must have good assistants in Affghanistan, with power to send them when necessary to Candahar or Herat, and to such places as Meshed and the Persian frontier, who would keep him well informed of all that went on. The envoy could always visit the Ameer on special occasions, and meet him, if not at Cabul, at Jellalabad, Guzni, or Candahar, or invite him to India to meet the Viceroy. . . .

"Having secured these two cardinal points: (1) a recognized and qualified envoy in permanent, well-understood, and direct communication between the Viceroy and Ameer, and (2) a clear understanding between the Viceroy and Ameer as to what each party desires, it would be premature to consider what should be done next till you know what the Ameer is prepared to do, or what he wishes you to do for or with him. Quite as much harm may be done by doing or offering too much as by doing or offering too little, and it seems very doubtful whether this mistake was not made when the last payment was made to him a few months ago.

"You will, I know, excuse the length of a letter written partly in a sick man's room, and partly in a railway-carriage."

The sick man was Canon Duckworth, the Prince's chaplain, who had accompanied him, and who from over-fatigue or other cause was attacked by fever, and was for some time seriously ill. Frere deferred rejoining the Prince to watch over him. When the crisis of the fever was passed, leaving the patient in good hands, and leaving behind also his own servant to attend him, he set out to rejoin the rest of the party at Bombay, whence the *Serapis* started on her homeward voyage.

At Suez he met Lord Lytton on his way out to succeed Lord Northbrook. A few days were spent at Cairo, and it was here that he got the news of the purchase by the English Government of the Suez Canal shares, which he rejoiced at, as tending to draw closer the connection between England and Egypt.

"So we have got a good lump of the Suez Canal shares," Dr. Badger writes to him (March 4, 1876). "Hurrah! you will remember how three years ago you and I endeavoured to press the purchase on the Government at a time when it might have got all the shares of the sharehold dirt-cheap, as the saying is. But Mr. Gladstone would have nothing to do with it. Let delators talk as they will, our influence over Egypt will be vastly strengthened by our possessing so large a share in the Suez Canal."

At Cairo Frere passed his sixty-first birthday, an occasion of which the members of the Prince's suite took advantage to make him a present of a handsome carpet. From Egypt the Prince went to Spain, and at Alexandria Frere took leave of him and returned by way of Vienna and Munich to England, arriving on April 21.

The accomplishment of the Prince's tour was followed, on January 1, 1877, by the proclamation of the Queen, at the Imperial City of Delhi, as Empress of India. It was a fitting sequel to it. There were those who scoffed at the assumption of the title as a meaningless expression. It was not meaningless. It was a name, now for the first time pronounced and adopted, which correctly expressed and explained the position and authority which the Queen actually held and exercised throughout India.

Dr. Badger writes with reference to it:—

"March 4, 1876.

"It does not much matter what the style is in English; but it matters much what it is to be in the language of India. I have put in a strong veto, against the title of 'Sultânah' which, etymologically, is only a feminine noun expressive of abstract power, hence, doubtless, there are so many Sultâns and Sultânahs. But 'Sultânah,' even in its modern application, designates merely a wife, or

perchance one of the wives of a Sultân. Shâhin-Shâh, the Shâh of Shâhs, might do ; but I maintain that 'Pâd Shâh' —*i.e.* the guardian or protecting sovereign—is the most suitable designation, and one with which the Indians are familiar. It was the title of the great Akbar, and its application at the present day is confined, I think, to the Emperor of Russia—I mean its application to sovereigns beyond Islam."

The tour had, from first to last, been beyond all expectation successful. A public Thanksgiving Service for the Prince's safe return was held at Westminster Abbey—Dean Stanley preaching the sermon. To Frere, from the Queen downwards, came warm acknowledgments and congratulations on the important service he had rendered in piloting the expedition. He was asked by Lord Beaconsfield to choose between being made a baronet and a G.C.B. He chose the former ; but the Queen bestowed both honours on him.

Through the summer he had, in addition to his other work, that of making up the accounts of the expenditure on the tour, which was especially troublesome, as the disbursements had necessarily been through so many persons and in so many places, and it was complicated by the payments to meet them having to come from the Indian as well as the English Exchequers.

Early in September he attended the International African Conference under the Presidency of the King of the Belgians at Brussels. The autumn he spent with his wife and children very happily at Birk Hall, near Ballater, which had been lent him by the Prince of Wales. Here he found time to write the article for the *Quarterly Review*, already mentioned, on the "Turkish Empire," and his part of that on the "Eastern Question and the Government."

His popularity in England was now at its highest point. His counsel and assistance were sought, not only on Indian, Egyptian, and East African affairs, but, amongst other matters, on the Eastern Question, then in one of its crises on the eve of the breaking out of the war between Russia and Turkey. His name was so much before the public, and he seemed so naturally destined for important office, that rumour assigned him various posts. He was to go to India to be present at the proclamation of the Queen as Empress. He was to succeed Sir Philip Wodehouse and serve another term as Governor of Bombay.*

There was an idea that Bulgaria, or one of the Turkish provinces in Europe, might be assigned to England to govern, and Frere's name was suggested as Governor.†

* Miss Carpenter writes to Lady Frere: "I was afraid it was too good to be true that Sir Bartle Frere was going to Bombay again. I have never felt the place the same since you left. A spirit has departed! No one will fill that place."

† The following letter from Sir Henry Green is a characteristic expression of the feeling with which the news of his subsequent appointment to the Cape was received by Frere's old comrades and lieutenants:—

"November 30, 1876.

"Do not think me an impracticable dreamer, but why should not Turkey say to England, 'Come, if you will undertake to regenerate us, and show us how to govern properly, we will place everything in your hands, and give you every assistance'? And why should not England say to Russia, 'This offer has been made to us; you profess to want only good government for the Christian population of Turkey; we will guarantee within a certain time to give good government to all creeds; if we fail, then we will withdraw, and you can try your hand'? If Russia be sincere in her professions, could she refuse? Would not England be proud to accept such a position? Would it not unite all parties to assist in so good a cause, with all Europe as a witness? Would not the Turks, as their last hope of maintaining their position in Europe, assist heart and soul? And would not the English gentlemen, who might be called upon to assist in so noble a

The Khedive, who now had Mr. Goschen to advise him in financial matters, had discovered that much revenue might be saved by better management of the State railways. He wrote to Frere to ask if he would go out as "Inspecteur Controlleur," with full power to control them, and, in fact, to be one of his Ministers. This was impossible, for it was incompatible with his remaining on the India Council. So the Khedive applied to him to nominate some one else. He named his old friend, General Marriott, who, having obtained the sanction of the Foreign Office, at once went out and did good service.

It has been mentioned that Frere, on his way home with the Prince, met, at Suez, Lord Lytton on his way out to assume the Viceroyalty of India. They had opportunity only for a single interview, but Frere, anticipating the meeting, seems to have had copies of the last three of his letters to Lord Salisbury ready, and to have left them with Lord Lytton. The following day Lord Lytton, after reading them, wrote a long letter to Frere,

work, earnestly, honestly, and truly put their whole souls in it, as only English gentlemen can do? For myself, I can see no difficulties; the same principles which governed Sind would merely have to be applied on a somewhat larger scale in Turkey; in fact, I believe, from my experience of that country, that we should find fewer difficulties in dealing with the Turkish population than we have with that of India. Not a foreign soldier would be required, only a few well-selected English gentlemen, principally furnished from our Indian Service, with you as their head. I say you, but I do not wish to flatter. You are now known to Europe. Could any one doubt your honesty of purpose? You know, or ought to know, the power you gain over every native you approach. Could the Sultan have a better or a more honest and able guide who, while being his friend, would never come the master over him?

"I should never have thought of writing this unless I had seen this morning that they were about to send you to Africa—sending a doctor to look after the great toe when the most vital part of the whole system is in danger. I have had my say; you have listened often before."

expressing the most cordial agreement with his views as to Affghanistan, and with the principles of action which he laid down.

Four years later it was sought to make Frere responsible for the events which took place in Affghanistan in 1878–80, as being the result of a policy and measures which he had recommended. And it is a common opinion that Lord Lytton was sent out with instructions to force a permanent agent upon the Ameer at Cabul, and that the probability, almost amounting to certainty, of a war with him was contemplated. How far these allegations are from being true is shown by the following extracts from Lord Lytton's letter, from which it will be seen how completely, *at that time*, he accepted and endorsed Frere's views, though his subsequent action was so much at variance with them.

"March 26, 1876.

"There is something positively startling in the almost exact coincidence of the opinions recorded in your letter of the 3rd of March to Lord Salisbury with those which, before leaving England, I put on paper, confidentially, for examination by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Disraeli, who entirely concurred in them. . . .

"We seem, therefore, to have worked the problem by different formulas, and yet with the same result.

"I need not go over the ground we hold in common as the basis of our conviction, that no time is to be lost in trying to retrieve the errors of the last four years. You have so admirably laid it out in your letter of the 3rd that I can only say 'Ditto to Mr. Burke.'

"So long as there is a chance of firmly establishing our political position in Affghanistan, I would strain every effort to keep the Ameer's dominions united and his rule strong. If that chance fails, if it has already slipped away, then, as you say, we must consider our whole policy.

"Thinking over the matter since I left England, I had come to precisely the same conclusion as yourself about

the unadvisableness of insisting on a permanent agent at Cabul if Shere Ali makes great difficulties about it. But there should be a close understanding with the Amir that he is to do all that can be reasonably expected of him to protect British trade and travel in his dominions; and we must not be so squeamish as we have hitherto been about the risks of travelling in Affghanistan. Russia finds some of her most valuable agents in independent adventurers travelling unofficially with an ardour for information unchilled by any fear of personal danger. We have excellent material of the same kind, and I would not discourage its spontaneous activity.

"But all this will be of no avail if the policy of the Indian and English Governments be not cordially homogeneous. Russia should be distinctly told by our Foreign Office at home that we cannot allow her even to compete with us for influence in either Affghanistan, Kelat, or Beloochistan. At present this has been only vaguely hinted at. Gortschakoff complained some time ago of our rumoured intention to garrison Quetta; and the English Government was actually afraid to tell him, what he did not seem to be aware of, that we have already a right to do so if we please. I have myself held very strong language to Shouvaleff about these frontier states; and I have implored Lord Salisbury to urge upon the Foreign Office the necessity of backing it up. If you agree with me, I hope I shall have the support of your influence, when you return to England, on this point, to which I attach great importance."

To this Frere replied:—

"May 5, 1876.

"I reached home on April 22, and found your letter, for which allow me to offer my heartiest thanks, not only for what you so kindly say of what I had written, but for the first gleam of sunshine on what has to my eye been for some years past a most gloomy political prospect; gloomy, not from the actual circumstances before us, but from the absolute refusal of men in power to look those circumstances in the face."

Lord Lytton was an able and persuasive writer, and the

views he expressed gave Frere high hopes as to his future career in India. With his sanguine temperament, always perceiving first the best side of every man he had to do with, Frere was ready to anticipate that Lord Lytton might succeed in carrying out in practice what he had indicated in his letters. The anticipation was not realized.

This is not the place to examine the policy and methods pursued under Lord Lytton's administration, or to inquire how far the course of action which he followed was due to his instructions from home, how far to his own initiative, and how far to the pressure or conduct of his advisers and subordinates. It is enough to point out that on essential points his action was distinctly at variance with Frere's views, with which he had expressed cordial concurrence, and a course taken which they had both deprecated.

The Affghan War, the massacre of Cavagnari and his staff, and the renewal of the war, cost much blood and treasure, and led to a reactionary policy under the succeeding Viceroy. Quetta, which had been occupied as a military post, was abandoned, and the railway to it, which had been almost completed under Lord Lytton, was actually pulled up and destroyed under his successor.

But since that time, and within the last ten years, gradually and imperceptibly the leading features of the policy of Jacob and Frere on the north-west frontier have been adopted, and the views which as a hopelessly small minority they steadily advocated, are now silently and without question—albeit without acknowledgment—more or less completely accepted by all schools and parties. No one any longer talks of the Indus being our natural military frontier. Quetta, the very discussion as to the occupation of which was, when Lawrence was Viceroy,

peremptorily stifled, has been occupied in force, fortified, connected by railway with the port of Kurrachee, and is now one of the most important military stations in all India. The Affghans are no longer tabooed as too irreconcilably hostile to be associated with, or their ruler as too faithless to be treated with. As these pages are being transcribed comes the intelligence of the result of Sir Mortimer Durand's mission to Cabul, of the Ameer's friendly disposition, of Kafristan with Chitral being received and acknowledged as under British protection, of permission accorded by the Ameer to extend the Quetta railway, tunnelled through the mountain barriers of Affghanistan, to Chaman, on the road to Candahar, and in the heart of the country; while to the north-east of Affghanistan acknowledgment of the British protectorate has assured peace among the wild tribes of Northern Cashmere and up to the foot of the precipices of the Pamirs.

In reading Lord Lytton's correspondence with Frere—and in reading Lord Mayo's—it is impossible to avoid lasking the question, Why, on these two occasions, when a Governor-General was to be appointed, was not the veteran sent instead of the novice, the teacher rather than the earner?

In Frere's own letters and papers not the smallest hint of any such ambition or expectation is to be found. But in letters written to him and to others, the anticipation does frequently occur. It would indeed be difficult to name any qualification for the office which he did not possess. In knowledge of India, of the country—its resources and capacity for development,—of the native rulers, of the people, of the Imperial service, civil and military, no Englishman of his generation could equal him. The natives, chiefs and people, would have welcomed him as

one who during forty years had done more than any living Englishman to obtain for them fair treatment and protection for their rights and their cherished institutions, and to promote the great public works, which, turning wildernesses into gardens, had enriched the trader and brought plenty to the ryot. The natives of Sind had said to him—and their opinion was not confined to Sind—"If Her Majesty's Government want to select from among the Indian statesmen one who possesses the key of the secret of touching and winning the hearts of men of different creeds and castes of which the native society of this country is composed, by the power of love and not of fear, they should look to you and to you alone." Among those of his own countrymen who disagreed with his policy and his methods he had not a single personal enemy; and his success when on the Supreme Council at Calcutta was a standing proof of how readily he could make his way and conciliate his colleagues, even when there were strong antagonisms and prejudices to overcome. As to the number of those who knew him personally and had served under him, the repeated and enthusiastic expressions of confidence and attachment with which their letters abound, testify to the zeal and devotion with which they would have served under him.

Had Frere gone to India as Viceroy in 1876, his tact and faculty for gaining the confidence and respect of semi-barbarous chieftains, his intimate knowledge of the qualities and capabilities of the foremost British officers, civil and military, of all schools, and the enthusiastic service which the best of them would have placed at his disposal, would in all human probability have enabled him, without recourse to arms, to have convinced Shere Ali that his best course lay in a return to the policy of Dost Mahomed and a cordial alliance with the British Power,

and would thus have availed to extricate the Government from the difficulties and danger in which a long period of supineness had involved it, and placed our frontier relations on a safe and peaceful basis, such as has only now at length been attained after a war, costly in blood and treasure, followed by so many years of uncertainty, vacillation, and unrest.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CAPE.

Appointed to the Cape—Arrival at Capetown—President Burgers—Defencelessness of Capetown—Retrospect—Disintegration and Confederation—Condition of the Transvaal Republic—Its annexation—Damaraland and Namaqualand—Eastern and Western Colonists—Frere goes to King William's Town—The Galekas attack the Fingoes—Outbreak of War—Confidence restored—The Gaikas rebel—Conduct of the Ministry—Frere dismisses them—Mr. Gordon Sprigg forms a Ministry—The war ended—School Kaffirs—Meeting of the Legislature.

THE call to work came to him from an unexpected quarter. Lord Carnarvon, then Colonial Secretary, wrote to him as follows :—

"October 13, 1876.

"I venture, in what I consider a very important and critical matter, to ask whether you can give the Government the benefit of those valuable services which have so often and so signally been proved on other occasions?

"You are probably aware of the general position of affairs at the Cape. We have been on the edge of a great native war; and, though I trust that the danger is passing, if not past, the position is one of extreme delicacy from its political as well as its native complications, and a strong hand is required.

"But the war between the Transvaal Republic and the natives has had this further effect: it rapidly ripened all South African policy. . . . It brings us near to the object and end for which I have now for two years been steadily labouring—the union of the South African Colonies and States. I am indeed now considering the

details of a Bill for their confederation, which I desire to introduce next Session, and I propose to press, by all means in my power, my confederation policy in South Africa.

"With this brief explanation I have now only to say that my hope is to induce you to accept the difficult and responsible, but, as I believe, the most important task of undertaking the government of the Cape, which becomes vacant on December 31, nominally as Governor, but really as the statesman who seems to me most capable of carrying my scheme of confederation into effect, and whose long administrative experience and personal character give me the best chances of success.

"To do this a very early departure for the Cape is necessary, but I do not estimate the time required for the work of confederating and of consolidating the confederated states at more than two years.

"Anything in excess of this I do not feel justified in asking of you. I will only add that if, after having done this great work, you feel yourself able to stay on for two or three years to bring the new machine into working order, as the first Governor-General of the South African Dominion, I shall hail the decision both on personal and on public grounds. I desire, however, to leave you free on this point to act as you may yourself think fit.

"I ought perhaps to add, as a matter of business, that the present salary of the Governor of the Cape is £5000, but that I contemplate, in the event of the general scheme being carried into effect, a much higher salary—probably £10,000. I cannot help hoping that though you would not care to accept an ordinary government, the extreme interest which attaches to the whole question at the present juncture, and the distinction of being connected with so great a scheme as that which I trust may now become practicable, may induce you—especially bearing in mind the excellence of the climate—to give a favourable consideration to my proposal. If in doubt on any detail, pray give me an opportunity of affording you further explanations."

To this Frere replied, after alluding to some private details:—

"October 18, 1876.

"I should not have cared for the ordinary current duties of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, but a special duty I should look upon in a different light, and there are few things which I should personally like better than to be associated in any way with such a great policy as yours in South Africa, entering as I do into the imperial importance of your masterly scheme, and being deeply interested personally from old Indian and African associations in such work.

"I have always understood that the expenses of the Government of the Cape are very heavy in proportion to the salary. How far this may be the case I cannot, of course, tell; but I should not be willing to undertake any post of the kind unless I were certain it could be efficiently and worthily filled. And having little private fortune of my own, I should have to make sure, before deciding, that the means at command were sufficient to provide everything necessary to maintain the dignity of such a position.

"Also it strikes me that at a transition period such as you anticipate, the unavoidable calls upon the salary of the Governor would be greatly increased beyond their ordinary amount.

"Family reasons would make it difficult for me to undertake any duty which would keep me for an indefinite time away from home, but definite special work such as you appear to contemplate would be different; and you will, I know, pardon my thus frankly entering into so many personal details, and will need no assurance from me of my own great interest in any such work which Her Majesty's Government might see fit to entrust to me."

Eventually Frere accepted, a special allowance of £2000 a year being assigned to him, for two years, in his capacity of High Commissioner of South Africa;* and it was arranged that he was to sail in March.

It was not without a pang that he surrendered the repose to which he had been so long looking forward, and undertook arduous service in a new country, where he

* Mr. R. W. Herbert to Frere, Feb. 17, 1877 (C. 2601, p. 4).

would have none of his old colleagues, or of the lieutenants whom he had trained, to support him. But Lord Carnarvon's appeal sounded in his ears like a call to duty, and in the spirit of a soldier he responded to it.

The announcement of his appointment was made at the end of November. The congratulations of his friends were not unmixed with regret that he was going so far both from home and from the scenes of his former labours. He sailed on March 9, in the *Balmoral Castle*, taking with him all his family except his son, who was with his regiment at Gibraltar, and arrived at Capetown on March 31.

A fortnight after his arrival, Frere wrote to Lord Carnarvon, giving his first impressions of the place:—

"April 17, 1877.

"In some things the place reminds me of a less tropical Ceylon. The climate, the flowers, and the magnificent Table Mountain are all that has been described, but it would be difficult to imagine anything more sleepy and slipshod than everything about the place, or more dirty and unwholesome than the town. . . ."

In a later letter, referring to the crowd on the Queen's birthday, when the single infantry regiment and a few artillerymen which constituted the garrison were paraded, he writes:—

"May 30.

"They are a very picturesque crowd, nearly as idle as the Italians, but far more good-humoured. You seldom see a scowling or disagreeable expression on their faces.

"The Malays form, in Capetown, a large proportion of the lower orders. Some are very good-looking, and the women especially have not lost their Oriental fondness for bright colours. All seem to delight in anything like a

show or public occasion, and crowded to see the Birthday Levee and the opening of the Colonial Parliament, and to see the Colonial Ministers coming here to dinner, in a way which quite brightened up the weather-beaten old Government House and its very dingy surroundings.

"After all I had heard of South African grievances I was agreeably surprised to find that they did not in the least interfere with South African loyalty. . . .

"They are very fond of dancing, though the amusement is rather frowned upon by the Calvinist ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, many of whom are young Scotchmen who have graduated at Utrecht or Leyden, and have not enlarged their views there, except in the direction of what they call Rationalism or Darwinianism, when, like Mr. Burgers, they are in danger of expulsion from the Dutch orthodox Church.

"The great social event of the year in Capetown is the ball in honour of Her Majesty's birthday. . . . The members, some of them living six or seven hundred miles off, are always anxious to attend, as an essential part of the annual visit to the South African capital. . . . Mr. Burgers was there and danced as if he were neither ex-President nor ex-Divine. He is a singular, and evidently a very clever man, and has great powers of attracting and attaching followers; but I am much disappointed in what I have seen of him since I arrived here. There is to my mind more of the charlatan and less of the poetical element in his consistency than I had expected." *

Shortly before going there, Frere had written a paper, calling attention to the insufficiency of the defences at the Cape. When he arrived, he found that there was

* Of Burgers, Shepstone writes to Frere (July 24): "Burgers is a very impulsive man, and while the impulse is upon him, very reckless. I think that is the proper word to use, but he is, like all men of that temperament, liable to opposite extremes, and the average of his character is therefore weak. I am much mistaken if your frankness does not quite subdue him; indeed it has already, for in a letter to me of July 3, he tells me of having been at your ball, and speaks very enthusiastically of you. 'One feels,' he says, 'as if one could trust and work with such a man.'"

not a single gun of modern construction capable of defending Capetown or Simons Bay from so much as an armed privateer. Some Russian officers had visited Capetown two or three years before and had been fêted. They had joked with their entertainers as to what they might do in case of war; how they might carry off Sir H. Barkly, his Ministers or their hospitable families, besides requisitioning a million or two in cash, and burning all the coals. In case of war with Russia, at that time not improbable, there was real danger lest in the absence of the British squadron the Russian officers' joke might become a reality; and so pressing did Frere consider the need of preparation, that he began the works of defence at once, pending the obtaining of a grant from the War Office. The grant having been obtained, he was able a year afterwards (April, 1878) to write that Simons Bay, the naval store-yard and coal depôt, were, he hoped, now safe from privateering attacks. But Table Bay was still open to the attack of any vessel with a rifled gun. To the defence of this also his efforts were directed.

To explain the political condition of South Africa at this time, it is necessary to take a brief retrospect.

During the French War at the beginning of the century, when Holland for a time ceased to be an independent nation and became a province of France, the settlement of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope had, after a brief resistance, surrendered to a British force and come under British rule. It was intended to be a temporary arrangement, till Holland recovered her independence, but so well pleased were the Cape Dutchmen with the change, and so valuable was the station as a half-way resting-place to India, that at the peace of 1814 the Colony was, with general consent, made over permanently to England.

The settlers enjoyed much more liberty as a British, than they had had as a Dutch, colony. Holland, which in Europe posed as a champion of liberty, had treated them in a spirit of selfish and narrow despotism. They had been prohibited from trading on their own account, and compelled to sell their produce to the Company at a fixed price, and in the minutest details of administration had been subject to the caprice of the Government of the Hague. Early in the history of the Colony this treatment had driven the less submissive and more adventurous spirits to set the example of "trekking," or wandering out of reach of all authority into the interior, and living a life removed from contact with civilization. But the bulk of the settlers had submitted to the severe discipline, were modest in their requirements and ambition, and established a tradition of contentment with the simple necessaries of life, so easily obtained in that climate. The Puritan faith which they brought with them from Holland had been confirmed and intensified by the arrival, in 1687, of a body of French Huguenot refugees expelled from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These immigrants, prohibited from using their native French language, had been absorbed into the population and were the progenitors of many of the leading families of the Colony.

After the Colony came under the British Government, some small grievances arose on ecclesiastical questions, but no serious breach of harmony occurred between governors and governed till after the passing of the Negro Emancipation Act of 1834. The white people were then suddenly called upon by the British Government to free the native slaves whom they were employing in the cultivation of their land. The compensation given them was inadequate, its payment was so badly arranged and distributed that

only a small proportion of it reached the right persons, and many well-to-do farmers were impoverished or ruined. The recent English settlers, then comparatively few in number, who had brought English ideas with them, could look upon slave-emancipation from the same point of view as their fellow-countrymen at home; but it was otherwise with the old Dutch colonists. Isolated from external influences, they had preserved almost unaltered the Puritanism of the seventeenth century. The native African race were, in their estimation, Canaanites, whom they, as the chosen people, might go forth, the Bible in one hand and an ox-whip or rifle in the other, to extirpate, or to employ as hewers of wood and drawers of water, with as little compunction as Cromwell or Ireton felt when they caused Irishmen and "Malignants" to be slaughtered or shipped by thousands as slaves to the Barbadoes, or as the Pilgrim Fathers when they slew the redskins of the West. And from that day to this the Act of Emancipation has been looked upon by a large section of the Dutch population as a wrong done to them for which there was no justification.

Opinions may differ as to the degree of harshness with which the natives have been habitually treated by the Boers. But the theory of the two independent Dutch Republics, as expressed in their constitutional law, or "Grondvet," has been and is that no native can under any circumstances be admitted to the privileges of either Church or State. The inhabitants, of whatever origin, of the Colonies where English law prevails have, on the contrary, sought to admit the Kaffir to both. The natives themselves have not failed to appreciate the difference between the two theories, and have become restless and uneasy whenever the establishment of Dutch rule seemed probable or possible.

Most of the mistakes in our government of South Africa have been caused by the fatal tendency to try and govern it from England. There, as elsewhere, the English Government has too often failed to place due confidence in its own representatives. It has listened to one-sided evidence and doctrinaire views, and has overruled or recalled Governors and High Commissioners, men of its own choice, who had every qualification for forming a just judgment on the scene of action, where alone a just judgment could be formed. The consequence has been a weak and vacillating policy. It has been this vacillating policy, the fear, founded on sad experience, that the English Government could not be depended upon to stand by its own word and support its own officers, which has alienated loyal men, both white and black, and has been and continues to this day to be, the abiding cause of confusion, strife, and bloodshed.

In nothing has this vacillation been so fatal as in the constantly recurring question of the extension or non-extension of the Colonial and Imperial authority, in newly settled country, over colonists who have wandered away beyond the old boundaries.

It used to be maintained that British subjects could not divest themselves of their allegiance, could not unite to form an independent state. To enforce this principle, and to put a stop to an independent war which was being waged between the trekking Boers and the Zulus, officials and soldiers were sent by Sir George Napier, the Cape Governor (1838), to Natal. And when the Boers trekked again from Natal to the Orange State, Sir Harry Smith followed them, fought the battle of Boomplatz (August, 1848), and shed British soldiers' blood to establish British sovereignty there. Three years later (1851) a despatch from Lord Grey to Sir Harry Smith declared all this to

have been a mistake; that blood had been shed vainly; and all that had been done was reversed. No extension, however small, of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa was henceforth to be sanctioned.

"The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River territory" [it runs] "must be a settled point of our policy. You will distinctly understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterwards occur between different tribes and communities which will be left in a state of independence beyond the Colonial boundary, are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference."

And so Sir Harry Smith was recalled, and Sir George Cathcart, who succeeded him, concluded (January 17, 1852) "the Sand River Convention" with the Boers, by which the Transvaal was made an independent State, and the British Government undertook to abstain from all interference with native tribes bordering on it. Two years later (1854), the government of the Orange Free State was handed over to a Convention of Boers by Sir George Clerk, on behalf of England.

But the native difficulty could not be thus got rid of. Sir George Grey, who became Governor in 1854, was not long in perceiving and pointing out that the policy of disintegration was a serious impediment to the peace, progress, and civilization of the country, and that the undisputed authority of a single paramount civilized power capable of enforcing fixed principles of conduct towards the natives was essential to peace and tranquillity. The Orange Free State had by their troubles with the natives been made to feel this, and in December, 1858, had by a resolution of the Raad proposed reunion, by federation or otherwise, with the Cape Colony. Sir George Grey did all he could to promote it, and at first the Home Government was disposed to support him. But eventually the Colonial

Secretary, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, announced that on consideration he had decided against it; the proposal fell to the ground, and a golden opportunity was lost.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the rule laid down by Lord Grey, it was found necessary to intervene between the Orange River Boers and the Basutos. The latter, twice rescued by Sir George Grey's mediation, were afterwards, and after suffering much loss, saved by Sir Philip Woodhouse's good offices from annihilation, and were located (1868) on territory assigned to them by the Cape Colony. The Griquas also had a territory given to them in what became East Griqualand. And at Kimberley, when the discovery of the diamond-fields (1870) attracted a multitude of people to the edge of the Orange Free State, where there was pending a boundary-dispute with a native Chief, British police and troops had to occupy the town to save it from disorder; the boundary dispute was settled by the payment of £90,000 to the Orange Free State, and the territory of West Griqualand was added (October 27, 1871) to the British Empire.

Lord Carnarvon became Colonial Minister in 1874. The success of confederation in Canada was an encouragement to him to try a similar scheme in South Africa, and to abandon in favour of confederation the policy of disintegration initiated twenty years before. In the following year, therefore, he addressed a despatch to Sir H. Barkly, then Governor of the Cape, containing an elaborate scheme for bringing about a meeting of delegates from all the South African States to determine on a plan of confederation.

Unfortunately, he had committed the old Colonial-Office mistake of sending out, cut and dried, all the details of the scheme, and nominating, or at least suggesting, the members who were to take part in the Conference, instead

of offering an outline and leaving details to be filled in on the spot; and he had now to deal with the susceptibilities of a Colony which had just received a new constitution and responsible Government, and was morbidly sensitive to any treatment which bore the least appearance of dictation from the Home Government. The result was, that the House of Assembly, resenting the despatch, without expressing an opinion on the general question of confederation, passed a resolution (June, 1875), that any movement in that direction should originate in South Africa and not in England.

The position the Cape Parliament had taken was not tenable. In a matter affecting all the South African Colonies and Provinces, it was the place of the Home Government, which had relations with, and presided over them all, to suggest the outline of a scheme for establishing new relations between them. A little tact and patience would no doubt have put matters right. Unfortunately, Lord Carnarvon had gone out of his way to select as the exponent and advocate of the proposed scheme, not the Governor of the Cape, who was the natural channel for communication with the Colonial Office, but Mr. Froude, the historian, who was also named or suggested by him as a member of the proposed Conference. Eminent as he was in literature, Mr. Froude had had no official or political experience or training, and possessed no special qualifications for such duties. He landed at Capetown just after the resolution of the House of Assembly had been passed, and the proposed Conference nipped in the bud. He had therefore practically ceased to have any *locus standi*, and it would have been well for the cause of federation if he had returned to England by the next steamer, or at any rate had abstained from making public speeches. But

contrary to the expressed desire of the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, he attended a public dinner at Capetown on the day of his arrival, at which he made so ill-advised a speech, that before twenty-four hours had passed, he had put himself in a position of antagonism to the Governor, his Ministers, and public feeling generally at Capetown.

He went on to the Eastern Province of the Colony, to Natal, to the Orange Free State, to Kimberley, and to the Transvaal. No one could say whether he came as Lord Carnarvon's representative or on his own account. At Grahamstown he called himself "Lord Carnarvon's unworthy representative;" at other places he expressly repudiated any official character; but he continued to make speeches. At Bloemfontein he praised his entertainers, the Boers, effusively, at the expense of their neighbours at Kimberley;* and gained their acclamations by using language which they could only understand as suggesting, not federation under the British Crown, but a Dutch Afrikander Republic impatient to throw off all connection with the British Empire.

There were few South Africans who did not recognize that federation of some kind was an end to be desired. It was obvious that half a dozen contiguous territories, under distinct Governments, with different customs duties, different systems of law, different credit in the money market, and different policy towards the natives, could

* In the course of his speech, he is reported to have said—

"What interest have miners and storekeepers and speculators in the independence of South Africa? Under any flag they can equally pursue their trade, and gain such ends as they are contending for. . . . You have the misfortune to possess a soil and climate of unexampled excellence, and a position on the globe the most attractive to every ambitious and aggressive Power. The independence of South Africa will come when you can reply to these Powers with shot and shell (vociferous cheers). . . . "I honour and admire the achievement of national independence, because, etc."—"Our South African Empire," by W. Greswell, vol. i. ch. ix.

not progress in the same way as if there were unity of action, which would provide even justice, unrestricted commerce, and the opening up of the country by roads, railways, and telegraphs, and which would secure peace on the frontier. But the conflicting interests and antagonisms were so many and so great as to raise almost insuperable difficulties. The utmost tact and patience to wait for fitting opportunities were needed to give even a hope of overcoming them. The effect, as far as they had any effect, of Mr. Froude's speeches was to aggravate instead of to allay them. And, what was worse, the ill-considered flattery which he bestowed on the Boers at the expense of their neighbours left an impression on the natives that the federation which was contemplated involved Dutch ascendency, which boded ill, as they had had good reason to know, to them. It was oil on the smouldering fires of native discontent, which were soon to burst forth with fatal consequences.

When, by the Sand River Convention, the Transvaal Republic was given its independence, a condition was made that there should be no slavery. This condition, as there were no means of enforcing it, was obviously useless. Its only effect was to cause the word "apprentice" to be used instead of that of "slave," to express the same thing. Children were kidnapped, trained to work in the fields, had their price, and were as little protected by the law as any other live stock on the farm. The apprenticeship never came to an end. Waggon-loads of slaves—"black ivory," as they were called—passed through the country, and were put up to auction or were exchanged, sometimes for money, sometimes for a horse or for "a cow and a big pot." *

* See, for the above and worse instances, "Cetewayo and his White Neighbours," ch. ii., by Rider Haggard.

After a separate existence of twelve years, the Transvaal Republic had fallen into a hopeless condition of lawlessness and insolvency. Burgers, the President, had appointed to office several adventurers from Holland and elsewhere. For the European Dutchman—the Hollander, as he was called—the African Dutch have never shown any liking, and these new arrivals had most of them brought with them socialistic and neologian or atheistic views which were abhorrent to the rigid Puritanism of the Boers.* Taxes were paid grudgingly, and at last were not paid at all. Obedience to the law was often refused by armed bodies sufficiently strong to render it impossible for the Executive to compel submission. Renegades of different nationalities gathered, after their wont, on the outskirts of civilization on the northern and eastern frontiers. Each man did pretty much what was right in his own eyes. There was a chronic state of war with the natives. Sometimes a white man would purchase the right to graze stock upon portions of native territory at certain seasons

* There was also an element of charlatanism about them. One of them who had been Attorney-General of the Republic afterwards complained to Frere at Pretoria of his not having been continued in office. Frere, after pointing out to him that the judge had pronounced him incompetent, asked him where he was educated. "At a Dutch university," he answered, "where I took the degree of Doctor of Geology" (meaning Theology). "What next?" "I was Pastor of a Dutch congregation in Holland." "And then?" "Sub-editor of a paper in Holland." "And then?" "Examined and passed in law by a law-agent at Pretoria."

Another official was the Fenian Aylward, of whom more hereafter.

Frere writes to Lord Chelmsford from Pretoria (April 30, 1879) :—

"I have at various times had much useful talk with some of the old Boer hands. . . . One old Voortrekker said he 'disliked Hollanders much worse than Britishers. The Briton was always hard working, and could ride and shoot, and he had even known some who could harness and inspan a team and drive a waggon, but a Hollander could only talk and write, and could not harness a mule, or drive a waggon to save his life.'"

of the year. This licence would be magnified after a few years into a title to the freehold, and the native chief compelled by threats or violence to confirm it. Thus encroachments were continually going on, and the Government was too weak to interfere.

A war broke out with Secocoeni, the Chief of a tribe akin to the Basutos and to the Zulus. He had entrenched himself in a strong natural mountain fortress, where the Boers attacked him with a force, white and black, of 2900 men. They seem not to have displayed their usual courage; they were repulsed, and, though their loss was small, were so discouraged that their force disbanded and dispersed, President Burgers, who commanded, begging them to shoot him rather than let him survive such a disgrace.

Volunteers not being forthcoming, and the treasury being empty, the Transvaal Government resorted to the expedient of carrying on the war by a force of filibusters under one Von Schlickman, an ex-Prussian officer, who were to receive no pay or supplies, and were to reimburse themselves by the cattle or land that they might be able to take from the natives. The war in consequence assumed a character of unrestrained ferocity. Prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood, and women and children often met the same fate.* Von Schlickman was not long

* In a Despatch to Lord Carnarvon, of December 18, 1876, Sir Henry Barkly says (C. 1776, p. 11)—

"As Von Schlickman has since fallen fighting bravely, it is not without reluctance that I join in affixing this dark stain on his memory, but truth compels me to add the following extract from a letter which I have since received from one whose name (which I communicate to your lordship privately) forbids disbelief. 'There is no longer the *slightest doubt* as to the murder of the two women and the child at Steelpoort by the *direct order of Schlickman*, and in the attack on the kraal near which these women were captured (or some attack about that period) he ordered his men to cut the throats of all the wounded! This is no mere report; it is positively true.' And in a subsequent letter the same writer informs me that the statements

afterwards killed, and was succeeded in his command by Aylward, an Irish Fenian.

At this point Lord Carnarvon wrote (Sept. 22, 1876) to Sir Henry Barkly that a war such as this menaced the peace of all South Africa, and he must insist on

are based on the evidence, not alone of Kaffirs, but of whites who were present.

"As regards the even more serious accusations brought against Abel Erasmus" (the Kruger's Post field-cornet), "as specially alluded to in my letter to President Burgers, of the 28th ult." (viz. of treacherously killing forty or fifty friendly natives, men and women, and carrying off the children), "I beg to invite your lordship's attention to an account derived, I am assured, from a respectable Boer who accompanied the expedition, and protested against the slaughter and robbery of friendly Kaffirs committed by order of the above-named field-cornet.

"Should I not shortly receive such a reply from the President to my letters of last month, as to convince me that his Honour has taken effectual steps to check such outrages and punish the perpetrators, I will enter another protest, if only for form's sake.

"Seeing, however, that Aylward, who is said to boast, whether truly or not, that he took part with his brother Fenians in the murder of the police constable at Manchester, as well as in the attempt to blow up the Clerkenwell prison, had succeeded Schlickman in the command of the Steelpoort Volunteers, I question whether the Government of the South African Republic has the power, even supposing it to have the will, to put a stop to further atrocities on the part of this band of 'Filibusters,' as they are commonly styled in the newspapers.

"In my opinion it will be requisite to call in the aid of British troops before this can be done, and I am not without hope that one of the results of the mission on which Sir T. Shepstone is about to start, will be a petition from persons of education and property throughout the country for such an intervention on the part of Her Majesty's Government as will terminate this wanton and useless bloodshed, and prevent the recurrence of the scenes of injustice, cruelty, and rapine, which abundant evidence is every day forthcoming to prove have rarely ceased to disgrace the Republics beyond the Vaal ever since they first sprang into existence."

The above-mentioned Abel Erasmus was afterwards described by Sir G. Wolseley at a public dinner as a "fiend in human form." Thirteen women and three children are said to have been massacred on one occasion by his force of Boer Kaffirs. See Rider Haggard's "Cetywayo and His White Neighbours," p. 98.

its being stopped. In the course of his despatch, he said—

"There can be no doubt that the safety and prosperity of the Republic would be best assured by its union with the British Colonies, when no occasion for local wars would continue to exist. If, however, the policy of the Transvaal Government had been such as not to injure British interests, I should have been content to do nothing to influence or accelerate the popular opinion of the State in favour of such union. . . . But should the people of the Transvaal Republic consider it advisable under all the circumstances to invite Her Majesty's Government to undertake the government of that territory on terms consistent with the now well-known policy of Her Majesty's Government, I am of opinion that the request could not properly or prudently be declined." *

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who was then [1876] in England for the South African Conference, was sent out to the Transvaal on a special commission, to confer with the President on the question of confederation, with discretion, should the course of events make it expedient, and subject to confirmation by the British Government, to arrange for its being brought under the British flag. Again the old mistake was made of conferring an authority distinct from and independent of the High Commissioner.

It was about five months after this that Frere arrived at Capetown. In selecting for the office of the High Commissioner, not an official with Colonial experience, but an Indian statesman whose views on Imperial policy were so pronounced and so well known, Lord Carnarvon had practically adopted them on behalf of the Colonial Office and of the Government, and had given Frere a mission to promote and endeavour to establish in South Africa union and confederation under the British flag, in place of a policy of separation and disintegration.

* C. 1748, p. 103.

Of all the misrepresentations and mistakes that have been made concerning Frere's administration of South Africa, the commonest and the most flagrantly false is that he was responsible for the annexation of the Transvaal. Not only had Shepstone discretion to annex it independently of the High Commissioner, but even had it been otherwise, a comparison of dates proves that the proclamation was issued before Frere could have had time to communicate with him. The telegraph from Capetown was completed only as far as Kimberley; and so slow and ill-arranged was the post that it only went twice a week, and letters took more than a fortnight between Capetown and Pretoria, where Shepstone was.*

Frere had landed at Capetown on March 31. On the morning of April 16, Mr. R. W. Murray, jun., the editor of the Cape *Times*, hurried up to Government House and showed him a telegraphic press message he had just received from Kimberley, that the Proclamation of annexation of the Transvaal had been issued on the 12th. "Good heavens!" was Frere's exclamation, "what will they say in England?"

Details were slow in coming, and it was not till the 30th, eighteen days after its issue, that Frere received an official copy of the Proclamation.

Though there are no written words of Frere's to that effect, there is no doubt that he inclined to the opinion that Shepstone's proclamation was premature.† He had

* The journey from Kimberley to Pretoria, a distance of about 270 miles, took nearly four whole days to accomplish. The horses that drew the mail were not stabled, but grazed by contract with the farmers on the line of road, and at the end of each stage the coach had to wait, sometimes for hours, till fresh horses were caught.

† Frere always regretted that the word "annexation" should have been used. He would have preferred the words "cession and union under the British flag."

no choice, however, but to accept the act as accomplished, and, as was his wont, he was quite prepared to believe that Shepstone, the officer on the spot and in possession of the fullest and latest information, might have acted for the best. On the 4th, twelve days before the news came, he had written to Lord Carnarvon :—

"It seems to me that, as matters now stand, criticism as to what Shepstone is doing is as misplaced as suggestions how to hold his paddle would be to a man shooting a rapid. Our best course is cordially to support him in all reasonable ways as long as he appears to be doing his best to carry out our views and instructions."

Burgers the President and others of the leading Boers had been privately encouraging * Shepstone to take over

* Shepstone writes, on April 11, to Mr. Robert Herbert, enclosing his letter under "Flying Seal" to Frere :—

"There will be a protest against my act of annexation issued by the Government, but they will at the same time call upon the people to submit quietly, pending the issue; you need not be disquieted by such action, because it is taken merely to save appearances and the members of the Government from the violence of a faction that seems for years to have held Pretoria in terror when any act of the Government displeased it.

"You will better understand this when I tell you privately that the President has from the first fully acquiesced in the necessity for the change, and that most of the members of the Government have expressed themselves anxious for it—but none of them have had the courage openly to express their opinions, so I have had to act apparently against them; and this I have felt bound to do, knowing the state and danger of the country, and that three-fourths of the people will be thankful for the change when once it is made.

"Yesterday morning Mr. Burgers came to me to arrange how the matter should be done. I read to him the draft of my Proclamation, and he proposed the alteration of two words only, to which I agreed. He brought to me a number of conditions which he wished me to insert, which I have accepted and have embodied in my Proclamation. He told me that he could not help issuing a protest to keep the noisy portion of the people quiet, and you will see grounds for this precaution when I tell you that there are only half a dozen native constables to represent the power of the State in Pretoria, and a

the government, and most of them had stipulated for any afterwards received office or pension, whilst in their public speeches they were protesting against his action. They were playing a double game. The British Government was to settle their native and financial difficulties for them—to be the cat's-paw to take their chestnuts out of the fire—and then they could repudiate it. When therefore Shepstone issued the Proclamation, Burger's Government published a protest, and Krüger and Jorissen started for England to agitate against the annexation.*

considerable number of the Boers in the neighbourhood are of the lowest and most ignorant class. Mr. Burgers read me, too, the draft of his protest, and asked me if I saw any objection to it, or thought it too strong. I said that it appeared to me to pledge the people to resist by-and-bye; to which he replied that it was to tide over the difficulty of the moment, seeing that my support, the troops, were a fortnight's march distant, and that by the time the answer to the protest came, all desire of opposition would have died out. I therefore did not dissuade him from his protest.

"You will see, when the Proclamation reaches you, that I have taken high ground. Nothing but annexation will or can save the State, and nothing else can save South Africa from the direst consequences. All the thinking and intelligent people know this, and will be thankful to be delivered from the thraldom of petty factions by which they are perpetually kept in a state of excitement and unrest because the Government and everything connected with it is a thorough sham."

Eight days previously (April 3) Shepstone had written to Frere:—

"Mr. Burgers, who had been all along, as far as his conversation and professions to me went, in full accord with me, had suddenly taken alarm; he made impossible proposals, all of which involved infinite delay, and of course, dangerous agitation. As far as I am concerned, it is impossible for me to retreat now, come what may. If I were to leave the country, Civil War would at once take place, as the natives would consider it the sunshine in which they should make hay in the Transvaal; the gold-fields are in a state of rebellion against the Transvaal Government, and they are kept from overt acts only by my warnings and entreaties."

* Shepstone writes (May 9): "Mr. Paul Krüger and his colleague Dr. Jorissen, D.D., the Commission to Europe, leave to-day. I do not think that either of them wishes the act of annexation to be cancelled; Dr. Jorissen certainly does not." Mr. J. D. Barry, Recorder of Kimberley, writes to Frere (May 15): "The delegates, Paul Krüger

It may be that Shepstone should have waited till a still greater stress of necessity forced the Transvaal Government to take a more straightforward course, or induced the Volksraad to ask spontaneously for annexation. At any rate, he should not have connived at Burgers' double-dealing by assenting to the issue of his protest — a grave error, which led to subsequent misrepresentation of the true state of the case. But Burgers had voluntarily thrown down the reins, and there was no one to pick them up—no one offered to take his place. The situation was critical, and the peril of the country imminent. There was just twelve shillings and sixpence in the treasury; taxes were now altogether refused, and salaries and contracts unpaid; the gaols were thrown open, for there was no money to pay for food for the prisoners; there was no public credit, and no interest paid on the debt. Meantime Secocoeni was again threatening. And on the south-eastern frontier an army of Cetywayo's Zulus, thirty or forty thousand strong, was gathered for invasion. There was no organized force, no preparation to resist it. To delay too long might have entailed the burning of every homestead, and the slaughter of every man, woman, and child up to the walls of Pretoria.* It

and Dr. Jorissen, left Pretoria on the 8th, and even they do not seem to have much faith in their mission; Dr. Jorissen thinks that the reversal of Sir Theophilus' act would not only be impossible, but a great injury to the country."

* The day before he issued the Proclamation, Shepstone sent a messenger to Cetywayo, telling him that the Transvaal would be under British sovereignty, and warning him against aggression in that direction. Cetywayo replied, "I thank my father Somtseu (Shepstone) for his message. I am glad that he has sent it, because the Dutch have tired me out, and I intended to fight with them once, only once, and to drive them over the Vaal. Kabana, you see my Impis are gathered. It was to fight the Dutch I called them together. Now I will send them back to their houses." (C. 1883, p. 19.)

Colonel A. W Durnford, R.E., in a memorandum of July 5, 1877,

would have been a Machiavellian policy which would have bid the British Government stand aside and let the Boers and Zulus fight out their quarrel and leave it master of the situation. It may well be that, judging by the light of subsequent events—of wavering counsels in England, of Boer ingratitude, and of the surrender of 1881,—it would have been better, no matter at what risk of wholesale bloodshed, to have waited. But if Shepstone's action was premature or faulty, the annexation was at any rate a generous and unselfish act on the part of the British Government in the interests of peace, and on behalf of Boers and of natives alike.* And Lord Carnarvon accepted and ratified it, though he seems to have been quite as much startled by its sudden conclusion as Frere was.

Frere writes to Lord Carnarvon :—

"I have already seen enough to be sure it will require great care to prevent the whole Dutch section of the

writes: "About this time (April 10) Cetywayo had massed his forces in three corps on the borders, and would undoubtedly have swept the Transvaal, at least up to the Vaal River, if not to Pretoria itself, had the country not been taken over by the English. In my opinion, he would have cleared the country to Pretoria."

"I am convinced," writes Sir A. Cunynghame, June 12, from Pretoria, "that had this country not been annexed it would have been ravaged by the native tribes. Forty square miles of country had been overrun by natives and every house burned, just before the annexation." And he writes again, July 6: "Every day convinces me that unless this country had been annexed it would have been a prey to plunder and rapine from the natives on its eastern border, joined by Secocoeni, Mapock, and other tribes in the Transvaal. Feeling the influence of the British Government, they are now tranquil."

* "There was another reason for Shepstone's act of annexation. Burgers had sought alliances with Continental powers—Germans, Belgians, and Portuguese, and Shepstone had no reason to doubt that if England declined to interfere, Germany would be induced to undertake the protection of the Transvaal, which would have added infinitely to our troubles in South Africa."—Frere to Mr. J. M. Maclean April 22, 1881.

population feeling deeply on the subject. None of them seem to realize, as I had expected, that it was quite impossible for the Transvaal to go on any longer as it has been doing for the last two years, and that if they were cordially to adopt what you had offered, they might obtain more security for reasonable self-government than they or their forefathers ever hoped for."

He wrote to Shepstone to ask if he intended to summon the Volksraad. Shepstone, however, gave reasons why he did not consider this to be practicable; and Frere, assenting, writes to Lord Carnarvon:—

"I think Shepstone is quite wise not to summon the Volksraad, nor to take any step which could be mistaken for a recognition of its possessing any of its old quasi-sovereign powers; but I think it will be necessary to hear the burghers and all other men of property as to their future form of government, and no better opportunity for doing this is likely to offer than the occasion when they may be summoned to hear that the Queen has confirmed the act of annexation, and intends henceforward to govern the Transvaal.

"This would obviate all difficulty in summoning men whose views you wish to learn, but whose advice it may not be easy to ask directly. . . . I do not think you need apprehend any difficulty in giving the Dutch in the Transvaal or elsewhere a very real and efficient representation, which will be quite satisfactory to them. But you must carry back your mind to the days and ideas of Hampden and Milton, or at least of Somers and William Penn, if you would realize the Cape Dutch farmer's notions of representation or republic. I can imagine nothing less like his political elysium than a modern republic of the French type, and its forms of liberty, equality, and fraternity. American or English ideas of universal suffrage, equal electoral circles, constantly recurring elections, and theoretical symmetry in representation, are only one degree less hateful to him. Proper qualifications he would consider essential, and very arbitrary distinctions of race and colour unobjectionable. . . .

"Even native interests may, I think, be represented, though perhaps at first indirectly, but with sufficient reality

to satisfy their reasonable advocates. It would be well to discourage tribal representation by chiefs, however able, influential, or well educated, in their capacity *as chiefs*. Any representation of natives should be local, so as not to be affected by changes in the ownership of land. . . .

"Every chief and tribe, from Cetywayo and the Zulus down to the smallest Batlapin, seems to have had for years past an English or English-speaking-and-writing Agent or Minister, who speaks, writes, or interprets for him—often a missionary, or a very decent sort of farmer or trader, sometimes a bad specimen of his class, but generally as acceptable to his European neighbours as the Chief can find, and in at least one well-known case, Mrs. Jenkins, the Pondo missionary's widow, a woman."

Frere's notes and observations on a Constitution for the Transvaal, written about this time, show what anxious thought he gave to it from the first—how essential he considered it to be that in granting the Constitution there should be no hesitation or delay, such as occurred, as will be seen, with such unfortunate consequences, and in spite of his repeated and earnest representations.

In the mean time the proclamation of the annexation was received throughout the Transvaal with acquiescence and relief, and in many places with enthusiasm. Addresses of congratulation and thanks poured in by every mail, some of them signed by Boers who were afterwards conspicuous for hostility to British rule.* Not a single English soldier was in the country, yet there was nowhere any disturbance. Credit was restored, commerce re-commenced, and landed property nearly doubled in value. It was not till three weeks afterwards that the first British soldiers, a battalion of the 13th Light Infantry, marched in from Newcastle in Natal. It entered Pretoria amid

* A memorial protesting against the object of Krüger's and Jorissen's deputation to England and approving the annexation was numerously signed. Amongst other signatures are those of six members of the Volksraad. (C. 1883, p. 23.)

general rejoicing, the whole population turning out to meet it. On the Queen's birthday there was a general festival. In addition to all the English, a large number of Boers and several native chiefs attended; and to the strains of "God save the Queen," and amid the cheers of the crowd, the Union Jack was run up a lofty flagstaff, and the Transvaal formally announced to be British soil.

Frere writes to Lord Carnarvon:—

"May 15, 1877.

"Our news from the Transvaal continues very favourable, and I think even Burgers' friends here see that opposition or protest is useless. They still argue that the annexation requires the confirmation of the Volksraad to give it legal validity, but they confess that if Shepstone were to summon a fresh Volksraad elected to decide between the annexation and a return to Mr. Burgers' republic, a great majority would prefer annexation."

And in another letter to him he says—

"May 21, 1877.

"There can be no doubt that the annexation of the Transvaal has materially altered the position of all parties, if parties they can be called, with regard to confederation. It has immensely strengthened the position of all who desire confederation, by making it more of an absolute certainty and necessity than it was before.

"But it has at the same time startled and alarmed both classes of the Dutch, the Africanders, and Neologians who sympathized with Burgers in his dreams of a great anti-English South Africa. These men see an end of their dreams. It has had a similar effect, for a time only and in a smaller degree, on the old orthodox Dutch party, who are not really more anti-English than French Canadians or Welsh farmers, that is to say, they don't love our nation, its language, or its busy, bustling, exact ways, but they are really loyal to the Government, and are as faithful subjects as the Queen possesses. They have a vague kind of sympathetic regret for the extinction of anything that calls itself Dutch, and they have a notion that the annexation of the Transvaal will disturb the

existing equilibrium in the western provinces, which seems to be the Dutch farmers' idea of the political millennium."

Frere's commission was so vaguely worded that it was hard to say precisely what powers it conferred.* Besides having a special mission to effect confederation, he had, as High Commissioner of Her Majesty's territories in South Africa, an undefined duty of supervision; and that he might lose no time in putting himself into communication with all the Governments, he had, immediately on his arrival at Capetown, despatched letters to Sir H. Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, to Major Lanyon, the Administrator at Kimberley, and to Sir T. Shepstone in the Transvaal, asking them to correspond freely with him on all that was going on, and promising to do the like by them.

Hearing an unsatisfactory account of some of the men whom Shepstone had appointed to office, Frere writes to Mr. Robert Herbert, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"June 5, 1877.

"I shall tell Shepstone all I hear of these people, on the principle that I should like him to tell me anything he heard against any appointment I made. But I shall be careful not to meddle with anything he does without specific instructions from Lord Carnarvon. He has difficulties and work enough, and will want all the support we can give him."

In the course of July he learnt that Shepstone, who had inherited from the Republic a heavy schedule of pecuniary liabilities, was drawing somewhat freely and irregularly on the British Government. He therefore wrote to Mr. Herbert:—

"July 24, 1877.

"If you wish me to take any more active part in such matters, I must beg you to ask Lord Carnarvon to let

* C. 2247, p. 50.

Shepstone know how far the Secretary of State wishes him to look for my advice or approval in whatever he does in financial or any other branches of government. . . . Nothing can be more cordial than our relations hitherto, but . . . I cannot say that what I hear or read of the few men about him who could advise on financial matters, relieves my anxiety. Mr. Burgers' financial Minister is evidently not a man to trust."

This letter, and some particulars which he gave as to the expenditure which was going on in the Transvaal, roused the attention of the Colonial Office, and Mr. Sargeaunt, a financial officer of experience, was sent out, who was of the greatest assistance in getting the Transvaal finances into order. Mr. Herbert writes in answer:—

"August 28, 1877.

"We none of us supposed that Shepstone was a financier, but nevertheless we are aghast, as you may well have expected, at the wild drawing reported in your last letters and despatches. It is impossible to overestimate the value of your action in at once calling attention to what is being done, and your communications to Shepstone have been full of tact, and should have done good. Not only I, but Lord Carnarvon and the Government are really very thankful to you. You are the only person in South Africa who appears to have been sensible of what was taking place."

And in a subsequent letter Mr. Herbert says—

"October 18, 1877.

"You would be repaid for much hard and unpleasant work if you could hear the terms in which Lord Carnarvon expresses his satisfaction with all that you have done in the short time during which you have been in South Africa, and the confidence which he places in your judgment. It would be impertinent in me to say more than that I think him very right in this as in almost all his conclusions."

Nor did Shepstone fail to acknowledge the benefit of Frere's assistance. "What an enormous advantage to me

one hour's conversation with you would be!" he writes to Frere (August 6, 1877), hearing of his proposed visit to Pretoria; "there are points which it is difficult to convey the exact meaning of by writing."

The Ministry then in office at the Cape was the first formed after the establishment of constitutional government five years before. Mr. Molteno was Colonial Secretary, a man of fair ability and parliamentary skill, who had done good work in his time, but who took little interest in, and was anxious to avoid responsibility for, anything outside the Cape Colony. When the Governor's speech for the opening of the Cape Parliamentary Session was being considered Frere wished a paragraph to be inserted announcing the annexation of the Transvaal as a completed fact. Mr. Molteno replied that Ministers did not in the least wish to impede or ignore the act of annexation, but they did not wish to be supposed to have had anything to do with it, and Frere had the greatest difficulty in inducing them to make themselves acquainted with the facts of the case. They were even unwilling that it should be known that they had seen any of Shepstone's letters.

Their attitude towards confederation was the same. As far as they had any opinion on the subject at all, they accepted it as settled that it was to be, but they would do nothing to further it. The British Government was at this time passing a Bill through Parliament enabling the South African Colonies, subject to the consent of the Crown, to confederate at such times as they should think fit. Taught by the experience of what had happened two years before, Lord Carnarvon had sent a draft of the Bill to the Cape Ministers before it was introduced into the British Parliament, and certain suggestions made by them were embodied in it. It passed without opposition, except from the obstruction of the Irish members. The question of the

annexation of the Transvaal was raised incidentally during the debate, and of this act only two private English Members expressed any disapprobation.

Frere writes to Lord Carnarvon :—

"May 12, 1877.

"I doubt whether, up to the present time, people here have generally regarded confederation as likely to become a proximate question for some years to come. 'Eastern Province folk might agitate about it, but it would be years before their talk came to any practical issue.'

"Now, however, the annexation of the Transvaal, and the enactment of your Bill will force them to bestir themselves and make up their minds, but I doubt whether, till they have talked it over in Parliament, one in two of them will know exactly what to think of it, or have any definite notion how he ought to vote about it."

Security and peace amongst the native tribes within and near the frontier was the first condition for bringing the older and more settled provinces to agree to any plan of confederation, which would cause the expense of guarding it to be shared by all. Namaqualand and Damaraland, tracts of country hitherto unsettled and little visited by white men, extend for some seven hundred miles along the west coast northward of the Cape Colony, between Bechuanaland and the sea. Mr. Coates Palgrave, who had formerly spent some years there, had recently been sent to report on the country, and had brought back a great amount of information and earnest appeals from the chiefs of the more important tribes to be taken under the British protectorate. Failing this, it was likely that intertribal wars would break out again, and not improbably the confusion be aggravated by Boers trekking from the Transvaal, or by foreign interference, possibly by some filibustering crew who might land on the coast, and set up a republic of their own, with such consequences to the neighbouring territories as may be imagined. All

this country, and Walfisch Bay in particular, with the adjacent land, Frere urged should be proclaimed to be under the British protectorate.

Mr. Molteno would give no answer, one way or the other, as to whether his government would or would not favour the declaration of this protectorate. At last Frere explained that he might have to act without him by means of instructions given to Lanyon or Shepstone, and this brought Molteno round at once. He agreed that Palgrave should be sent back; and just as Frere was getting into his carriage to start on a prolonged absence from Capetown, he called to beg that he would instruct the Commodore to hoist the British flag at Walfisch Bay. This was done, and the annexation of Walfisch Bay and the adjacent territory from thirteen to eighteen miles inland, was sanctioned by the British Government; but to Frere's great regret the protectorate of Damaraland and Namaqualand was refused by Lord Carnarvon; the opportunity was lost, and that country has since come under German protection.

There was a marked separation, a rivalry, and, on some important questions, a divergence of political opinion between the old western and the more recently settled eastern parts of the Cape Colony. Mr. Molteno's Ministry represented mainly the views of Western colonists. Communication was slow, and the posts infrequent.

"I will do my best to mend matters here," Frere writes, "but you will be able to understand how much has to be done, from the fact that Mr. Molteno and his Postmaster-General both justified their contentment with posts only twice or thrice a week to their great eastern ports, not by the want of letters to be carried, for the mail-cart is often so crammed it can hardly hold its load, but by the fact that they tried a daily post some years ago, and it created such confusion, coming in at all hours of the day and night, that it had to be given up."

And in a paper written some years later, he says—

"Western men, far removed from the frontier, with little practical knowledge of any native difficulty except the scarcity of native labour, generally professed a firm belief in the peaceful character of the native tribes; they regarded Kaffir wars as things of the past, never likely to recur, and ridiculed the fears of the eastern colonists.

"Eastern men, on the other hand, living more on the frontier, and often mixed up with Kaffir tribes, believed that the natives were then being stirred by a general movement against the white population—a restless spirit such as preceded the Indian Mutiny of 1857—which had been growing in strength for many years, and had its centre of action in Zululand.

"They asked for more efficient organization of frontier defence, and for more stringent laws against native vagrancy and stock-stealing.

"Both parties were equally positive and apparently equally sincere in their conflicting statements of fact and opinion."

Frere, therefore, determined to visit the eastern frontier and see for himself.

He left Capetown in August, intending to go to the Transvaal, taking the eastern province and either Natal or Kimberley by the way. Anxious as he was to visit the Transvaal, he little thought that eighteen months would pass before stress of work and danger elsewhere would admit of his going there.

He landed at Port Elizabeth—a settlement founded in 1820, at a time of poverty and want of employment in England, when the glowing accounts of the beauty and fertility of the country induced the British Parliament to vote a sum of £50,000 for the settlement of colonists there. It would have been money well spent if ten times the amount had been granted, for there were 90,000 applicants, of whom only 4000 could be sent; and the success of the Albany settlers, as they are called, proved the wisdom of the scheme.

The harbour, he noted, was quite defenceless. "At present every warehouse and bank and the shipping is absolutely at the mercy of any little steamer that can carry a rifled gun." There was valuable building-land belonging to the War Office and of no use to it. This, he suggested, might be sold for a sum sufficient to provide the necessary defences. "They are all warmly for confederation here," he says, "not much in favour of responsible government, but far more reasonable regarding eastern and western divisions in politics than I expected."

Thence he went on to Grahamstown (August 30)—

"prettily situated in a sort of amphitheatre of rocky hills; the streets are too wide and the houses too far apart for an English cathedral town; a sub-Alpine Austrian town is the nearest likeness I can think of, but it does not look as if it ever could be the capital of South Africa. It is entirely English, and loyal, and hospitable, and I have learned much while staying here. But a great part of my time has been given to the Frontier scare, which has much increased in dimensions since we left Port Elizabeth. Some Fingoes and Galekas (Kreli's tribe) had a fight at a beer-drinking; broken heads led to cattle-lifting, and the fight spread."

To try if, by a personal interview, he could induce Kreli to keep his people in order, he went on through King William's Town, over the border of British Kaffraria to Butterworth, where he met Colonel Eustace, then Resident with Kreli, and having let the latter know that he was ready to listen to his grievances, if he had any, waited for him there. Kreli, however, under various pretences, kept aloof, and Frere, therefore, returned to King William's Town. The same day a force of Galekas made an attack upon the police, and when he reached the town he found it so full of farmers and their wives and families, taking refuge in fear of their homesteads being attacked and

burnt by the Kaffirs, that there was no house empty to receive him, and he was glad to take up his quarters in the barracks with the 24th Regiment.

In those barracks he continued to live for seven months. Two of the Ministers—Mr. Merriman, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and Mr. Brownlee, Secretary for Native Affairs—were there with him. It was soon apparent that a Kaffir outbreak and a native war had to be faced, with which there was no sufficient military force or adequate organization to cope.

King William's Town, which became the base of operations, is the last town in the Cape Colony before the river Kei is reached, which was then its eastern boundary, the Ciskei being Cape territory, and the Transkei at that time extra-Colonial territory, inhabited by Kreli and the Galekas under British supervision.

Frere writes thence to Lord Carnarvon :—

"October 3, 1877.

"I was unable by last mail to do more than send you a very rambling official despatch written amid greater interruptions than I recollect since the Mutiny days in India, and the interruptions were much of the same kind—pressing calls to meet immediate wants, telegrams, interviews with deputations indignant, loyal, panic-stricken, fire-eating; applications for every kind of advice and assistance, and offers of advice and aid in equal variety, and all with glorious disregard of any fitness of time, season, or place. . . .

"Littleton and I, in a long ride round a day or two ago, found all the farms we saw deserted, and met waggon-loads of women, children, and furniture coming in. But I hope the tide has turned; the people here have given up mass meetings for the last few days, and taken to serious drilling, three hundred at a time, on the 24th parade ground, under our windows, besides sending out a good troop of volunteers to join Commandant Griffith; and the spirit everywhere, with very few exceptions, is excellent, and I

am sure much permanent good will result from the panic.

"Meantime, it is a total suspension of profitable industry for many weeks, and it must tell heavily on the prosperity of the country."

In another letter to Lord Carnarvon he writes—

"October 8, 1877.

"Merriman and Brownlee were at first aghast at such an innovation as a daily council, at which the General would sit as Commandant of the Forces, where we could interchange intelligence and suggestions and settle the orders to be given, which could be issued at once and communicated to Cape Town without further correspondence. They had evident misgivings as to the view that their colleagues would take of such an intimate relation with the military authorities, but they concurred when I pointed out its necessity, and Merriman came into barracks with me to enable us better to carry out our system of united action, and now he is most fully sensible of its advantages.

"I am certain that without it some great disaster must have occurred.

"Merriman is extremely able, quick, intelligent, and thorough. . . ."

The following letter to Brownlee illustrates some of the difficulties Frere had to contend with in preventing inter-tribal hostilities and dealing with "gun-runners."

"October 9, 1877.

"Will you let us know what orders you have given about arming Fingoes here, and sending them hence to Ayliff.

"Last night, just as it was getting dark, on my way back by the Queenstown Road from Peelton, Hodson and I came on some thirty-five native men, armed with Enfields and fully equipped with ammunition-pouches, haversacks, water-bottles, etc., for field service.

"My attention was drawn to them by one of them firing off his gun with blank cartridge, and I found them parleying with a soldier of the 88th Connaught Rangers,

just arrived from Ireland. Whether he was telling them to 'stand in the Queen's name' or proposing to drink the health of the Ministry, we could not make out, for 'George,' the commandant of the party, talked but imperfect Railway English, and our conductor, Innes's office-messenger, despite his country, birth, and education, knew no Kaffir.

"'George,' however, assured us that it was 'all right.' He was 'a good man' and all his people 'good men—Ayliff's Fingoes.' They produced some gun-passes and permits for ammunition, some passes, etc., for between the Colony and Fingoland, mostly some months old, and many of bygone years.

"Their party, they said, consisted of sixty or more in all, and they were waiting there on the roadside to be joined by their companions.

"Hereupon Innes's messenger recognized them. 'They were some of large numbers of Fingoes who had been to the Civil Commissioner's Office during the past few days and had obtained leave to join Ayliff, provided they went by the high-road to the next Magistrate's Office. This had been done by Mr. Brownlee's orders.'

"They had no pass for a body of men, nor any one with them to interpret to any officer or railway engineer they might meet.

"Any active young officer of Her Majesty's service, or Volunteers, or Burghers, might in all good faith have fired into them, as —— did into Mopassa's Galekas; but the bloodshed in that case would not have been confined to two or three herdsmen shot by mistake because they ran away on seeing armed Europeans.

"'George,' with his thirty-five good railway men with Enfields and ammunition, did not seem inclined to be shot without shooting some one in return; nor would Mr. 'George' and his men be inclined to pass any Gaikas or Islambis they might meet in the glorious state of our friends at Drai Bosch.

"All this is directly opposed to the principle I thought we had fully agreed on, and which no one, as I understood you, recognized more fully than you did—that we should not within the Colony arm tribe against tribe, but endeavour to make all live at peace with their neighbours.

"I hope, therefore, you will let us know exactly what

orders you gave, and be able to assure us that you had nothing to do with this armament.

"We (Merriman and I) have told Innes to prevent anything of the kind in future, and his orders led to a characteristic sequel to my story.

'Mr. ——, the great Kaffir trader, came to him and complained that Innes's orders, consequent on our interference, 'impeded the sale of guns.' Innes explained the circumstances and reasons of our orders, whereupon —— complained that he had invested largely in guns, and any such interference would spoil his sale, and I have no doubt will move heaven and earth to get the order rescinded or evaded.

"Let me hear soon on this subject."

In a letter to General Ponsonby, Frere describes the circumstances which led to the breaking out of the war.

"October 17, 1877.

"I was hurried up in consequence of the alarm of a Kaffir War, and found that hostilities had broken out between the Fingoes, who are British subjects and live in British territory, and the Galekas of Kreli—an old chief, son of Hinza, Sir Harry Smith's opponent, who was unfortunately killed when he had come in under a safe conduct. Kreli was in a state of semi-independence not easily classified according to any rules of international law. He was nominally allowed to govern his own people according to their own customs, but he had a Resident to control him, a pension of £100 per annum from Government, and had been moved about from one province to another after wars and cattle-killings, which had reduced his tribe in numbers and power without much improving their civilization. He is described as an able, crafty old man, with a rooted distrust, real or affected, of us and our promises, a great name among the Kaffirs, and a hatred of his neighbours the Fingoes, who had formerly been his father's helots, were freed by us for taking our side in our wars, and who, since they were settled on parts of the land whence the Galekas were driven, had prospered and improved in civilization, whilst their former masters remained poor and unimproved.

"There are ten or twelve other tribes in Kaffraria in

various stages of anomalous dependence. Some fully annexed to Her Majesty's dominions by Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council, others in various transition stages towards that state, and some claiming a sort of Monaco-like independence, with an old Welsh missionary's widow as a kind of unofficial British Resident, educating and adopting sons of the former chief, whilst she writes letters in a style of American independence for his successor. I have not yet seen Mrs. Jenkins nor her Pondo pupil with his eight thousand warriors, but the stories I hear of her and him are amongst the most comical of the many anomalies in Kaffraria.

"For many years past the old typical Kaffir wars of 'eating up' and entire extermination of the defeated, have ceased; the Kaffirs have greatly multiplied and some have prospered and improved. The thoughts of statesmen in England and Africa ran in other directions, and no one gave much heed to set Kaffraria in order; but the country improved steadily and rapidly. Missionaries and traders in great numbers settled down, and many of the Kaffirs, finding no room for their old pastoral habits in keeping cattle, turned to agriculture and sheep-farming, both civilizing changes. You cannot drive sheep as you drive cattle, and sheep-stealing being a less warlike occupation than cattle-lifting, sheep-farming tended to peace. But the great change was effected by the introduction of light cheap Scotch and American ploughs. A Kaffir man may not hoe—that is woman's work; but no woman may tend cattle—that is man's privilege! so that Kaffir milkmaids are all the young warriors of the Kraal. Hence ploughing with oxen becomes a part of the whole duty of Kaffir man, who formerly, when not milking the cows or slaughtering an ox for a feast, had no heavier work than shaping an assegai shaft, and passed their spare time in beer-drinking and basking in the sun, whilst the women hoed and did all hard work. When the European magistrate or missionary was a kindly intelligent or active man he fostered these habits of industry, and many Kaffirs became rich and civilized; others, neglected, remained savages, clad in red blankets, and drapery, if they used any, covering well-turned limbs, unused to any real labour, and polished with red clay and fat. We sometimes passed from a Kraal of these picturesque savages, poor, proud, idle, and red-ochred,

to a Christian village of thriving cultivators, clad in substantial (but, alas! such ugly) habits of calico and broad cloth, their well-dressed children drawn up in front of a neat school-house, with a sable schoolmaster in black coat and white neck-tie singing 'God save the Queen' with more loyal emphasis than harmony.

"The Fingoes and Galekas were at opposite poles of this kind of civilization and, unluckily, were neighbours. Under active, improving magistrates, Captains Cobbe and Blythe, the Fingoes had improved every way and become rich. The Galekas neglected everything but their oxen, and having killed all their herds at the bidding of a prophet, were poor and had no idea of bettering themselves, but by taking the land of their former 'dogs' the Fingoes. A firm hand and a kindly system a few years ago might have turned this rivalry to useful account, but nothing effectual was done and things were allowed to drift, and two parties grew up among the Galekas. The war party and young men believed they could drive out the Fingoes and the English too, if necessary; the peace party were sure the English would sooner or later protect the Fingoes and therefore counselled peace. A drunken brawl led to border fighting and things were allowed to drift as in times past. When we came up we found there had been pitched battles, in which many lives were lost, amongst the two or three thousand men engaged, on British territory, in the presence of large bodies of British well-armed and mounted European police, who, according to custom, quietly looked on, and reported to Government—not to the magistrate who was in their camp—and asked for orders from Capetown by the weekly post to this place, where sat the Commandant of Police, the Civil Commissioner, and Colonel Glyn, commanding Her Majesty's troops, all absolutely prohibited by Colonial official jealousy from exchanging opinions or even news, and all obliged to apply for orders to Capetown, four or five days distant, by a post only three times a week.

"Unless I had seen it myself I could not have believed in such a state of things. Murders and cattle raids were of almost daily occurrence, and were hardly suspended whilst I was on the spot, and all this not from any one person's fault, but simply from 'drifting.'

"I soon saw that if an outbreak against the English took