to guard against attacks from Panda's Zulus, who were then overrunning the country by permission of the British, such proof was entirely impossible in the case of more

than three-fourths of all the farms in Natal. Thus, the British mode of determining ownership amounted to confiscation of nearly all the property that was left to the unfortunate inhabitants. That this high-handed procedure would have such an effect was quite well known to the British Commissioner and the officials who acted with him; for their Government had itself been instrumental in bringing about the conditions which made it impossible to produce the very proofs which were now asked for. It is hardly necessary to add that this confiscation was a distinct violation of the agreement of 15th July, 1842, by which England had solemnly bound herself not to interfere with the rights to property.

Ownership of
Landed
Property.

Thus did the British Government obtain the Crown lands of the Colony of Natal.

The Crown
Lands Obtained.

But, before the seizure could become an accomplished fact, the Volksraad had to be got rid of. The British Commissioner had requested that assembly to make known the wishes of the inhabitants of Natal as to the future form of government. This was done in the Volksraad's letter to him, dated 4th September, 1843.

That the country should retain representative Government and corresponding institutions—a Legislative Council chosen by the burghers (with the right of veto to the Governor), Landdrosts or Magistrates elected by the people, and Heemraden or Councillors chosen and appointed by the Governor out of a certain number nominated and elected by the burghers—a Court of Appeal and Circuit Courts; that there should be equality for all religious denominations and creeds

and no State church ; that education should be fostered and provided for by the legislature ; that trade and commerce with all nations should be allowed, but that the sale of firearms to the Kaffirs and other natives should be prohibited ; that the English and Dutch languages should have equal rights in the courts of law, English being acknowledged as the official tongue in districts where the majority of the inhabitants were British, and Dutch receiving the same recognition where the opposite condition of affairs existed, *i.e.*, in districts where those of Dutch-Africander descent were in the majority.

Such were the principal recommendations made to the British Commissioner by the Volksraad. There was nothing in these requests which in any way threatened British supremacy or interfered with British rule in the new Colony. All officials other than the Landdrosts and Heemraden were to be appointed by the Governor, and not elected by the people. Even the Heemraden were to be elected by the Crown from among a certain number of candidates nominated by the electorate. Under the circumstances in which the country was then placed, nothing could be more fair or more moderate than these demands made by the Volksraad in the name of the inhabitants of Natal. Large numbers of the Emigrants had already left the country, recrossing the mountains in order to be once more in a position to maintain their Republic, the cause of which they regarded as lost in all that region which lay east of the Drakensbergen. Others, however, were ready to remain in Natal and become

Demands of the
Volksraad.

British subjects, on condition that they were fairly treated.

In order to conciliate these, the British authorities might have granted the scheme of limited self-government which the Volksraad recommended. Such a policy of conciliation would have gone far to prove that the new rulers of the country were making an honest attempt to keep faith with the people, in interfering as little as possible with the existing laws and institutions, and in acknowledging and granting such a measure of autonomy as would, to some extent, satisfy the popular aspirations, and yet, at the same time, be quite compatible with allegiance to the British Crown. It was not to be expected that men who had dared and endured as much as had these brave Afrianders, since they left the frontiers of Cape Colony behind them in order to found their own State and raise aloft their own flag, would be contented to give up not only their nationality, but likewise every vestige of the free political institutions and of the popular representative government which they cherished, and to place themselves once more under British rule as it then existed at the Cape—an unlimited, or, at most, only a slightly limited, despotism.

But, the distinguished Peninsular and Waterloo veteran who was then Governor at Cape Town was more concerned with making British subjects of the Emigrants than with conciliating and persuading them to become citizens of the Empire.

Great Britain, it was said, was the Paramount Power. Republicans were not wanted; but their

farms were—for Crown lands. The report and recommendations of the Volksraad were, therefore, simply ignored. It was then announced that Natal should have no representative government whatever; that its laws should be made by the Governor and Council of Cape Colony; and that its territory should be annexed to that of the Cape. This was in May, 1844.

Recommendations of the Volksraad ignored.

Annexation to Cape Colony.

Meanwhile, the British Commissioner had proceeded to Panda's country, to conclude a treaty with that Chief, and to inform him that he would be required to cede to Great Britain the harbour of St. Lucia Bay and the triangular-shaped area of Zululand lying between the Upper Tugela, the Buffalo River, and the Drakensberg. This territory was to be added to the new Colony of Natal. The Zulu King, making a virtue of necessity, agreed to this territorial rearrangement; but it seems open to doubt whether, even at the present day, England's title-deeds to the country and the harbour thus ceded are valid. Panda had been made Ruler of Zululand by an agreement entered into between the leaders of the Emigrants and all the Chiefs of the Zulu nation, and had acknowledged himself a vassal of the Africander State. His country was a separate subject State of the Republic of Natal. The Volksraad, in surrendering Natal, had not ceded Zululand, any more than it had given up the country to the west of the Drakensberg; and, even had it so disposed of the territory to the north of the Tugela, the consent of the Volksraad of Winburg and Potchefstroom would still have been necessary before England could lawfully take

Treaty with Panda.

possession of any Zulu territory. But the English authorities in South Africa deemed it necessary to extend the Empire by fresh annexations, and thus to prevent the Republicans from attempting in future to obtain a harbour of their own. The Home Government approved.

The Proscribed
Leaders.
Pardon for
Pretorius.

Major Smith and the military officers were now in possession of Pietermaritzburg. The arbitrary sentence of outlawry on Andries Pretorius had been rescinded; but Prinsloo, Burger, and the Van Bredas, had not been so fortunate as to obtain pardon. In spite of the sums of money which the British Government had offered to any who would undertake to apprehend or "*bring*" them, they had remained scatheless and uninjured at or near Maritzburg from the 11th of August, 1842, when the outlawry proclamation was issued, until the end of the following year, when parties of soldiers were employed to search for them. In 1844, Joachim Prinsloo, having succeeded in reaching Delagoa Bay and communicating with Smellenkamp, was returning to Natal, when he died of malarial fever. Burger had by that time crossed the Drakensberg mountains, and was in safety. Servaas and Michiel van Breda, after having been for some time concealed by their friends at Pietermaritzburg, had also got away overland to Delagoa Bay. There a rumour reached them that they had been pardoned. Returning to Natal, however, they, when on the frontier, received a message from their friends informing them that the British Government had refused to grant them an amnesty. Once more they

Death of
Prinsloo and
Breda.

retraced their steps through Zululand and through the fever swamps of Lourenço Marques. Struck down in their camp in the forest by the deadly fever, Michiel van Breda closed his eyes in death, after having received the tidings that the English Government, not satisfied with hunting him to death, had had his wife and daughters arrested at Pietermaritzburg and taken as prisoners to Cape Town. Thus, even these helpless women, on whom the heavy hand of adversity and misfortune was already pressing with much severity, were made to feel the displeasure and the bitter resentment of the same Paramount Power whose officials at a later date—in 1880-1—showed their consistent adherence to the old policy of not sparing the defenceless relatives of "*irreclaimable rebels*" by imprisoning, in the vermin-crowded cells of the common gaol at Pretoria, three ladies whose only crime was that the husbands of two and the father of the third were prominent men on the Republican side.

Arrest of Wife
and Daughters
of Michiel van
Breda.

The young Servaas van Breda, having placed in the earth the mortal remains of his brave father, once more travelled overland to Natal—as Trichard had done before him. One or two faithful Kaffirs accompanied him to Pietermaritzburg, where public opinion and sympathy were now so strongly in his favour that the British Government deemed it wise to leave him unmolested.

Servaas van
Breda Pardoned.

The majority of the Volksraad which was elected in August, 1844, taking the view that the English officials had broken the agreement entered into in

July, 1842, refused to subscribe to the oath of allegiance to the Queen. The British military commander, Major Smith, at once dismissed the newly-elected legislature, and again called together the members of the old Volksraad; but they, also, refused to agree to the high-handed proceedings of the Administrator, who thereupon found it most convenient to do without the Volksraad altogether.

The Volksraad
Abolished.

Natal overrun
by Zulu
Refugees.

Zulus in large numbers were now swarming all over Natal, and more were coming from Panda's country. All these immigrants were great thieves, and so many complaints came from the Farmers in the outlying country districts, that the British officers, though still refusing to allow burgher commandoes to be formed for the purpose of repelling the Kaffir invasion, agreed that something should be done to render life and property again secure among the white population. Recourse was therefore had to the plan of forming Zulu Locations in different parts of Natal. Of course, this was a departure from the principle of civil equality for Black and White. The black man could no longer go and roam about where he liked. The policy of restricting and curtailing the Kaffir's range of free movement, when attempted by the Republic of Natal, had been so severely censured and condemned by the Cape Governor and the British Secretary of State in the name of the philanthropists of England, that its adoption by the officials as soon as Natal had become a British colony was, to say the least, very inconsistent. But that was a small matter.

The Locations.

The way in which the Location system was worked and utilised to still further injure and ruin the Farmer ^{Ruin of the Farmers.} was nothing less than scandalous. By the arbitrary edict as to the method of determining the ownership of farms a great part of the lands which the Africanders regarded as their lawful property already stood confiscated to the Crown, which had seized on the sovereignty of the country; and now the remaining farms, those with indisputable title-deeds according to the new English law, were made worthless to the owners by having many relatively small native Locations placed adjacent to them. Wedged in among the different Africander estates all over that part of the country where the Farmers had established themselves, these numerous Kaffir kraals and squatting grounds for marauders and robbers at once brought about such a reduction in the value of land, that the remedy was almost worse than the disease.

Even those among the Farmers, who, had they been fairly treated, would have been content to remain in Natal under British rule, now made up their minds to join the ranks of those who were looking for a new home and a new Republic on the other side of the Drakensberg range.

With nests of cattle-thieves constantly located on the frontiers of most of the grazing grounds, successful cattle-grazing and stock-farming became impossible. Away, then, from England's Government and from the Kaffirs. "Across the mountains: to liberty or death!"

The cause of the Republic in Natal was lost; but

those who had fallen in the struggle had not died in vain. The flag of the fathers would float over other lands; the spirit of nationality would not perish.

Once More
Through the
Mountain
Passes.

Once more through the mountain passes of the Drakensberg trudged the pilgrims—old and feeble men, young and stalwart burghers and yeomen, brave women, and little children. Westward lay their route.

At sunrise the women had wept when they looked back from the mountain slopes on that fair land where they had left their homes, and where so many of the loved ones lay buried. At eventide, by the camp fire, among the silent mountain peaks, they sang their hymns of hope, and trust, and faith in God. When the dark clouds and the mists rolled over the crags down the ravine, and the drenching showers descended in torrents, the old men pointed towards the rainbow in the western sky, and the children admired the bright colours;—red, white, blue, and green, they seemed.

The wanderers were often hungry, weary, and faint. The weakly and feeble ones among them, the little children, and some of the aged Voortrekkers, suffered much from the privations which they had to endure. The heat was at times excessive during the day, and the nights were bitterly cold among the mountains. Worn out with hardship, and toil, and battle, and sickness, and distress; their own beloved land, for which they had suffered and bled, in the grasp of that Power which they now regarded as the

oppressor and the spoiler; homeless outcasts, in misery and poverty; with barren rocks and inhospitable crags around, and the wilds of the wilderness in front of them: the pilgrims did not yet lose heart.

The White Man's Republic was not dead.

The Cause was not lost.

There was a rainbow in the clouds.

Onward went the wanderers. Beyond the mountains, their countrymen awaited their coming.

Though Natal was lost, the flag of the Africander ^{Lost?} would still wave over the country north of the Orange river; and beyond the Vaal, onwards to the great Limpopo, the banner of the Voortrekkers would hold its own against fraud and force. The sons of those who had suffered and died for the cause of liberty would know how to defend the great heritage entrusted to their care by the martyrs of Weenen and Umkungunhlovu.

“For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding Sire to Son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.”

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ENGLAND'S NATIVE POLICY, PAST AND PRESENT, IN SOUTH AFRICA

EQUALITY FOR BLACK AND WHITE ON AFRICAN SOIL

Civil Equality for Black and White—British Rule—The Case of the Bushman—The Hottentot—Historical Review—Philanthropic Legislation—Effects—Barbarous Punishments—Extermination of the Hottentots—The Case of the Kaffir Nations—British Native Policy of To-day—Christianity and Civilisation in Mashonaland—The Mashona's Prayer—England's Armenis in Zambesia.

To such an extent was the policy of England in South Africa, in the early forties, guided and directed by the group of ill-informed philanthropists afterwards known as the Aborigines Protection Society, that what were presumed to be the interests of the Natives were everywhere placed first and foremost. It often happened that these imaginary interests clashed with those of the white community, but the wiseacres of Exeter Hall and Downing Street never wasted any sympathy on White people. To them Africa was, and had to remain, a Black man's country. The whites were there on sufferance, and had no such claim on official consideration as to be allowed to resort to measures for their own defence and protection by territorial rearrangement or alteration of boundary lines, to safeguard the frontier settlements from being swamped and destroyed by the hordes of savagery. The Glenelg Despatch, and numerous other

State papers, are there to prove that this is no exaggerated statement.

In the British Isles, it has taken centuries of constitutional struggle and of reform to bring about such changes as Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary representation for the Jewish race. Even at the present day, there is no such thing as complete civil equality in England; for the eldest son of the nobleman is born to the privileges of a legislator, whether he has the qualifications for the position or not. But in England the political situation is simplicity itself to what it is in a country where there are different races in occupation of the soil. Is the Africander unjust in his criticism, or does he want to know too much, when he asks what length of time it took the English conquerors to grant complete civil equality to Ireland, where even now, in these glorious Jubilee days of Imperialism, the condition of thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants is infinitely worse than that of many Kaffir tribes who are supposed to be groaning under "Boer" tyranny?

In South Africa, with its complex problems of different races and distinct nationalities, English statesmen and English writers have ever presumed to apply a different criterion to that which, judging from the history of Europe, one might suppose to be a just and a fair one; and so in Natal, as in the Cape Colony, the idea of civil equality of Black and White was insisted on by the British authorities.

Now, the Oriental element in the nature of the Kaffir renders him quite unable to understand this

principle of equality without, at the same time, doing violence to our commonly accepted ideas of right and wrong. Among barbarous warrior nations such acts of robbery and theft as, *e.g.*, cattle-lifting, are looked upon as accomplishments, and not as crimes. Fear of punishment by some power able to inflict it becomes the only restraining influence at work to prevent these enterprises. To the Kaffir all power and authority is centred in the Chief; and every White man is a Chief in the eyes of the savage. But where he himself is placed on an equality with White men, there is to his mind an end to all authority and all power, and then he no longer fears punishment. The result is that the white settler and colonist is harassed and annoyed, and that life is made intolerable to him by lawless vagrants and robbers, who prevent all progress and banish all prosperity from the community. This was the history of Natal from the time when it became a British possession until the English Colonists set them- British Rule. selves to undo—and to some extent succeeded in undoing—the evils which stupid and ill-advised legislation by the Home Government had created for them. The case of the ruined and depopulated eastern districts of the Cape Colony has been fully referred to in previous pages as another glaring example of the harm that had been done to South Africa by British rule. To the White man that rule meant the ignoring of his rights, the denial of his claims to justice and fair treatment. Did it really protect the true interests of the Natives? Were the philanthropists of England able to show, as the result of

their policy, that they had done some actual good to the natives whom they affected to serve, to benefit, and to protect? It is quite certain that those whose party then formed the Government of England had, before 1844, done some of the aborigines of South Africa much injury, and caused them much suffering.

Now, to prove this assertion by putting before the reader some absolutely undisputed facts in the history of two out of the three great groups of native races in the country. Let us consider what happened to the Bushmen and to the Hottentots during the first half century of the British "*Paramountcy*."

The power of the missionary philanthropist-politician of those days was similar to that of the financier Empire-extender of to-day. In territories even beyond the dominions of the British Crown—in lands where England had *no claim whatever* to exercise any authority or any rights of government, the missionary could arrange with the chiefs for the carrying out of whatever political programmes he had in view.

North of the Orange river, before the Emigrant Farmers came there, the plains had been inhabited by the Bushman nation. The name Philippolis still commemorates the sweeping results of one of the schemes of that great Apostle of the Philanthropists, the Rev. Dr. J. Philip. The region surrounding the town (which was then a mission station) was, in 1826 (*see* p. 181, vol. i.), given by him to the Griqua chief Adam Kok. The Griquas were half-breed Hottentots, and Dr. Philip had a theory that the Bushmen were Hottentots

who had become stunted in growth, deteriorated in physique, impoverished as regards worldly goods, and savage in habits, through ill-treatment by white people!! So the Griquas were placed at Philippolis to shield and protect the Bushmen. The result was the almost complete extermination and extinction of the latter. On Sundays Adam Kok and his robber clan sang hymns and psalms at the mission station; and inflated their souls with self-righteousness and their stomachs with the vile brandy supplied by itinerant representatives of the Cape Town and Port Elizabeth merchants, who likewise supplied them with guns and ammunition. On week days, the guns were loaded. The unfortunate Bushmen found on the plains were shot down without mercy. Others were dragged out of their hiding-places, and—bound, hand and foot—had their throats cut like sheep, or were roasted alive over slow fires.*

The Case of the Bushman.

The murderers knew that their captain had had presented to him from London and Cape Town (under the government of Lord Charles Somerset) a large coin-medal, with an engraving and an inscription on it—the former representing a Farmer-

* "It was hoped that the Griquas would protect the Bushmen of this missionary station, but soon after the settlement there was not a single Bushman to be found. They were chased and shot down like wild animals by the tribe of Kok, and their lands and water fountains were taken possession of by the Griquas. . . . In 1830, it was proved before Mr Melvill (representative of the Colonial Government) that these same Griquas exterminated two large Bushman kraals, and that these massacres were characterised by an unparalleled degree of inhuman cruelty." (Sir Andries Stockenstrom: *Report on the State of the Griquas*, September, 1839. Dutch text in Hofstede's "Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat.")

George-like individual shaking hands with a naked Hottentot (or, to speak more accurately, a savage with bare legs, and with a skin kaross thrown over his shoulders), and the inscription running: "We are all brothers." (*See* plate in Dr. Matthews' "Ingwadi Yami.") As they had been thus officially declared to be the equals and brothers of the white men, Adam Kok and his people presumably intended to signalise their attainment to equality, and to express their sense of security from punishment by a higher authority. The ferocious deeds referred to were the result. The London Missionary Society and its agents knew of the massacres, for the facts were proved by official declarations and reports. They did nothing whatever to put a stop to the outrages—to this deliberate extinction of the remnants of a nation. The abused, reviled, and calumniated Africander-farmer—the despised "Boer"—when he appeared on the scene, stayed the blood-stained hand of the murderer, and saved the remnant of the Bushman race from further persecution and destruction. And what thanks did he get from humane and justice-loving England for his work of mercy?

Her missionary and philanthropic societies carried on the campaign against him with more virulence than ever. Writers, who either knew nothing whatever about the subject, or who were guilty of deliberate and intentional untruth, informed the European public that the "Boers," and not the Griqua protégés of the London Missionary Society, had massacred the Bushmen,

To crown all, the Government of England itself, at a later date (in 1845)—after having actually entered into a treaty with the chief of the robber gang of Griquas, agreeing to pay him a subsidy of £100 a year and to supply him with arms and ammunition—openly took the side of the savages and murderers against the Emigrant-Farmers, and marched troops into the country to uphold the authority of the son and namesake of that precious scoundrel and ruffian—the exterminator of the Bushmen—Adam Kok.

So much for what the British philanthropists did for the Bushmen.

Let us next consider the case of the Hottentot. The Hottentot. Did the doctrine of civil equality for Black and White—as insisted on by the British Government, and as finally placed on the statute book in that much-vaunted so-called South African Magna Charta, the 50th Ordinance of 1828—do him much good? Has he been improved, benefited, and protected?

In 1823, the total population of the Cape Colony Historical Review. was somewhat over 110,000. Of those, some 30,000, or thereabouts, were Hottentots. These received more than the regulation doses of missionary teaching. They were taught to spell (and in some cases the teachers succeeded in getting them to read), to write, sing hymns, etc. They looked upon all these accomplishments as marks of a superior civilisation, certainly; but they would seldom set themselves to any task that required continued effort or perseverance, unless they were constantly supervised and watched. True children of the Sun, they had an inexhaustible

Philanthropic
Legislation.

fund of droll humour ever at command, hated looking at the serious side of things, and yet were often seen with an extremely sad expression on their countenances. The fact is, most of them were in their proper senses only for occasional brief intervals. They were nearly always under the influence of strong drink, the sale of which the Government did not sufficiently restrict. Conscious of their own degradation and debasement, they laughed at the very idea of any of their nation being able to exist without being under authority and under restraint,—not to mention being considered the equals of white men. They were all supposed to be Christians. A law had been passed, therefore, by which all chieftainship among them was abolished, and they were all placed under direct European rule. At the same time, a vagrancy law was put in force, to prevent them from wandering about and getting into too much mischief. This was in 1809, during the administration of the Earl of Caledon (*see* p. 109, vol. i.) In 1812, Sir John Cradock introduced a law providing for the apprenticing of Hottentot children. These enactments had a salutary effect in arresting and preventing the further debasement and destruction of the race. But the English philanthropists raised such an outcry against the “veiled slavery” and the “cruelty” which they pretended to see in such measures, that the laws were all repealed, in 1828, by the publication of what became known as the 50th Ordinance, which stipulated that Hottentots and other free natives should no longer require passes and be subject to the provisions of the Vagrancy Act; that

Hottentot children could not be apprenticed for service; and that all the Hottentot tribes, who were now subject to European laws, should be placed politically on an equality with the white people.

As regards its effects on a nation situated as the ^{Effects.} Hottentots then were, no more cruel — no more unjust—law than this could have been devised. The most accursed despotism could have invented no more ingenious measure for destroying the helpless and the weak than this very 50th Ordinance—the crowning achievement of the philanthropists. The Hottentots were savages who had become acquainted with European vices before being placed under European laws. The vices, especially that of drunkenness, had completely overmastered their weak natures — had already, in effect, become part of their natures. Plainly, the law as ordinarily applied was not enough for their case. To allow them to go about unrestrained, unwatched, and unchecked by any additional safeguard other than the reserve force of the ordinary machinery of the law when set in motion—which reserve force could only act by way of punishment, and not as prophylactic—was not merely unfair: it ^{Barbarous Punishments.} was barbarous. It was like permitting the maniac or the confirmed white drunkard to go about without restraint, and then punishing him when he transgressed the law.

The Earl of Caledon's and Sir John Cradock's laws were wise, humane, and beneficial enactments for protecting the Hottentots against themselves. Those laws did more good to the unfortunate people than all

the mission stations and psalm-singing institutions put together; and undoubtedly they should have been strengthened instead of abolished. But the silly philanthropists and Boer-haters thought otherwise; and, as they alone had the ear of the Government of England, the unfortunate Hottentots were doomed to destruction.

There were, as stated, some 30,000 Hottentots left in the Cape Colony in 1823. It was in 1828 that the so-called 50th Ordinance became law. Were these people benefited in any way by the Government of England as manifested in philanthropic legislation? From the official point of view, they were now the equals of the white people. They could go where they liked, without let or hindrance. They were not obliged to work. They could at all times choose their own masters, and suit their own tastes. They did. To them Christianity and civilisation meant drinking Cape brandy until they became besotted, sleeping off the fumes, and then recuperating themselves at the nearest mission station by hymn-singing and sheep-stealing. Punishment would follow—sometimes, when the delinquents were caught, which was often not an easy matter. Occasionally it was noticed that the culprits rather liked the punishment—imprisonment—and would commit some crime, with apparently no other object in view than that they might be locked up in gaol. This statement may seem hardly credible, but is, nevertheless, absolutely correct. The reason commonly given in explanation of this strange taste is that they found themselves fairly well housed

and fed in the prisons. But the prisons of the Cape Colony have the reputation of being by no means oriental palaces of delight and luxury, even at the present day.

Is it not just as likely that the vagrant Hottentots were attacked by these occasional fits of what has somewhat facetiously been termed *nostalgia*, because there dwelt in their own minds the inward conviction that restraint was good for them, and that they ought to be protected against their own weakness?

But, the *philanthropic* British Government was not consistent in its action and in the carrying out of the details of its so-called *humane* policy. Had it been so, it would not have resorted as frequently as it did to the punishment of flogging in its prisons in the Cape Colony. Had the crime-preventive measures, which were recommended and brought into enactment by the two able and experienced administrators mentioned, been kept in force, amplified, and strengthened, instead of abolished, then the floggings would not have been necessary quite as often. But when there were no longer any legislative restrictions on vagrancy and laziness; when Government and law were no longer doing their duty in supervising, guarding, and safeguarding the best interests of the weak-minded, more than half-demented, dying nation; when the free sale of vile, poisonous spirit by canteens and traders was allowed to go on unchecked, for the mere sake of the revenue which this nefarious traffic brought in: then punishments and penalties became more frequent, because there was more crime. In spite of evidence

to the contrary all over the world, the British Government in South Africa had assumed and taken it for granted that what was in reality an inferior race could be sufficiently protected and shielded from complete deterioration—and from extinction—by merely the ordinary application of the law. It obstinately refused to believe that in the struggle for existence between nations and races, as between individuals, the weakest goes to the wall; it had further been guilty of neglecting its duty as a Government, in refusing to protect the weak race; it had failed or refused to see that civil equality for such a race meant destruction. Only the vices of civilisation were attractive to the savages. As crime increased among them, and imprisonment was found not to be a sufficient deterrent, the penalty of flogging came to be resorted to more and more frequently. The philanthropists failed to perceive that they were acting barbarously as well as unjustly. They were punishing the irresponsible; for, under the circumstances, and largely owing to the action of the same British rulers who were posing before the world as a most humane and a most just Government, the Hottentot could not be otherwise than a criminal. There was nothing left in the law of the land to make him apply himself to industry and work; to keep him from laziness, vagrancy, and evil; to save him from utter ruin, body and soul. While the Government had either wilfully or carelessly ignored the palpable fact that it would still take, perhaps, some centuries before this nation could—by education suited to their wants, and by constant

supervision and restraint from evil—be brought to such a level of intelligence as to benefit at all from civil liberties, the missionaries, taken as a body, were absolutely doing harm instead of good among the Hottentots. Let us say—the missionaries, taken as a body; for there were honourable and notable exceptions. First and foremost among these, the *Moravian Brothers* must be mentioned. They taught the natives thrift and industry. They did not encourage the equality idea. On the contrary, they made it part of their system of teaching to send the Hottentots out for service among the farmers; and they insisted on obedience and orderly conduct in and around their mission station at Genadendal, among the Baviaanskloof mountains to the south of Worcester. They had authority to “expel unruly persons from the place, and maintained strict discipline among the Hottentots; but it was the kind of discipline that parents enforce upon children, tempered by love and interest in their welfare” (THEAL). Extermination of the Hottentots.

Had the rulers of the land been half as intelligent and sensible as these humble German missionaries, then civilisation and Christianity would have been a blessing, and not a curse—as, if we have any regard for historical truth, we must admit that they were—to the Hottentots.

The agents of the London Society, and most of the other missionaries in South Africa, continued, as they had done previous to 1828, to emphasise the civil equality of Black and White men, and spent more of their time in preaching politics and reviling the