was not far distant, might perhaps have been glad to avoid bringing matters to an issue during that time; but when he found Frere resolved to deal with the impending danger at once, he not only consented but insisted on appending his signature to the Ultimatum. This was a great satisfaction to Frere, who, provided the right thing was done, concerned himself little about his own share in the credit of it.

require some management and careful attention on our part for some time.

"The abolition as proposed by the High Commissioner of the rule of compulsory celibacy, and of the system of centralized regiments, will go far towards attaining the object. The whole regimental system in fact must be broken up, and the abolition of the great military kraals must also be an essential condition" (C. 2222, p. 187).

And again, in a Memorandum of December 16, 1878, he concludes as follows:—

"The extension of British responsibility caused by the annexation of the Transvaal and the greatly changed position which we consequently occupy in South Africa, obliges that our future relations with the Zulu King should be placed on a more definite footing than has hitherto been thought necessary. The time has come for doing this, and the time has come, it is also considered, for dealing with the disregard that has hitherto been shown by the King for the promises made by him to us at his coronation, and which were formally proclaimed by the representative of the Natal Government to the Zulu nation, and for exacting the due performance of them in future. These promises provide for the greater security of human life in the Zulu country, and they were conditions laid down by us and accepted by the King in return for the countenance given to him by the Government in taking part in his installation.

"The High Commissioner has judged it to be necessary, for reasons of the greatest moment to the welfare of this portion of South Africa, to place the condition of affairs in the Zulu country, and our relations with the Zulu King and people, on a more satisfactory basis than that on which they now are; and I entirely concur in his Excellency's decision on this point, as also in the conditions which he has laid down, and which have been communicated to the Zulu King, and which are conditions for the better government of the Zulu people and for their great advantage, and conditions also which it may be said are indispensable for securing peace in this part of South Africa" (C. 2242, p. 16).

About the Ultimatum Frere writes to Sir M. Hicks-Beach:—

"December 8, 1878.

"I send you officially much more than you will care to read about the terms to be imposed. The papers might have been much shorter, but I wished to carry Sir H. Bulwer with me in every step. He is most scrupulously just, and as a trained Diplomatist, requires every step to be proved, is mistrustful of all but official sources of information, and though he estimates pretty fairly such public opinion as exists here, he is naturally somewhat influenced by local views. Altogether I have felt that great weight was due to his approval of each step, and though the process was often tedious and somewhat laborious, the final result, when he agreed, was well worth the trouble.

"But the principal difficulty has been the great divergence of views here and in the Transvaal. There seems little healthy or well-formed public opinion in either province, and from the way native questions have been treated here for twenty years past as sacred mysteries, not to be revealed to vulgar eyes, there is less sound opinion and sound public interest than there ought to be. In Natal what the Transvaal desires is sure to be wrong. . . .

"Such public opinion as exists in the Transvaal seems much simpler and less divided. With the Boers, of course, whatever the English Government does or says is wrong. Their native policy is very simple. To have no more natives than are wanted to work on their farms, and to keep those few in a very complete state of subordination, are, of course, cardinal points. Large, powerful, and growing [races of] natives like the Zulus alongside us are stubborn facts, and a great difficulty to the general run of Dutch Transvaal politicians, but they have a hazy notion that such people ought to be, and may be driven away somewhere else, into unhealthy regions north of the Portuguese, or pent up in black Alsatias, where they may grow mealies, but cannot keep horses or sheep. . . .

"These are, of course, only the views of the uninstructed. But they are the great majority. I hear a good deal from them here, thanks to Mr. Stegmann, my excellent Dutch secretary, and I believe that if I go to them, after having settled the Zulus into a position clearly subordinate to

Her Majesty's Government, and if the delegates Krüger and Joubert deal honestly with them, telling them how hopeless is any scheme of undoing the annexation, they will acquiesce, reluctantly, no doubt, at first; but they have many noble qualities and capabilities, and if fairly treated will, I believe, be subjects of whom Her Majesty may be proud. I am quite sure that no people could have done what the trek Boers have done during the past thirty years, without having the materials of a great people among them; but they have hitherto had scant justice done them by either friends or detractors.

"Shepstone's position in the Transvaal is a very difficult one. The Boers do not read Blue-books, but they have long memories, and as the embodiment of Natal native policy, and protector of Cetywayo in his opposition to Boer extension, he had much lee-way to make up. He is now the advocate, very properly, of all Transvaal interests, but this very constantly leads him into positions inconsistent with his former views, when representing the Natal Government, and you will see that I have sometimes had to remind him as well as Natal officials that we are now here on Her Majesty's service, and not on duty exclusively interesting either Natal or Transvaal.

"In a week or two I hope we may be able to give you some certain facts indicating what course the Zulus and Cetywayo are likely to take. At present nothing can be more contradictory than the opinions of the best-informed authorities. The only points on which all seem to agree are that the great majority of the people long for quiet, and for some sort of security for their lives and property; that the King's young regiments believe themselves invincible and will oppose any concession, and that Cetywayo will make none except from fear, for no man has ever yet told me of his doing a single act of justice, mercy, or good faith.

"I hope you will bear in mind that we had fairly taken the wolf by the ears long before we had any reason to suppose that the present was not the most opportune time for taking him in hand. If we had not done so he would certainly have taken us by the hand, or rather by the throat, in a very few months; but certainly for the last twelve months there has been no possibility of receding. The idea that the white races were not invincible, and that

a Kaffir empire like that of Chaka might yet be restored by reverting to Chaka's policy of slaughter and extermination of all enemies, dates further back. It is at least as old as the first acquisition of guns on a great scale by Kaffirs and Zulus after the discovery of the diamond-fields, and the unwise relaxations of restrictions on the gun and powder trade. But certainly for the last two years it has been impossible for us to decline the contest."

It was said then and afterwards that a border raid by savages, the killing of two women, the insult to an official, the violation of the Transvaal frontier, were small matters for which to exact amends under threat of war. It was for no such causes in themselves that the demands were made. These outrages were the latest indications of the temper and disposition of Cetywayo towards the white man, and of the hostile attitude which, since his coronation, and especially during the last two years, had made his growing power a standing menace to the safety of the neighbouring provinces, and a rallying-point for the rebellious and disaffected natives throughout South Africa. The seizure of the Duc d'Enghien on neutral territory and his execution in the ditch of a French fortress is pointed to as one of the most flagrant breaches of international law committed by Napoleon. But it was not revenge for such an act as this; it was fear of the consequences to Europe of the power and will which dictated it, which made Europe content to be bathed in blood rather than leave Napoleon dominant. The gist and essence of the Ultimatum to Cetywayo—to which the other demands were but corollaries—was the demand for the abolition of the military system which enforced celibacy until the spears were washed, and which made aggressive war sooner or later a necessity for him. As long as the Transvaal was independent this menace had not been directed mainly, much less exclusively, against the British

movement of which he was the leader, too well to cherish any illusions. He saw with clear prescience how much was at stake, how the future of South Africa for generations depended on the firmness and consistency of the policy to be followed during the next few months, how great the risk was lest the vacillation of a Minister or the incompetence of an officer should ruin all. In India he had had tried colleagues to work with, and lieutenants whose careers he had watched or whom he had himself trained, whose merits and capabilities he knew, and whom he could trust to the uttermost. But now, at the crucial moment, he was isolated and alone. He had never feared responsibility and he did not shrink from it now; but the burden lay heavy upon him, for he was as sensitive as he was strong.

"When shall wars cease on this poor earth?" were his first words in a conversation with Stegmann—which, impressed by later events on Stegmann's memory, the latter never forgot—as the two rode together out of Pietermaritzburg on the afternoon of the day when the Ultimatum had been finished and lay sealed on his table ready to be despatched. And with deep feeling he confided to Stegmann his sense of the gravity of the step he had taken, of the duty before God and man which lay upon him not to shrink from it, adding with an emphatic "mark my words" that if anything went wrong he foresaw it would lead to his recall and that he would be the scape-goat on whom the blame would be laid.

In view of the present disturbed state of Zululand, and of Shepstone's narrow escape from being killed there in 1861, Frere was unwilling that any English officer should incur the risk of injury or insult to which the bearer of so unwelcome a message might be exposed in delivering it to the Zulu King. Sir H. Bulwer therefore sent

word (November 16) to Cetywayo, requesting him to send duly qualified messengers to the border to receive the Award and the demands which accompanied it.

The place agreed upon for the delivery and reception of the Award was Tugela Drift, on the Natal bank of the Tugela river, which divides Natal from Zululand. The English envoys, Mr. John Shepstone, Mr. Brownlee, Mr. Fynn, a Natal resident magistrate, and Colonel Forestier Walker, with Mr. Littleton as a spectator, arrived there on December 9. Early on the day but one after, thirteen Zulu delegates, with John Dunn and forty or fifty followers, crossed over from the Zulu side. The meeting was held at eleven o'clock on a small flat ledge of the steep river bank, whence eastwards across the broad, shallow stream were to be seen the rolling downs of Zululand, and to the south in the offing the tall masts of the shipping. Two large trees grew there, and an awning stretched between them gave a partial shelter to the assemblage from the scorching midsummer sun. A small escort of marines, blue-jackets, and Stanger mounted rifles were present, at whom the Zulus seemed a little alarmed; but they were soon dismissed, as the heat was very great. The award concerning the disputed territory was first read by John Shepstone, and translated into Zulu. The Zulus said that it did not give all they were entitled to, but from their manner and the expression of their faces this was judged to be only bombast, to hide the fact that they found it as favourable, or more so, than they expected. The meeting was then adjourned for an hour, after which the second document, containing the demands, was read. This evidently disturbed them; they were anxious and concerned, and tried to argue the question. But Mr. J. Shepstone quietly but firmly told them that he had no authority to discuss the matter, and had simply to deliver

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Meantime in the Transvaal matters had been going from bad to worse. In July a petition setting out their grievances had been signed by a number of Boers at Pretoria, complaining that the promises made at the annexation had not been fulfilled. The chief complaints were that the Volksraad had not been summoned, and no constitution of any kind had been given them; that an unfamiliar system of administering justice had been introduced; that the contract for the Delagoa Bay Railway, which was to give the Transvaal access to the

coast, had been repudiated; that publ'c meetings had been in some instances prevented; that Shepstone, although possessed of many desirable personal qualities, was politically unfit to represent British interests in that State under the existing peculiar state of affairs, and in view of the intense political dislike and personal antipathy (from many old Natal grudges) with which he was regarded by the bulk of the community. But the greatest grievance of all was that the British Government had failed to give them the protection against Secocoeni and against the Zulus, which had been the chief inducement to acquiesce in the annexation.

It was Frere's habit to seek and avail himself of any private source of information from which he could learn the true feeling of the people, especially, as in the present case, when discontent existed. In October he received a letter from Mr. Bührmann, a Transvaal Boer of weight and experience. The writer expressed himself respectfully, but very frankly, avowing that he had always been, and continued to be a republican, and opposed to the annexation. He called upon Frere to redress their grievances, reiterating those enumerated in the petition, with the addition that the promise to use the Dutch language in official documents, concurrently with the English, had not been kept, and complaining bitterly of Shepstone. Frere replied in detail, and more letters passed between them. Frere's dignified and courteous expressions had their usual conciliatory effect, and the tone of Bührmann's letters gradually became more and more pacific and friendly. Frere repeated his promise to visit the Transvaal and redress such complaints as he should find to be reasonable, although the annexation was an act which, he said, could by no possibil'ty be reversed

The discontent among the Boers was now so great that it was doubtful what part they would take in the event of war between the British and Zulus. Colonel Evelyn Wood, on December 4, addressed a meeting of them at Utrecht, at which they repeated their grievances, and he so far satisfied them that, after discussion, many of them agreed to serve with him in case of war, on being paid five shillings a day with rations and ammunition.

The second Transvaal deputation to England, Messrs Krüger, P. Joubert, and E. Bok, arrived at Maritzburg on their return, on November 28. Frere had an interview with them and explained to them very fully how they would be able to enjoy perfect freedom and independence as to local matters as a province of the South African Union under the British flag; and that the form of their provincial government would be fully discussed at his intended visit, when he would give them every opportunity of stating their views and wishes. They were very favourably impressed with him personally. Of Krüger Frere entertained a good opinion, and considered that he conducted affairs on the part of the Transvaal with ability and fairness; though he, too, at the time of the annexation, had taken steps privately, as appeared from a letter afterwards found in the Government office, to obtain some post under the British Government.

Frere had written to England, supporting and pressing Lord Chelmsford's demand for reinforcements, on September 10; and again on September 14; and on the 23rd he writes again: "The urgency of supporting Thesiger's request is much greater even than I supposed. I trust there will be no delay." On the 30th of the same month he had written: "The position of affairs is far more critical than I expected. . . . We shall want *all* the troops asked for." And to ensure compliance with Lord Chelmsford's

request, he wrote at the same time privately to Mr. Robert Herbert at the Colonial Office.

"September 30, 1878.

"I have only time to beg you to read, as soon as you can, my official despatch by this mail and to move the Cabinet by all means in your power to send out the reinforcements Thesiger asks for. . . ."

And to Sir M. Hicks-Beach he writes—

"October 27.

"My official despatches will show you that the prospects of peace are fainter than ever. The forbearance of the Lieutenant-Governor has been tried to the utmost by the insolent answers and menacing attitude of the Zulu Chief, and but for the drought which impartially hampers both friend and foe, we should, I think, have had a collision as soon as the Zulus heard of Colonel Rowland's withdrawal from his operations near Lydenburg, which have been watched by Zulus as well as Boers as a test of power." *

And again on October 28:—

"I can only repeat my own conviction that the continued preservation of peace depends no longer on what the servants of the British Government here may do or abstain from doing, but simply on the caprice of an ignorant and bloodthirsty despot, with an organized force of at least forty thousand armed men at his absolute command."

Up to the time of Lord Carnarvon's resignation, Frere's action and policy had been cordially accepted and endorsed by him. So long ago as December 19, 1877, Frere had written to him: "Your object is not conquest, but simply supremacy up to Delagoa Bay. This will have to be asserted some day and the assertion will not become easier by delay. The trial of strength will be forced on you, and neither justice nor humanity will be served by postponing the trial if we

* Colonel Rowland's expedition against Secocoeni had been frustrated by drought and horse sickness.

start with a good cause." Since Sir M. Hicks-Beach's accession to office, there had not been a hint or a word from him to indicate any disagreement with Frere's views, which had been expressed as fully and candidly as ever in frequent letters and despatches. Nothing, for instance, can be plainer as to his policy and intentions than the following letter to Sir M. Hicks-Beach, which is only one amongst many others to the same effect.

"August 10, 1878.

"You must be master, as representative of the sole sovereign power, up to the Portuguese frontier, on both the East and West Coasts. There is no escaping from the responsibility which has been already incurred, ever since the English flag was planted on the Castle here. All our real difficulties have arisen, and still arise, from attempting to evade or shift this responsibility. The attempt always ends in and can have no other result than that of substituting the gun-runner and canteen-keeper for the English magistrate. There is often an interregnum of missionary influences, but guns and brandy carry the day, ultimately, unless there is a civilized magistrate of a settled Government to keep peace and enforce order. I have heard of no difficulty in managing and civilizing native tribes in South Africa which I cannot trace to some neglect or attempt to evade the clear responsibilities of sovereignty. Nothing is easier, as far as I can see, than to govern the natives here, if you act as master; but if you abdicate the sovereign position, the abdication has always to be heavily paid for in both blood and treasure."*

This letter crossed one from Sir M. Hicks-Beach of July 25, expressing satisfaction at the troops being moved

* Sir George Grey had spoken to the same effect seventeen years before. Writing to the Duke of Newcastle (August 12, 1861), he said: "I now wish to point out to your Grace that it is not in this country sufficient to preserve our territories in a state of peace and good order. In fact, you cannot maintain your own frontier in a state of prosperity and advancement if that frontier abuts on a barbarous race, who are under no government but that of force." (C. 2740, p. 40.)

to Natal, so as to be ready, if necessary, to enforce the observance of the Award.

And Sir M. Hicks-Beach writes again (October 2), expressing his opinion that the boundary line indicated by the Commission must almost necessarily be accepted, though he fears it will be most unpopular in the Transvaal, and may encourage Cetywayo to war, from the natural belief of a savage that we only yield from weakness. He adds that of course Cetywayo must be kept in order, and compelled to give up Zulus who violate—as lately—Natal or Transvaal territory.

Frere's surprise and anxiety may therefore be imagined when, on November 4, he received from Sir M. Hicks-Beach the following message by telegraph :*—

"October 12, 1878.—It may be possible to send out some special service officers, but I feel some doubts whether more troops can be spared. As the hostilities in the Cape Colony are now at an end, would not the police and volunteers be sufficient for the Cape, and might not all the Imperial troops be sent to Natal and Transvaal, with the exception of a small garrison for Capetown?"

Frere's reply by telegraph to the message was as follows :—

"November 5, 1878.

"Your telegram of 12th ultimo received. Special service officers useful and acceptable, but troops asked for urgently needed to prevent war of races. Cape Colony and Diamond Fields have done their duty nobly and are relying almost entirely on Colonial forces recently raised and only half-organized, with small garrison, five companies King William's Town, for whole of old Colony and Diamond Fields.

"State here as described by Sir Garnet Wolseley three years ago. On the other side of fordable river Zulu army, forty to sixty thousand strong, well armed, unconquered, insolent; burning to clear out white men. Wolseley's

* C. 2222, p. 16.

estimate of force* required to bring them quickly and surely to reason not too large. Since then Transvaal difficulty added. Diplomacy and patience have absolute limits. In such case, by setting tribe against tribe, and race against race, victory may follow war, or practical extermination, but if victory is to be ensured on terms which will bear examination hereafter, a sufficient force of Her Majesty's disciplined troops under Her Majesty's officers should be employed." †

Sir M. Hicks-Beach's telegraphic message of October 12 was followed by a despatch dated October 17, which stated that—

"Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to comply with a request for a reinforcement of troops. All the information that has hitherto reached them with respect to the position of affairs in Zululand appears to them to justify a confident hope that by the exercise of prudence and by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and reasonable compromise, it will be possible to avert the very serious evil of a war with Cetywayo." ‡

Sir M. Hicks-Beach's despatches of October 17, and many of his subsequent ones, were like those of a man from whose memory had suddenly been obliterated not only all that Frere had written to him and to the Colonial Office, but all that he himself had written to Frere.

In answer to Frere's and Lord Chelmsford's renewed applications, dated September 20, for reinforcements, he wrote (November 7) that the decision of the Cabinet remained the same, and deprecated a Zulu war in addition to the other greater and too possible troubles.

This letter reached Frere on December 13. Two days previously (December 11) the Ultimatum had been delivered to the Zulu envoys at Tugela Drift. It was as impossible for Frere at this eleventh hour to reverse his

* *I.e.* when Sir Garnet Wolseley was in Natal in 1875.
† C. 2222, p. 8. ‡ C. 2220, p. 273.

policy and withdraw from the position he had taken, as it would have been for Wellington to decline a battle on the eve of Waterloo.

Fortunately, however, the Cabinet's decision not to send the reinforcements had in the mean time been reversed. A message sent by telegraph to St. Vincent, and again by telegraph from Capetown to Pietermaritzburg, reached Frere on the following day (December 14), and gave a summary of a despatch of November 21, in which he was told that the reinforcements would be sent out, but that they were only to be used for defensive purposes, "to afford such protection as may be necessary at this juncture to the lives and property of the Colonists."

He wrote to Lady Frere:—

"December 14, 1878.

"Your telegram just received of Herbert's news of reinforcements coming has been the greatest possible relief to me. Our mail-bag was mislaid for a day in the Durban Post-office, and I got on the 13th, only one day before, Sir M. Hicks-Beach's of November 7, which seemed to me to show they were determined neither to send troops nor to face a Zulu war, and that unless all was successful they would throw me overboard, as Jonah."

Three more letters from Sir M. Hicks-Beach followed (dated Nov. 28 and Dec. 11 and 25) to the same effect, urging a postponement of warlike operations owing to the danger of war in Europe, the last of which was not received till a week after Isandhlwana.

A fortnight after the Ultimatum had been delivered and during the suspense as to whether there would be peace or war, Frere writes to Sir M. Hicks-Beach:—

"December 23, 1878.

"It is quite as impossible to get any news from Zululand as if we were at war. And the Secretary for Native

Affairs knows no more than his neighbours. The best opinions are, in fact, mere guess-work. Bishop Colenso, who, as you know, is an ultra philo-Zulu, thinks Cetywayo will give in and promise everything demanded. I had a long discussion with the Bishop over the messages, of which he generally approves, though he thinks some of the statements of fact hard on the Zulus.

"My own impression is that it is quite impossible for Cetywayo to submit without calling in our aid to coerce the Frankenstein he has created in his regular regiments. Even if he were sincere and convinced of our superior power—neither of which I believe—he would find a large residuum of his soldiers who are fully convinced of their own superiority to us and will not give in without a trial of strength. I judge from the almost universal impression I find among natives out of Zululand that the natives are the stronger power and will beat the English. Cetywayo may promise anything to get rid of Lord Chelmsford and his troops, but that he will perform what is necessary for our security I do not believe, and we prepare accordingly.

"I hope the preparations already made will secure our own borders from any inroad in force, and if the time allowed passes without complete acceptance of our terms, I hope that Lord Chelmsford's plan for moving in three converging columns on the Royal kraal, will go far to paralyze opposition and to secure success with as little sacrifice of life as possible.

"I do not think you need be the least anxious for the future government of the country. Once taught who is master, the Zulus will, I expect, not be difficult to manage under their own petty chiefs. I find here in Natal a population of refugee Zulus, at least half as large as Cetywayo's, living in a state of little improved barbarism, it is true, but in perfect peace and quiet under their own chiefs, with a very few and very ordinary Europeans to look after them. An English gentleman as Resident and supreme chief in place of Cetywayo will, I expect, make all the difference between war and peace as the *summum bonum* of Zulu aspirations.

"Colonel Evelyn Wood has done admirably on the Utrecht frontier. He has got a large number of the Boers to meet him, and won their hearts by a frank, soldierlike address. They volunteered to go with him, and he has, I think, done

more than local service by turning the flank of Boer sulkiness.

"I cannot tell you what a relief it was to me to hear by Mr. Herbert's message through Lady Frere that you were sending out reinforcements. I can assure you that I have asked for no more than were absolutely necessary to secure speedy peace with the least possible bloodshed, here and in the Transvaal. The die for peace or war had been cast long before I or Bulwer or even Sir Garnet Wolseley came here. You will find clear proof of this in every one of Wolseley's important despatches, and every month since has aggravated the crisis. 'Nowhere so dark as under the candlestick,' is as true in Natal as in Norway, and we must not be misled by Natal optimists. I have every hope before I return to Capetown, that I may be able to ask you whether some of the regiments we now have should go on to India or return to Europe, but meanwhile I hope you will trust me not to ask for more help than is absolutely necessary to enable these Colonies hereafter to defend themselves."

Writing to Mr. Herbert the same day, he says—

"Our infrequent mail-service has left me for nearly a fortnight without the means of telling you how great was the relief of getting your message through Lady Frere, regarding the reinforcements Government are sending out. I had foreseen the effect our Affghan difficulties so suddenly created; but the fact is, for years past there has been no retreating with safety, no possibility of standing still on this border. The annexation of the Transvaal only slightly hastened what had long before been the inevitable effect of the Natal system of playing off Boer against Zulu, and hanging up all troublesome questions—which they call here 'native diplomacy,'—the immediate effect of which is to leave all great difficulties to your successors, with the permanent result of making every one distrust the Government.

"Had the Indian and European difficulties developed earlier, and had I got the pressing exhortations to avoid war before I left Capetown, it is just possible the evil day might have been put off. But there would have been simply an armed truce; no security except where the

troops were, probably native risings in Natal and Kaffraria, and almost certainly a Boer rebellion in the Transvaal.

"I hope this is realized by you and will be borne in mind, for I certainly did not come here to spend the fag end of my life, away from all I care for, in stirring up strife. I hoped and still hope to do something for permanent peace and good government in South Africa, and should be sorry to be regarded as the evil spirit of war.

"As it happened, a letter urging the postponement of all operations for war with the Zulus reached me some days too late to enable us to recede with any regard to either safety or honour. The aid you are now sending us will, I hope, enable us to settle the Zulus finally, speedily, and with the least possible bloodshed, but it is really not possible, without some loss of life, to render innocuous to his neighbours a savage with thirty or forty thousand armed men at his absolute command, whose system of government and personal pleasure rest equally on bloodshed, who was never known to forgive, never to observe a promise, who believes himself the greatest potentate on earth, and whose outposts are on one side of a river fordable for eleven months of the year, and our farmers on the other.

"He is now virtually surrounded by Natal, the Transvaal, the Swazies, and the Portuguese, and must, sooner or later, succumb. But it is to me a standing marvel how he grew to such dimensions without doing more mischief to Natal, or inspiring more dread. The only explanation I can find is that he was always anti-Boer and therefore philo-Natal, and one sees a good deal of the feeling for him thus engendered among people here, some of whom would sooner see us join the Zulus to teach the Boers manners, than join the Boers to prevent the Zulus from murdering.

"Shepstone's letters, of which I enclose copies, will give you all our news from Transvaal. I hope to meet him now in a few days, and hope I may help him to escape from the very false position he now occupies between old Zulu and new Boer friends. You will see more than one indication in his letters that his difficulty in this respect must occasionally interfere with the public service.

"P.S.—You may remember Shepstone's objections to helping Colonel Wood by calling on the Transvaal Boers to assist our troops with waggons and natives, and his suggestion that we should get the aid we wanted from

Natal. I asked whether the difficulties he started to calling for aid from the Transvaal Boers were owing to their want of resources or their want of will. This seems to have induced him to look up the Transvaal Commando laws, which, as you will see from his letter to me of the 14th, he proceeded to put in force, thereby rather thwarting what Wood was doing to obtain *volunteers*. I have asked him to hold his hand till he meets Wood at Utrecht, on his way down hither. I have done my best to get him to look on Wood and other officers in his position as our comrades and coadjutors—but it is not easy to get really cordial and intelligent co-operation out of any of these Colonial officials. They will work very well by themselves, but there is always a feeling of jealousy when you offer to help them—even when they cannot do without it."

He writes to Sir M. Hicks-Beach :—

"December 30, 1878.

"We hear little from Zululand save confirmation of my belief that Cetywayo has no intention of complying with our demands. . . .

"I have had much communication with Colenso on the subject, and had ascertained from him that he had really no solid foundation whatever, in fact or act, or in any binding speech or writing, for his confidence in Cetywayo's intention to be reasonable or just. 'He had,' simply, 'no doubt the king would comply.' . . .

"Our Ultimatum demanded compliance with what we had previously required within twenty days. If within that time Cetywayo had given us the redress we required, he would then be allowed ten days more, or thirty days in all, to consider our further demands for future security and better government in Zululand. But if he refuses us the redress demanded within twenty days for our own wrongs, it would be absurd to ask for anything further on account of the Zulus.

"I would have kept the 2nd Class till after we had obtained compliance with the first, but the Zulus are so suspicious that there would have been danger of their complaining of bad faith had we not let them know at once all we intended to demand.

"I hope we shall avoid all necessity for crossing the border till after the thirty days have elapsed ; but there is

a great danger of raids into Natal, which might cause very serious panic among both natives and Europeans; and if Cetywayo refuses us just redress at the end of the twenty days given him, I think the lives of Her Majesty's soldiers and subjects should be our first consideration, and that we should not risk any further loss of life by giving him more time than we had promised.

"You must not suppose from what I have said that Colonial opinion is adverse to our proceedings generally so far. We have, I think, a great majority of the straightforward common-sense [people] of the colony entirely with us—the only fault they find being that we do not go far or fast enough. But there are enough of an opposite way of thinking to give much trouble hereafter, if we are not careful."

He writes again to Sir M. Hicks-Beach :—

"January 6, 1879.

"A day or two after I wrote to you on the 30th a great change came over most people here. They began to doubt whether I might not be right about Cetywayo's intentions and Mr. Dunn's good faith. Reports poured in proving that the King did not intend, and had never intended, to give up the offenders for trial, and finally Mr. J. Dunn avowed his intention to cross into Natal, as he believed war to be inevitable, and showed his gratitude to his former protector and benefactor by offering the services of the Zulus who came with him, some five hundred in number, to fight against Cetywayo! I do not think there are many now who think the notification has been issued a day too soon, and I hope Her Majesty's Government will approve of it. . . .

"I had till lately little notion of the intensity of the Boer's feeling against the Commissioners' award. The Boers knew at once, what I have only discovered by painstaking inquiry, how one-sided and incomplete was the work of the Commission, and how essentially inequitable were the really technical grounds of the Commissioners' finding."

The British force though small was not inadequate; it amounted to about five thousand five hundred British soldiers of all arms after the reinforcements came, and a

number, not accurately ascertained, of volunteers and native troops. An insufficient portion of the force was mounted, the cavalry asked for not having been sent. And unfortunately there existed in the minds of some of the officers on Lord Chelmsford's staff an overweening confidence in the ease with which they believed that any resistance the Zulus might make could be overcome. In the Gaika and Galeka wars the attacks of the natives had been invariably repulsed, not only by the regular troops but by the Colonial forces, with little difficulty, the issue having been in no instance doubtful. These officers imagined that a no less easy task was before them now, and that the stories of Zulu prowess were exaggerated traditions. One of them talked of meeting a Zulu attack in skirmishing order. In these ideas they were encouraged by the common opinion of the Natal Colonists, most of whom were strangely ignorant of their neighbours across the Tugela. Frere writes to Sir Alfred Horsford :—

"March 3, 1879.

"One leading member of the [Natal] Legislative Council, after telling me 'he had thirty years' experience of the Zulus, and did not believe they would fight, because he had never seen them do so in his time,' wound up by assuring me 'that with two hundred red-coats you might march from one end to the other of Zululand.' "

Some rules and principles as to the methods and tactics to be employed in a war with Zulus, and describing their methods of attack, were compiled and published in a pamphlet by Colonel Bellairs, the Deputy Adjutant-General, copies of which were distributed among the officers ; but the pamphlet met with little attention or regard, and was nicknamed "Bellairs' Mixture." Information of the movements of the Zulus, collected and transmitted with no little trouble and risk, was received by some of

the Staff with so little appreciation and such scant courtesy as to discourage the bringing of intelligence in future.

Frere, who had taken counsel with the old Dutch colonists, some of whom had borne a part in the Zulu wars of thirty-nine years before, was under no such illusion, and did his utmost to dispel it. At his request, when Krüger and Joubert passed through Natal, Stegmann took them and other Boers to have an interview with Lord Chelmsford. In Stegmann's diary are the following entries:—

"*Nov.* 29.—I took them to the General. Mr. Krüger gave him much valuable information as to Zulu tactics, and impressed upon him the absolute necessity of laagering his waggons every evening, and always at the approach of the enemy. He also urged the necessity of scouting at considerable distances, as the movements of the Zulus were very rapid, mentioning how even he had once been surprised, and was extricated only by severe hand-to-hand fighting inside his laager."

And Stegmann adds, in a note written subsequently:—

"Mr. Krüger referred to this interview at a meeting with Sir Bartle at Pretoria on April 17, 1879, saying, 'I just wish to remind your Excellency that I honestly gave the General the best advice with regard to the Zulus, and I feel confident that had he followed it, matters would have taken a different course.'"

The diary continues—

"*Dec.* 3.—Took Mr. Paul Bester, at Sir B. Frere's request, to the General. He gave most valuable information regarding Zululand and Zulu tactics, having fought them under Mr. Andries Pretorius, when the Boers went in to avenge the massacre of Piet Retief and his companions. He urged the same precautions upon which Mr. Krüger had laid so much stress. At all these interviews Colonel Crealock took notes." *

* Krüger and Bester proceeded to catechise Lord Chelmsford. "How have you arranged your troops? . . . Ah! well, that is very

Commandant Bowker, an old Colonial soldier, also warned the military authorities not to be over-confident.

Complete uncertainty prevailed as to what Cetywayo would do. The most common opinion was that he would endeavour to temporize and defer hostilities for two or three months to a time of year more favourable to him, when the Zulus would have got in their mealie harvest, and the grass would be so dry as to burn readily and leave nothing for cattle to eat, by which means a hostile advance into his country would be greatly retarded. As time went on it became clear that he had no intention of yielding, no authorized message since the delivery of the Ultimatum having been sent by him showing any disposition to treat. On January 1, 1879, the twenty days named by the Ultimatum for the surrender of Sirayo's sons expired. On the 4th the enforcement of the demands was formally placed by Frere in the hands of Lord Chelmsford and the military authorities. On the 9th the reinforcements arrived in time to take part in the war, though too late to have any influence in inducing Cetywayo to yield. On the 10th, the full thirty days having expired, the troops began to enter Zululand.

To have maintained a purely defensive attitude, as suggested by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, would, after war had been declared, not only have been a dangerous confession of weakness, but would have involved defending a frontier of more than two hundred miles with numbers inadequate for such a purpose. A sufficient force could not have been collected in time to resist a raid made by ten or twenty thousand Zulus, who could choose their own time and

good. There are too many troops as we Dutch fight, but not too many for you." Krüger said, "Ask what precautions the General has taken that his orders should be carried out *every* evening, because if they are omitted *one* evening it will be fatal."

place of attack. The only way of effectually meeting the danger was for the British troops to enter Zululand, and there occupy, if possible, the undivided attention of the Zulu armies. Even thus it was feared by some that an "Impi" might evade the British columns and make a raid into Natal.*

The force under Lord Chelmsford's command was divided into four columns. The first, under Colonel Pearson, crossed the Lower Tugela not far from the sea. The second, under Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R.E., which consisted mainly of native troops and Natal Volunteers, was to act in concert with columns two and three. The third column was under Colonel Glyn, but the General himself being with this column, its movements were in

* Bishop Colenso was at that time of that opinion, as appears from the following letter which was written by him to Major Mitchell, then Colonial Secretary of Natal.

"Colonial Secretary's Office, January 9, 1879.

"MY DEAR MAJOR MITCHELL,

"The information I give will, no doubt, not be new to you. But I think it right to let you know for his Excellency's [Sir H. Bulwer's] consideration, that I have reason to believe that Cetywayo's plan is to march direct for Maritzburg and Durban, and not waste time upon the country districts. This intelligence has reached me to-day from native sources, and can only be received for what it is worth.

"But as I believe it myself to be substantially correct, I think it to be my duty to report it to his Excellency.

"Of course I do not believe a Zulu force will ever *reach* Maritzburg or Durban.

"Very truly yours,
"J. W. NATAL."

Lord Chelmsford, in a memorandum dated Helpmakaar, January 8, says—

"All the reports which reach me tend to show that the Zulus intend, if possible, to make raids into Natal when the several columns move forward, always supposing that they can muster up courage enough to do so with a large force of armed Natal natives in their front, and our regular columns on their flank, and, perhaps, rear."—C. 2242, p. 26.

almost every detail directed by him, so as to take away almost all responsibility from Colonel Glyn. It commenced crossing the Buffalo river on the 10th. The fourth column, under Colonel Evelyn Wood, entered Zululand from near Newcastle on the north-west. The plan was for the four columns to converge upon Ulundi, near to which was the King's kraal, and where it was expected the decisive action would take place.

The crossing of the river was effected without difficulty or resistance, and for some days there came to Pietermaritzburg, where Frere remained, regular accounts from the third column, some sixty miles distant. Then came a pause; no intelligence came. As the silence continued, the anxiety increased, till it became intense. Between six and seven o'clock on the morning of Friday the 24th, Littleton brought a message to Frere's bedside, that there were two men arrived from the camp speaking, but not very intelligibly, of a disaster having happened to the General and the army. Their uniform showed them to belong to the Natal Volunteers. A suggestion was made that they ought to be arrested for spreading false reports. One was quite off his head. The other could only repeat incoherently that Colonel Pulleine was killed. Presently some one perceived the condition they were in, and ordered breakfast to be given them before they were further questioned. They were escaped fugitives from Isandhlwana, with minds confused, and tongues tied by want of food and rest, and were the bearers of a written message to the High Commissioner from the Commanding Officer at Helpmakaar (the nearest detachment to Rorke's Drift), countersigned at all the stations along the line of communication. Food revived them, and they told the terrible story as far as they knew it. During the day it was from time to time

confirmed by other fugitives, accounts differing as to whether Lord Chelmsford was killed or not, till the worst was known.

This is not the place to describe in detail, much less to criticize the military operations, or to attempt to apportion the blame for this great disaster.

Lord Chelmsford had advanced with the main body of the division at daybreak, on the 22nd, leaving the camp at Isandhlwana in charge of a force of about eight hundred regulars and volunteers, and a few native troops, to which strict orders, written as well as verbal, were given to defend the camp. About ten o'clock, or shortly afterwards, in spite of these orders, portions of the force were detached to a considerable distance from the camp. Some of these falling in with the enemy, provoked an attack by a large Impi of fifteen or twenty thousand Zulus, whose presence so near the camp had escaped discovery. This overwhelming force advanced against the British detachments and surrounded them before they could unite; and the right horn of the Impi, sweeping unobserved round the rock of Isandhlwana, with almost the rapidity of cavalry, seized the camp, and separated the British from their reserves of ammunition. Only a very few escaped; of the six companies of the 24th, constituting more than half of the Infantry engaged, only six men survived, and crossing the river reached Natal. As for the rest, when their ammunition failed, in a few minutes every man lay stone dead, for there was no torture and no quarter.

To Frere the shock was probably the most terrible he had ever experienced. The slain officers of the 24th were the companions with whom he had lived for six months in barracks at King William's Town. He saw at once how fatal the disaster was to all hope of a speedy end to the war, what a source of danger and what an encouragement

to resistance and rebellion elsewhere it would be, and how it would prejudice English opinion against adherence to the policy whereby alone permanent peace could be secured.

For the next fortnight there was a panic in Natal, such as Frere had not witnessed even at the most critical time of the Mutiny in India. At Durban, distant though it was from the frontier and from the scene of the war, the scare was worst of all. The town authorities came in great alarm to Commodore Sullivan and Captain Adeane, and begged them to land some guns from the *Tenedos* to defend the town. At Maritzburg, during the first few days, the tension and suspense were almost insupportable; nothing was known for certain or in detail, not even whether Lord Chelmsford were killed or not, and an idea got about that the Government was in possession of information which it was withholding. Frere's calm, unruffled face was conspicuous in the general dismay; and as in Sind in 1857, every one looked to him for encouragement, and guidance. He was to be seen intent upon his usual occupations, and in his afternoon ride, visiting those especially who had lost husband or son at Isandhlwana; for there was hardly a family in Maritzburg that was not in mourning for some relative or friend in the Colonial Contingent who had fallen. Some of the women he persuaded to seek safety by going with their children to Capetown. The town was put in a state of defence. The quiet of Sunday (January 26) was broken by the rumbling of waggons laden with stores and ammunition, by the noise of carpenters barricading doors and windows, and of workmen sinking wells. Six buildings, or groups of buildings, in a central situation in the town, flanking and connected with each other, and capable of containing in all about four thousand persons, were

prepared for defence. These were to serve as "laagers" in case of need, and notice was given to the inhabitants to be prepared with cooked food, bedding, and other necessaries to last at least a week. Three guns, fired in quick succession, were to be the signal to enter the laager within two or three hours. If a fourth gun was fired, they were to enter it with all possible speed.

On the first news of the disaster, Frere had despatched a request, to be telegraphed to England, for reinforcements; at the same time he telegraphed to Capetown for the three companies of the 4th Regiment which were there. The Cape Colony was thoroughly roused. Mr. Gordon Sprigg immediately responded by sending every English soldier from Capetown, King William's Town, and elsewhere in the Colony, leaving the entire military duty to be performed by the newly constituted Colonial forces, two hundred volunteers going to King William's Town on the 1st of February. The Cape Ministers at the same time begged Frere to leave Maritzburg for some safer place; the last thing, of course, he would think of doing. He had also telegraphed to Commodore Sullivan for men to man the ponts; and begged him also to send to Mauritius and to St. Helena for reinforcements, which was immediately done.

On the evening of the same Sunday (26th), Lord Chelmsford arrived at Pietermaritzburg, so changed and worn with anxiety and sleeplessness as to look many years older, and to alarm Frere lest he should break down. There was now undue despondency in the place of the former excessive confidence. The native levies had disbanded and vanished, and the third column in its crippled state had recrossed the river into Natal. On the other hand, the Zulus had suffered severely. The British soldiers who fell at Isandhlwana had not died without inflicting

a loss on the Zulus, far exceeding their own numbers.* The Impi, which on the afternoon of the same day had crossed the river into Natal and attacked Rorke's Drift, had been beaten back time after time with great slaughter, by less than a hundred soldiers contending against greater odds, numerically, than the Isandhlwana force, proving conclusively—if proof were needed—that it was the dispersion of the force, and the neglect to laager the camp, not mere disparity of numbers, that had caused the disaster. Colonel Pearson's column, enlivened by the alacrity and cheerful spirits of its naval contingent, after repelling all attacks and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy, established itself at Ekowe, in the heart of the Zulu country, and decided to remain there. Colonel Evelyn Wood's force had defeated the enemy on the 24th, and was intact in the north-west. Frere, knowing well the ways of savage warfare, and feeling sure that the Zulus would not, without a considerable interval after such great mingled success and loss, take the offensive, but that they would first disperse to their homes with their booty and their wounded, urged that the third column should advance again from Rorke's Drift and take up a position near Isandhlwana, so that at least the dead might be buried. But he urged in vain, and for four months their bones lay whitening in the sun.

In answer to Sir M. Hicks-Beach's letter of December 25, he writes—

"January 29, 1879.

"I need not tell you that I came out to South Africa

* Their loss, as stated by some Zulus to Captain Macleod (who writes from Derby, Natal, February 4), amounted to four thousand, or about four times the British loss; but this was probably an excessive estimate. The Zulus do not understand numbers. Only a small part of the force returned to Ulundi. A large proportion had been killed, and of the survivors comparatively few presented themselves to Cetywayo ten days after the fight.

purely on a mission of peace. Had I foreseen the warlike troubles in which I have been since involved, I should have suggested to Her Majesty's Ministers to look for some younger man. . . . I have never, I think, deceived Her Majesty's Government by prophesying smooth things, nor needlessly alarmed it by conjuring up phantoms, and I wish you to give every weight to advice on what I believe is essential to early and complete peace in South Africa.

"First, as to the Zulus. When I telegraphed by last mail, I had not realized the utter prostration and demoralization of every Colonial resource, caused by our reverse on the 22nd. The Government has received a warning from a source which has rarely been wrong—that Cetywayo was determined on a raid to destroy this town or Durban; and it is not easy for regular forces to intercept a body of thousands of naked savages travelling by bye-ways forty miles in a night, living on plunder, overwhelming by numbers any post they surprise, and then dispersing as they came by bye-paths to their own country not sixty miles off.

"The Colonial material for self-defence is good, and the native material, which is simply Zulus untrained to war and slaughter, is ample. But it will take time, some years, probably, to get over this shock and organize them so as to give the aid the regulars require.

"Meantime you must strengthen the regular force and effectually crush the Zulu King's power. This is not really so difficult as it seems. His thousands of young gladiators, so irresistible while they believe themselves invincible, will succumb when only once fairly defeated. Theirs is the courage of maniacs and drunkards, or of wild beasts infuriated and trained to destruction, and once cowed they will not rally.

"But the force you will require must be larger than I thought last week. I think you should send out not less than two brigades, with brigadiers and their staff as complete as for Abyssinia. Of the six battalions in the two brigades, two battalions might be Indian sepoy regiments, if really of the best kind. The artillery should not be less than three batteries (of a hundred and twenty-five men each) and two regiments of really good Indian Irregular Cavalry and two companies of Engineers.

"The Indian regiments might come as volunteers, with-

the option of remaining after a tour of duty, on the plan I recommended some time ago. I believe a large proportion would stay here for good if reasonable facilities for settling on land were offered. They would be a most valuable addition to Colonial population.

"I do not think you need be in the least alarmed at the expense. I take it for granted we shall not leave the country a prey to anarchy, but govern it, and make it pay for keeping it in peace and quietness through its own people. Nothing is easier if you will only consider that four hundred thousand is the highest estimate of the whole population of Zululand, little, if at all, larger than our Zulu population here, who are mostly refugees from Zululand within the last thirty years, who pay Government fourteen shillings per annum hut-tax, and, on private farms, sometimes pay as much as £5 per hut. If not bred up as wolves, they are an easily managed people, and will rapidly improve and civilize if treated as our Cape Fingoes have been; the Fingoes in fact *are* Zulus—refugees, within the last sixty years, from Zululand.

"The country is not difficult, and is naturally fertile, and has an outlet by water into Delagoa Bay, the river Maputa being navigable by steam launches direct from the bay.

"The country, in fact, is likely to prosper and pay its own expenses far more rapidly than Natal has done, when once life and property are safe, and it will add immensely to the value of Natal itself, where at present there is no such security within a hundred miles of the border."

He writes to Mr. R. W. Herbert:—

"February 8, 1879.

"An accidental steamer enables me to tell you that we are still in suspense, awaiting the result of the attacks, which we have good reason to believe were ordered by Cetywayo on the 4th, to be made on Wood, Glyn, and Pearson. The two former are well supplied and entrenched, and cannot well be cut off from their base. Pearson is more isolated than he should be, and has not the means of moving, but I hope Lord Chelmsford's visit to the Lower Tugela will improve his position. . . .

"For any really useful purposes, the framework of Government, always weak, has entirely collapsed. De-

partments and offices go on as usual, but all behind the scenes could see, if they were not officially blind, the real weakness of the administration for any defensive purpose.

"This is especially the case in native affairs. We have no real hold on the native, no real knowledge of their feelings and views. Fortunately they are simply cowed, not at all inclined to join the Zulu King, and they will, we may reasonably hope, come round in time; but little help is to be got from them meantime in defending the Colony, and I fear few would do anything but hide, if a Zulu Impi came within twenty miles of them. . . ."

Frere's anxieties were not confined to Natal and the Zulus. In a letter to the Duke of Cambridge, giving the reasons why such large reinforcements were asked for, he mentions, in addition to the war, his uneasiness about the Kaffirs in and near the Cape Colony, and goes on to say—

"February 7.

"The diamond diggers at Kimberley are a very peculiar set of people. Under Colonel Lanyon they have kept the peace of their district in a wonderful way for the last year, without help from regular troops. I hope they will continue to do so under Colonel Warren, whom I have just put in to act for Colonel Lanyon, pending Her Majesty's approval; but the state of things there is altogether unnatural and exceptional. There are great numbers of Zulu labourers and natives of other tribes greatly excited by messages from the Zulu King, and till he has been effectually coerced, there will be no peace there.

"Still less can we hope for it in the Transvaal. I have not yet given up hope that when the Boers fully understand the position in Zululand, they will rally to Colonel Lanyon. But at present they are most defiant and seditious in their talk, and Shepstone evidently expects an immediate rising. I hope to get up there if we have any breathing time from this. Meanwhile nothing can be more critical than the position. . . ."

On February 18, a Zulu war party of fifteen hundred men, led by Umbelini and Manyanyoba, crossed the

Pongolo and attacked Mr. Wagner's mission station, four miles from Lüneberg in the Transvaal. Men, women, and children were killed; the houses of the natives were set on fire, and seven children burnt alive. They went on to two other kraals, killing men, women, and children, and carried fire and sword through the district, sparing neither age nor sex.*

But, in Natal, days and weeks slipped by without the anticipated raid taking place. This immunity was ascribed to various causes, all of which may have contributed to it. The Zulus in Natal, most of whom were refugees from the tyranny of native rule in Zululand, were not far inferior in number to those whom they had left. It was feared after the disaster of Isandhlwana that they might, from belief in Cetywayo's power and coming supremacy, have turned against the Europeans. But they remained everywhere quiet and loyal; and, though they dreaded him, they showed no sympathy whatever with his cause. Pearson's intrenched position, far advanced in Zululand, and Evelyn Wood's at Kambula, as well as the heavy losses the Zulus had sustained in every conflict, were doubtless the main causes which deterred Cetywayo from attempting a raid into Natal. The Tugela, too, was, more than usually, in almost constant flood, and an Impi, fording it at an interval when it was practicable, might have found it difficult to recross. Small detachments of British troops kept arriving by sea, first from Capetown, then from St. Helena, brought by Captain Bradshaw in the *Shah*, then from Mauritius; and, few as they were, the fact of their coming thus by driblets from unknown lands, fostered the idea in the native mind that there might be no limit to the number of the red warriors of the great Queen who would arrive sooner or later.

* Wilmot's "Zulu War," pp. 82–3.

And Cetywayo may have thought that it would be well for him not to commit himself too far by letting the Natalians have experience of the horrors of a Zulu raid, in case there should be a chance of making terms for himself with the white men hereafter.

The first gleam of encouragement which had revived the spirits of the General and his shattered column and of the anxious colonists, had been the arrival by telegraph of a prompt and gracious message from the Queen. Though the military situation had not materially changed, and the small reinforcements which had as yet arrived were not sufficient to enable the General to resume the offensive, the panic had abated. Other troubles were, however, arising. Frere, who, it must be remembered, had no administrative authority in Natal, had the greatest difficulty in inducing the civil and military authorities to work in harmony and in preventing a serious difference of opinion between the Lieutenant-Governor and the General, as to the organization of native levies and other matters, which, at last, in spite of all his efforts, did occur, to the great detriment of the preparations for the successful prosecution of the war.

He writes to Colonel Evelyn Wood :—

"March 8, 1879.

"I have expressed very plainly my sense of the evil which must result, unless the Lieutenant-Governor can aid the General more effectually during the next three weeks than he has during the past three months, and Sir Henry has gone to-day to meet Lord Chelmsford, at Pine Town, and to discuss matters. But I am not sanguine as to the result. . . . And I much fear that when Lord Chelmsford's reinforcements from home are ready to move forward, he will find a lack of good native auxiliaries of all kinds. . . ."

And he adds in a postscript :—

"My best compliments to Mr. Pict Uys. Is there

anything I could send him or Mrs. Piet—if he is married —which would please him, as a mark of our sense of his good work? I can think of nothing but gigantic coffee-pots and brass feet-warmers." *

This Piet Uys was an influential Transvaal Boer, whose father and brother had been killed in the war against Dingaan, forty years before. Though opposed to the annexation of the Transvaal, he recognized, in spite of the opposition of many of his friends, the duty and necessity of uniting with the British against Cetywayo. He joined the column commanded by Colonel Wood,† to whom his loyalty, experience, knowledge of the country, and wise and prudent counsel were of the greatest assistance.‡ He armed, mounted, equipped and provided his sons, down to the two youngest, aged fifteen and thirteen, at his own expense, steadily refusing to take any pay; and, when one of his farms was injured in the operations of war, abstained from making any claim for the compensation to which he would have been entitled.

But, unfortunately, few of the Boers followed Piet Uys' example. Some were too discontented with British rule under Shepstone, and others too much in fear of the malcontents to venture to do so. A meeting had been held at Potchefstrom on January 13, to hear the report of the delegates, Krüger and Joubert, on their return

* Familiar objects in Boer houses.

† Colonel Wood to Military Secretary to the Lieutenant-General, April 13, 1879. C. 2454, p. 109.

‡ Colonel Wood would sometimes announce his intended movements for the next day at the camp-fire in the evening. On one occasion Uys objected, and at length said, "You can go with your men where you like and be killed, but I shall not go there." Colonel Wood replied warmly, "I suppose you think you can command better than I." To which Uys answered quietly, "No, I cannot command your men; but I know the country and you don't." Wood wisely yielded.

countrymen, otherwise great harm might happen. He then referred to the great disaster which had occurred a fortnight before, bidding Joubert warn the Transvaalers that if they stood aloof and did not help to defend their own border, terrible events might happen, though, in the end, the British could not fail to crush the Zulu power; for this was a war not only between the English and the Zulus, but between Cetywayo, as the ruler and champion of all the native races, and the white races, Dutch as well as English. Should the former succeed in driving the English into the sea, the state of those who remained by purchasing a temporary peace would be that of serfs under Zulu masters. He mentioned this, as he had only an hour before received information of messengers who had been intercepted on their way from the Zulu King to Krüger and others, to suggest that this was a favourable opportunity for the Boers to rise against the British Government, or at least to remain neutral.

In a letter to Mr. R. W. Herbert (February 8) describing this interview, Frere says—

"Joubert came down, talking very largely to his friends on the way of the impossibility of preventing the Boers from either fighting or trekking. But from all he said, as well as from what he did not say to me and others here, I believe he will do his best to let the Boer excitement evaporate in talk. He seemed, from all we could learn, fully convinced that this is their only course which can avert disaster; but he is afraid to tell his Boer friends the truth, and wishes me to do it for him. This I will do, please God, as soon as I can get away from this, but I cannot leave for some days, till matters are a little quieter and safer here. . . ."

Shepstone, whose presence was desired in England by the Colonial Office, ceased, early in January, to be Administrator of the Transvaal, and in his place the Secretary of

State had temporarily appointed Colonel Lanyon, who was afterwards confirmed in his appointment. On this account, and as the correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Transvaal now passed through Frere's hands, he had more direct authority and responsibility there, and was able to act more on his own account. Joubert having assured him of the determination of many farmers to trek, he sketched out a scheme for buying their farms with the option of repurchase within two years. In order to deal with the grievance about the Dutch language, he sent a circular to Colonel Lanyon by which he might ascertain how many of the Government officials were acquainted with it. He also conveyed to the Boer Committee his formal consent to their having provincial self-government and a flag of their own.

The disaffected Boers had assembled in numbers, which they claimed to amount to four thousand, armed, and with horses and waggons, to discuss their grievances. They formed a camp on the road from Newcastle to Pretoria, between the latter town and Heidelberg, intending to remain there till the High Commissioner came to them. They frequently stopped the mail-cart, and travellers complained of rough usage and detention; and, though as yet no serious harm had been done to any one, their language became more and more seditious and threatening, and the camp was a standing menace to the civil authorities and to the very small British force at Pretoria, and might at any moment become the focus of actual rebellion.

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Thus by the middle of March, the reinforcements from England having arrived, Frere found that it was more necessary that he should at once pay his promised visit to the Transvaal, than that he should remain any longer in Natal. He therefore left Pietermaritzburg on the 15th, accompanied by Littleton, Captain Hallam Parr, Mr. Dalrymple, and Stegmann, for Pretoria, a distance of over three hundred miles. Sir H. Bulwer went with him as far as Ladysmith.

He travelled either on horseback or in a "spider,"—a light four-wheeled covered waggon on springs—drawn by never less than six, and often by twelve mules, for the road was only a track over the Veldt, and at intervals passed over abrupt ascents and descents, and through swampy places where the waggons might be in danger of capsizing or sinking in a mud-hole. A desk had been rigged up in the "spider," on which Frere could write. The servants, and luggage, which included some small tents, travelled in "Cape carts," two-wheeled vehicles on springs. The staff generally preferring riding.

"In this way we could get over from twenty to thirty miles a day, at two stages, halting in the middle of the

day as grass and water afforded a convenient 'outspan,' where the animals unharnessed, had a roll—the great refreshment of a Cape horse on his journey—and after being knee-haltered, grazed till called to the 'inspan.' We lodged at the hotels or canteens where there were any. These, with rare exceptions, were little more than a couple of rooms for travellers, attached to a trader's store; but wherever there were farm-houses near the road we always, if possible, paid them a visit, and were always welcomed with ready hospitality. Coffee was at once prepared and offered; and if it happened to be near the midday or evening meal, we were invited to a more substantial repast, or to take up our quarters for the night. I usually accepted the offer of a room, but my companions, very generally from choice, slept in the waggons or out of doors, in a tent, or often in the open air; rarely seeking shelter unless wind or rain prevented them from enjoying the pure air of the open Veldt. . . . Our road lay through Howick, Estcourt, and Colenso, to Ladysmith, where we took leave of the Lieutenant-Governor.

"On our way to Ladysmith we passed through the scenes of the Zulu massacres in 1838, when, after the treacherous murder of the heroic Piet Retief and his seventy companions, Dingaan's Impis were sent out to cut off the families whom Retief and his followers had left encamped, unsuspicious of danger or treachery, in what has since been known as the county of Weenen or weeping. . . .

"Of the few survivors, I had the pleasure to meet several men and women, some living on farms near the scenes of the massacres, others who had migrated to the Transvaal. None of them willingly recurred to those days of horror; but on being questioned, they related with a simplicity and directness which gave the stamp of truth to their narrative, and often with tears starting to their eyes as they spoke, how they had fought or fled, as the case might be, and how they had seen relations and friends put to death or had found them slaughtered. . . .

"By a curious coincidence, among the Zulu prisoners in the gaol at Estcourt I found two elderly, but not old or inactive Zulu warriors, who said they had been in the Impi which swept that valley forty-one years before. They were then young men anxious to 'wash their spears,' and described with great *sang froid* and in the most business-

like manner, all the scenes of carnage and plunder in which they then took part." *

Most of the wayside hotels they came to had preparations for barricading and defence by musketry. Strong permanent laagers had been constructed at Howick, Estcourt, and Ladysmith, large enough to shelter the whole European population of the townships and neighbourhood. Most of the Dutch farms and many of the English ones had been abandoned by their owners, who had fled for safety to the Orange Free State; but here, as elsewhere, it was evident that the Dutch realized the danger more than the English did.

From Ladysmith to Newcastle the Drakensberg chain of mountains was on their left; and on their right, on the horizon, the heights over Rorke's Drift, Helpmakaar, and Dundee. They were near enough, one day, to the scene of Colonel Wood's fighting to hear the boom of his guns. The night before they reached Newcastle was spent on the open Veldt, and so near to the enemy that they ran considerable risk of being attacked by any stray party of them that might come that way. The escort of twenty-five Natal troopers who had accompanied them thus far were not numerous enough to add materially to their security, and they left them next day to join Colonel Wood. At Newcastle Frere went (March 30) "to church in the Magistrate's little office in the gaol end of the laager, the largest room in the village, but never capable of holding fifty people, and much reduced in size by boarded banquettes to fire from, below the loop-holes in the wall, and heaps of sand-bags to close the doors and windows when attacked." † Here he heard from Colonel

* This extract is taken from an account of this journey written by Frere two or three years afterwards, but never finished.

† Sir B. Frere to Miss G. Frere, March 30, 1879.

Wood, who wrote almost daily, of the loss of a detachment of about ninety men, and also of the death of Piet Uys, who had fallen, with one of his sons, whom he had gone back to rescue, fighting surrounded by numbers of the enemy.

"To my great grief Piet Uys was killed yesterday," Colonel Wood writes to Frere on March 29. "If I am killed, kindly 'father' his children* and estimate his services, directly and indirectly, at not less than £50,000, though of course I don't mean any such sum should be given—nor indeed any money." This same letter gave an account of Colonel Wood's successful action at Kambula, which lasted four hours, and was the hardest fought and most critical battle of the whole war, the enemy, estimated by him at twenty thousand strong, being better armed than usual by the help of the rifles and ammunition taken at Isandhlwana. It was in fact the turning-point in the campaign, and the victory came at a most opportune moment for Frere's coming conference with the Boers.

Leaving Newcastle, they crossed the Ingogo river, and, skirting the Amajuba mountain, passed over Laing's Nek —afterwards of sad notoriety,—and came upon the high rolling plains of the Transvaal, where the air struck bitterly cold in contrast with the hot lowlands of Natal.

Henceforth Frere was continually visited at his different

* Colonel Wood was *not* killed, but Frere, all the same, kept up his interest in Piet Uys's children. He writes to one of them, Dirk Uys, July 22, 1880.

"My dear young Friend,—I received with great pleasure your letter and the photographs you were so kind as to send me, which I shall value greatly for your father's and grandfather's sake, and as reminding me of those who will, I trust, follow the steps of their predecessors, as brave men and true patriots.

"I have the pleasure now to send you a photograph of our beloved Queen, which is very like Her Majesty, and which will remind you of one who constantly thinks of her South African subjects.

"May God bless and prosper you and make you a brave and good man, as your father was."

stopping-places by Boer farmers asking for advice, and claiming his protection against the violence with which they were threatened if they did not join the malcontent camp. These men frequently accompanied him during his day's journey, and left him reassured and confirmed in their loyalty by his encouragement and promise of protection and support.

In a despatch written to Sir M. Hicks-Beach from Standerton, Frere says—

"April 6.

"I was particularly impressed by the replies of a very fine specimen of a Boer of the old school. He had been six weeks in an English prison, daily expecting execution as a rebel, and had been wounded by all the enemies against whom his countrymen had fought—English, Zulus, Basutos, Griquas, and Bushmen.

"'But,' he said, 'that was in the days of my youth and inexperience. Had I known then what I know now, I would never have fought against the English, and I will never fight them again. Old as I am, I would now gladly turn out against the Zulus and take fifty friends of my own, who would follow me anywhere; but I dare not leave my home till assured it will not be destroyed and my property carried off in my absence, by the men who call me "rebel" because I will not join them against Government. My wife, brought up like a civilized woman in the Cape Colony, has had five times in her life to run from the house and sleep in the Veldt when attacked by Zulus and Basutos. One of our twelve sons was assegaied in sight of our house, within the last ten years, by a marauding party; and in my absence from the house, when it was surrounded by Basutos, my wife had to fly in the night by herself, leading one child and carrying another on her back. She walked nearly fifty miles through the Lion Veldt, seeing three lions on the way, before she reached a place of safety. It is not likely we should forget such things, nor wish them to recur; but how can I leave her on my farm and go to Zululand, when the malcontent leaders threaten me that if I go they will burn my house and drive off all my stock? Assure me that we are not to be deserted by the English

Government and left to the mercy of these malcontent adventurers, and I and my people will gladly turn out to assist Colonel Wood.'

"I find that this idea that the English Government will give up the Transvaal, as it formerly did the Orange Free State, has been industriously propagated, and has taken a great hold on the minds of the well-disposed Boers, and is, I believe, one main cause of reluctance to support the Government actively.

"They argue that what has been done before may be done again, and they have no feeling of assurance that if they stand by the English Government to-day they will not be left to bear the brunt of the malcontents' vengeance when a Republic is established." *

In the course of another despatch to Sir M. Hicks-Beach, written April 9, from Heidelberg, Frere says—

"Along the whole road, since I entered the Transvaal, I have met with unquestionable evidence of the terrorism exercised by the malcontents to induce their moderate and loyal neighbours to join the meeting, simply to swell its numbers.

"I have met Boers of the neighbourhood at every halting-place, and in numbers along the road, and we rarely parted without one or more of them begging for a few words in private, and asking me, 'what he was to do in face of the threats used by malcontents to induce him to join them?' No sooner was he assured that the law would be supported in protecting them against intimidation and violence, than he would bring his fellows to hear the good news. In the few cases where the elder men were not present at the farms we visited, the wives would account for their absence at the meeting with evident regret, and hint that they had not gone willingly or with any disloyal intent, but through fear or curiosity, or, as one earnestly assured me, in hopes of helping to prevent any breach of the peace.

"If I might judge from what I myself have heard and seen during the last ten days since I entered the Transvaal, I should say that but a small portion of those who live within reach of the line I travelled had gone to the meeting, and that most of those had attended from

* C. 2367, p. 18.

motives other than a real wish to see the act of annexation reversed.

"Almost every one complained of the want of protection against intimidation, but they generally added their testimony to substantial improvements in administration since the country was annexed. 'The few officials are regularly paid, and diligent in the discharge of their duties;' 'they no longer afford or deny redress according as the applicant has voted for or against them when elected to office;' 'the law is justly administered;' 'prices are better;' 'there is money now which they never used to see;' and 'every one would thrive if only assured of peace and freedom from scares of Zulu or Basuto Impis, or visits from malcontents, whose threats peaceable and loyal men feared more than Zulu inroads. . . .' The idea that we should somehow be compelled or induced to abandon the country, had taken great hold on the minds of some of the more intelligent men that I met. It has been sedulously written up by a portion of the South African press, English as well as Dutch. I marked its effect particularly on men who said 'they had come from the old Colony since the annexation, but would never have done so had they believed that English rule would be withdrawn and the country left to its former state of anarchy. . . .'

"But there is great practical difficulty in conveying to the mass of the people any idea of the real power of Government.

"The leaders have no wish that the truth should be known till they have displayed to me their own numbers. Stories of Zulu triumphs and of our insuperable difficulties in Zululand have been sedulously circulated. . . . The Boers have lately, with the avowed purpose of providing more pasture for their cattle, moved their camp closer to Pretoria, giving thereby some colour to the reports that they intend trying to blockade the town and cut off the supplies. . . . It is said that a party, estimated at various numbers above eighty, are determined on violent courses, under the guidance of Solomon Prinsloo. This man . . . is one of the persons generally charged with invoking the aid of native tribes to expel the English. It is obvious that unless some change in the position or intentions of the encamped Boers takes place, they can no longer be regarded as a harmless or lawful assembly, and a very

slight indiscretion on either side may lead to civil bloodshed.

"A desire to do anything in my power to avert such a calamity, induces me to risk more than I should otherwise think prudent. From what I have seen of the Boer character I have much hope of success, and should I fail, it will, I think, be impossible to say that any possible means of averting civil strife have been neglected." *

Passing through Standerton and Heidelberg, they came to Klipspruit, where Colonel Lanyon had pitched his tent to await their coming, and whence a letter was sent to the Boers' camp, agreeing to meet the Committee at Ferguson's hotel.

The next day, as Frere was starting early in the morning, a letter was brought from the Committee, saying that they had heard that he intended passing on to Pretoria without visiting their Camp, contrary to his promise. Frere was very angry; there was no time to answer the letter, so he bade the messenger follow him and rode on. On nearing Ferguson's hotel, half an hour later, Pretorius, Chairman of the Committee, Viljoen, Bok, and others came up. On Pretorius being introduced, Frere, refusing his proffered hand, at once took him severely to task for the letter, demanding how he ventured to suggest that the promise which he, not only as a gentleman, but in the name of the Queen, whose representative he was, had made, could be broken. Pretorius, astonished and abashed, admitted his fault and apologized, and Frere then shook hands. The rest of the Committee were, at Frere's request, introduced, and Frere introduced his Staff.

He told Pretorius that they would go on to the little roadside inn and breakfast, and then be at his disposal to visit the camp, and talk over matters till it was time to go on to Pretoria; and he went on to suggest

* C. 2367, p. 91.

a time and place for a formal meeting with the Committee. The members of the Committee were evidently surprised at his taking matters so coolly, and speaking with so much authority; it had a good effect, and they got on very well afterwards.

After breakfast they started together for the camp, which was now plainly visible, at a distance of two or three miles, on the hillside, the waggon tilts and tents gleaming white on the green grassy slopes, which were alive with four or five thousand cattle and about two thousand horses. In the valley to the right was the river winding far away, and for miles and miles treeless, rolling downs, bounded by mountain ridges in the far distance.

Stegmann happened to be particularly well mounted, and Frere, whose horse, though a good one, was not so fast as his, asked him to change horses with him, which he did. Frere presently increased the pace, riding at a gallop over rough and hilly ground for the remaining distance till the camp was reached, so fast that the others could not keep up with him. What his motive was Stegmann never quite knew. Since leaving Maritzburg he had received many warnings that his life and liberty would not be safe in the Boer camp, and had been advised to take another road. Probably he wished to show that he trusted the Boers, but was resolved that, if danger there was, he would be the first man to enter the camp and to face it, and that there should be no mistake as to his identity if they wanted to kill him.

He had expected that the Boers, to show their strength, would have been all drawn up outside the camp, but it seems that if they had turned out mounted, they would have been also armed, and this, the leaders feared, might have been the occasion of some mischance, and thus few were met outside the enclosure of waggons. The camp, or

enclosure, was pitched on a slope by the roadside; three or four hundred waggons were drawn up, not in a laager of defence, but without order, except that a wide passage led through their midst. On either side of this passage stood the Boers in a row two or three deep, in number about twelve hundred—all told there were about fifteen or sixteen hundred in the camp. Frere drew rein and entered it in front of his party, riding slowly between the lines of men; and as he went by, he raised his hand to his sun-helmet in salute. Not a man acknowledged it. They stood, their eyes fixed on him as he passed, in moody and deathlike silence. But these were chiefly the younger and more ill-mannered men; and as he proceeded—rejoined now by his companions—he came to a couple of hundred, mostly older men, grouped round the Committee's tent, who received him coldly, but with all due courtesy and respect. He was asked presently what he would drink, and on his replying "coffee"—thinking, as it was the common drink of the country, it would be most easily obtainable—Stegmann perceived a slight embarrassment amongst them, and guessing the cause, that none was prepared, whispered to Frere to ask for champagne, which was ready provided.

The scene which followed resembled an episode of Homeric life rather than of modern times within the British Empire. Upon Frere's demeanour, upon what he said and did within the next hour might not improbably—as he knew—hang the issues of peace or civil war.

At a table in a large tent, laid open on one side, he took his seat with his Staff. On each side, or in front of him were the members of the Committee, and in the opening of the tent, and for a long distance beyond, was a vista of faces of men looking on and listening intently.

Unable to speak to his hearers in their own language, all that he said had to be interpreted by Stegmann, and

repeated sentence by sentence. This deprived him of any adventitious, rhetorical persuasiveness attaching to fluent speech or pointed phrases, and for that very reason may have led his hearers to watch his face and expression the closer in order to gather his meaning and purpose.

He was now in his sixty-fourth year. Age had whitened his hair, but it had as yet but little enfeebled him, and it had dimmed none of the brightness of his keen, steadfast eye, weakened nothing of the expression of intelligence, firm will, and calm, genial frankness written in his countenance. His face, though worn, was comparatively little changed, but years of ceaseless mental strain, and especially the wearing anxiety of the last eighteen months, had cast over the delicately-cut features a still greater refinement and a graver expression.

He explained the circumstances of his coming, and told them of the warnings he had received, and that nevertheless, as they saw, he had come without a single soldier to guard him.

After he had been speaking some time, he referred to the message which, at their interview at Maritzburg, he had given to Joubert, in writing as well as by word of mouth, to deliver to them.

"But we did not understand this," the chairman, Pretorius, said; "we never heard of it."

"Send and fetch Joubert," was Frere's reply.

Joubert was not in the tent, and for some time was not to be found, and "Piet Joubert! Piet Joubert!" was called all over the camp. At last, after some wrangling, he came, reluctant and shame-faced, into the tent.

"Did I tell you so and so?" Frere said to him.

"Yes!"

"Did you understand it, and that you were to give it as a message?"

"Yes!"

"Then how dared you fail to deliver the message that I gave you? You may leave the tent. I have done with you!"

He went on to tell his hearers that they might look to having complete freedom and ultimately local self-government under the British Crown, such as was enjoyed by the Cape Colony, and called upon them to aid in the common cause against the Zulu King.

Puritanism shows to better advantage in adversity than in prosperity. The Boers have lost, it is said, in the course of generations, under changed conditions of life, and by their contact with savage races, much of the truthfulness of word and act which marked their Puritan ancestors of the seventeenth century. But if the old ideal is not so well acted up to, it is still held in reverence, and the assembled crowd gave due honour to a man through whose every word and glance and gesture shone out absolute fearlessness, candour, and good faith. The incident with Joubert, instead of rousing resentment, told immediately in Frere's favour, and the expression on the faces of his hearers relaxed and passed from sullenness to sympathy. As he went on, the good impression was strengthened, and he so gained their good-will that when the conference ended and he left the tent, one after another of the men who had received him with sullen or angry looks, pressed forward to shake his hand and greet him as a friend.

This happened on the Thursday in Passion week. The next day being Good Friday, it had been agreed that Frere should meet the Committee on the Saturday. As they objected to meeting at Pretoria, where Frere would then be staying, probably because they knew the townspeople were not favourable to them, the conference was arranged

to take place at Erasmus Farm, about six miles from the town, where a tent had been pitched for the purpose.

It was held accordingly, and lasted from ten o'clock to four, with an interval of an hour in the middle, the proceedings commencing with a prayer by Stegmann.

During these five hours Frere sustained the controversy, practically single-handed, against the members of the Committee, several of them able men, and all of them familiar with every fact and allegation that could be brought to bear upon the case.* They began by insisting that they spoke in the name of the whole people, and that the "people" would be satisfied with nothing less than absolute independence of the British Crown. Frere replied that he had already met with abundant evidence to the contrary on his way thither, and inquired whether by "independence" they meant a return to the condition of things when Burgers was President. To this question they would give no answer, but again and again reiterated their demand; to which Frere as often replied that the annexation was quite irrevocable and outside the pale of the discussion. "I can only repeat," he says, "what the Secretary of State has twice said to your deputation that the annexation cannot be undone, and that I have no power beyond that given me by Her Majesty's Government to ascertain what are the wishes of the people for the future government under her Crown."† Finally, Joubert said: "We have a last request to put before your Excellency: Will your Excellency be our

* The report of the meeting, taken down in shorthand, and given for the most part verbatim, covers twelve pages of the Blue-book (C. 2367, pp. 84–97). The Boer Committee numbered twenty-one in number, with Bok as secretary, and Jorissen as legal adviser. Frere was accompanied by his Staff and by Colonels Lanyon and Rowlands. Stegmann acted as interpreter.

† C. 2367, p. 93.

advocate for our interests to the British people assembled in Parliament, and tell them that the people of the South African Republic abhor the annexation? . . . The people will draw up and sign a memorial to this effect if your Excellency will support it." To which Frere replied: "I am afraid I have spoken to very little purpose if Mr. Joubert thinks I will support with my own recommendations such a memorial as he describes. Whatever has passed it shall be my anxious endeavour to lay as exactly before Her Majesty's Government as if they were here present to-day. Whatever memorial you may entrust to me I shall forward to Her Majesty, and I shall be very happy to report that it was presented to me by gentlemen for whom I have the greatest respect. . . ." And in an answer to a question from Krüger, he said: "I will not only send home the memorial, but show Mr. Krüger what I will write regarding it." "Is the meaning of this," Krüger asked, "that your Excellency will give your support to the case as it will be stated therein?" "Now, my good friend, Mr. Krüger," Frere answered, "after all I have said, do you think that I can give such support, that I can say one thing now here, and another then?" Krüger then said, "Whereas we have perfect confidence in your Excellency as Her Majesty's representative, we do not see why your Excellency could not do it." Frere replied, "I have told you and Mr. Joubert that to give back the Republic as it was before would not be for your good, and how could I say, in sending the memorial to Her Majesty, that I think it would be for your good? The whole argument is this, that what is done cannot be undone, and our business, as practical men, is to make the best of it." After more conversation, Joubert said: "In order to prevent misunderstanding, I would say very distinctly that I have endeavoured to