

Free State

Reminiscences

of a > > > >

Lifetime. > >

BY

W. W. COLLINS.

RC Streeten

18th Feb '08

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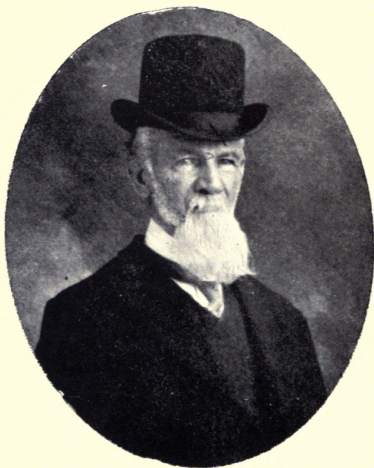
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Part 2



“FREE STATIA,”
OR
REMINISCENCES OF A LIFETIME
IN THE
ORANGE FREE STATE,
SOUTH AFRICA.

ERRATA.

- Page 50. Date "22 March" read 25 March.
" 188. "*angtici*" read *Anglicé*.
" 264. "Acceded" read Asserted.
" 328. "Observations" read Observances.
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W. W. COLLINS—THE WRITER.

BORN 10TH OCTOBER, 1832.

ÆTATES 75.

“FREE STATIA”

OR

REMINISCENCES OF A LIFETIME.

IN THE

ORANGE FREE STATE,
SOUTH AFRICA,

FROM 1852 TO END OF 1875:
23 YEARS.

BY

WM. W. COLLINS, J.P.,
ADVOCATE AND ATTORNEY.



BLOEMFONTEIN, O.R.C., SOUTH AFRICA.

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MCMVII.

"FREE STATIA"

REMINISCENCES

OF A LIFETIME

BY

GEORGE FRANKLIN

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BY THE AUTHOR

AND

—

BY

JOHN G. BROWN

AND



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In Memoriam
"FREE STATIA."

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO THE
FIRST PRIME MINISTER
OF
"ORANGIA,"
ALIAS
"O. R. COLONY,"
BY THE
WRITER.

—: *Union is Strength.* :—

MOTTO :

*“The whirling of time unveils to
the enquiring mind scenes of
days long past, both joyous
and joyless.”*

REMINISCENCES OF A LIFETIME
IN THE
"ORANGE FREE STATE," SOUTH AFRICA.

INTRODUCTION.

The compiler of the following "familiar Reminiscences" has undertaken primarily as a "labour of love," the task of recording what he trusts may be regarded by the ordinary reader a "miscellany" of interesting facts, episodes, and occurrences, connected with the early history of that portion of this great continent lying between the "Orange" and the "Vaal" rivers, formerly owing allegiance to the British Government, then known as the "Orange River Sovereignty," later the "Orange Free State," and now as the "Orange River Colony," and which facts and occurrences have, for the most part, come under his own personal observation during a residence of considerably more than half a century in Bloemfontein.

The compiler has no desire to pose as the "full fledged" Historian of the late "Orange Free State," his aim being merely to jot down, or string together, for preservation a variety of interesting historical and other topics, and episodes, originally intended only for the members of his own family and social circle, which would otherwise probably have remained dormant: these have been for the greater part arranged seriatim in the form of a "diary."

The compiler fondly hopes that some other willing and trusty hand may be found to undertake the task of writing a complete consecutive history of the late "Orange Free State," which will,—if reliable,—afford striking evidence of the marvellous vitality and rapid growth in material prosperity, and educational and social advancement under a series of oft recurring adverse conditions, of a small insular State, by some flighty persons designated a "howling wilderness," under her own homogeneous Republican rule.

When the following pages were first commenced, the "State" had already for some months past been passing through the deadly throes of a fierce life and death struggle with the British Empire, who had for many years been her

friend and admirer, and with whom she had ever been anxious to maintain the most friendly relations, but the little State had, alas! in an evil hour,—owing seemingly to a chimerical, which has unhappily ended in a suicidal policy, probably the outcome of political hallucination, or rather precipitate and illadvised action on her part, which was, at its very inception, dreaded and strongly deprecated by her most enlightened “whilom” Burghers and well-wishers, waged war against her powerful neighbour, which action many have now reason sorely to repent,—and so it was not possible for him (the compiler) to obtain access to many much needed official and other records, which would,—if obtainable,—have ensured fuller and more elaborate detail.

As an impartial narrator the compiler may not however mask the fact that the State occasionally had good reason to feel aggrieved at certain grave political mistakes,—or rather blunders,—made by British “middle-men,” as acting in the name, and on behalf of the *great Head-centre*, 6,000 miles distant in London, whereby the “State” had palpably suffered wrong; but these mistakes have, happily, *ultimately* been settled by amicable arrangement between both Governments, as will fully appear in the following pages,—and are “buried,”—and as all well disposed and peace loving persons should hope,—entirely forgotten.

Finally the compiler hopes that his labours, which had to be carried out under many adverse circumstances during a period of exceptional turmoil and gloom, and which he offers,—he trusts,—to an appreciative and generous public, will not have been wholly in vain; that some interesting information may be gathered from their perusal, and if spared, he hopes to continue his “Notes” in another volume from 1876, where they now end, up to the time of the British occupation of Bloemfontein, when the fate of extinction was decreed against our “dear little Model Republic,”—as so many “within” and “without” her immediate circle, have fondly and truly called her.

W. W. COLLINS, J.P.

Bloemfontein,
Orange River Colony,
July, 1907.

FOREWORDS.

The days that will dwell long, and be branded upon our memories, as the evil and dark days, "etc.,"—the days of war, and carnage,—of "Martial law," of death, burning, waste, poverty, pillage, *race-hatred*, and the other evils, (inseparable from "cruel war") since the following "Reminiscences" were first commenced, are happily ended, and have, we trust, passed into oblivion.

The Historian now feels free to write in a more hopeful spirit of this fair land's future "outlook," which was before the late war a young, but healthy and robust little "Republic," known as the "Orange Free State,"—aged about "forty-six" years. She had during that short "life-time" weathered many a furious onslaught, and pluckily stood her ground against numerous foes, black and white,—both within and without,—and had won for herself an honoured name amongst the nations, as being herself a progressive and rising nation, and is now known as the "Orange River Colony," an "appanage" of the great British Empire; and though of limited extent is, in our humble opinion, destined to become one of Britain's brightest gems.

The British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts, marched into Bloemfontein unopposed,—the horrors of a Military Siege and bombardment having been averted,—at the head of some thousands of troops, in March, "1900," and took possession of the City, and soon after appointed a "Military Governor" and other Military Officials. A stern system under Martial Law, and a rigid Censorship was maintained for several months,—that is to say, until the conclusion of the much longed for "Peace Convention" at Vereeniging, on the 31st May, 1902. After this a new and brighter era ensued,—Martial Law (the curse of any country) was abolished, a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed, a Legislative Council established, and numerous heads of Departments appointed, to carry on the "Civil Government" of the country, and in spite of *severe* droughts, locusts, diseases of several kinds amongst animals (live stock) the country was wisely governed as a "Crown Colony," and has made notable progress.

The Legislative Council has given birth to some good and sound laws, and the Lieut.-Governor, Sir Hamilton John Gould-Adams, and his staff of assistants (heads of Departments, etc.), are all able and honourable gentlemen, who

apparently have the welfare of the Country at heart, and are actively engaged, each in his own vocation, in benefiting the Colony and helping it on.

His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor has recently,—since the 1st July last,—on the promulgation of Letters Patent, conferring upon the Colony the boon of “Responsible Parliamentary Government,”—been promoted to the rank of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, an honour well merited; he is the right man in the right place,—the people’s friend, and a friend of the people, ever travelling over the length and breadth of the Colony, to lay foundation stones, open churches, schools, bridges, and other institutions, and to inaugurate some other good and useful works, make speeches, etc., connected with farming, stock-breeding, agriculture, horticulture, etc.,—may he be long spared to preside over the Colony, as its “Chief Magistrate.”

Every true and loyal citizen has reason to rejoice with the “general public” at the generous gift of “Parliamentary Government” just bestowed upon the Colony, and to pray devoutly that the “New Regime” upon which we are now entering may prove the harbinger of a prosperous, harmonious, and peaceful future, and of a contented and “united” people.

W.W. C.

December, 1907.

“FREE STATIA.”

CHAPTER ONE.

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O. R. SOVEREIGNTY—FIRST VISIT—PROCLAMATION OF SIR H. SMITH—GOVERNMENT—WHEN FIRST OCCUPIED—“ADAM KOK”—ADAPTABILITY FOR LIVE STOCK, ETC.—ALTITUDE—CLIMATE—RAINY SEASON—MINERALS—SMITHFIELD—MISSION STATIONS—ALIWAL NORTH—LAAGER—BLOEMFONTEIN—POETRY—VAN HANSEN FAMILY MURDERED—PRICE OF NECESSARIES—OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS—FRIEND NEWSPAPER, ETC.

The writer's first introduction to, or entrance into the Territory lying north of the Orange River, *alias* “Gariep,” was in the year 1849, he was then a young man still in his “teens,” and was with his parents residing in the Cape Colony, about mid-way between Cradock and Burghers-Dorp, on a farm romantically situated in the mountains, known locally as Doorn-Hoek (*i.e.*, Thorn-Nook), the homestead of this farm showed out prominently amidst large light coloured sand stone boulders; these being, to use a not inapt comparison, like habitations intended as the abodes of an “Antediluvian Race” of giants, and these boulders appeared as if they had been deposited, many ages ago, in their different fantastic positions by some mighty convulsion of nature, and the view from the road traversing the valley below, and leading up to the homestead,—nestling on the slopes of the mountain,—was extremely wild, rugged, and picturesque,—from this farm the writer's late father,—who was then a man of middle life time, lithe of limb, a fearless mountaineer, and physically and mentally fit, and daring,—with whom he had a few months earlier

journeyed on horseback, many hundreds of miles in different parts of the Cape Colony,—and himself (the writer) proceeded on a tour of exploration on horseback, to what was then to both of us a “Terra Incognita,” and which had some months earlier—*i.e.*, on the 3rd day of February, 1848,—been proclaimed British Territory by Sir Harry Smith, Her Britannic Majesty’s Governor and High Commissioner, in South Africa: his proclamation of annexation having been confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 20th day of June, 1848, and on the 14th day of March, 1849, Sir Harry Smith issued another proclamation defining the form of government, for this annexed Territory.

A British Resident was appointed and a so-called Legislative Council constituted, consisting of the British Resident, the Magistrates of the four then existing Districts, and two unofficial members, for each District,—being land owners,—nominated by the High Commissioner, for three years. The first unofficial members of this Council were Messrs. Andries Erwee, W. Jacobs, J. T. Snyman, H. Wessels, A. Smit, J. Slabbert, and E. Engelbrecht. Their first meeting was held on 18th July, 1849.

The Territory above referred to, was first *permanently* occupied by white settlers, chiefly Dutch Emigrant Boers, in 1839, the then Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, assumed authority over it in the name of the British Government, in 1845, and one of his first acts was to conclude a treaty with the resident Griqua “head-man,” or captain, Adam Kok, of Philippolis, settling the mode of land tenure and occupation in Griqualand, which Treaty is still remembered as the “Maitland Treaty.”

By virtue of Sir Harry Smith’s proclamation,—already referred to,—an extensive tract of country, computed to embrace about 70,000 square miles, was added to the British Empire.

On the 25th day of March, 1851, Letters Patent were issued, promulgating a “Constitution” for the Sovereignty, this Constitution was sent out to the High Commissioner,

by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, but was never brought into operation, owing to the unsettled political state of the country on its arrival.

The proclaimed country consists of what may, for the greater part, be termed undulating “Table Land,” occasionally varied in some localities, especially in an Easterly direction, by mountain scenery (*i.e.*, isolated flat topped and peak shaped mountains and hills), the latter predominating, and in stony ranges, or rather ridges, but its principal features consist of extensive grass plains, commonly called grass “flats,” yielding good healthy pasturage for live stock of all kinds, besides being capable of extensive and profitable husbandry; its altitude above sea level, is estimated at from 4,000 to 6,000 feet. The climate is on the whole salubrious, and particularly suited for persons suffering from lung and throat affections, many marvellous cases of cure from both these diseases, especially from the former, having come under the personal notice of the writer, during his long residence in Bloemfontein.

The rainy seasons are, or rather ought to be, between the months of September and May, though they cannot be depended upon as early as the former month, and do not often come before November or even December and January, sometimes later, rains being very infrequent in the winter months, say from June to early in September.

Droughts are, unfortunately, not an unknown quantity, but are indeed, alas! too prevalent, sometimes severe, and the early “spring rains” upon which vegetation so much depends for life, and a profitable harvest, often come too late, in several districts, to save the early fruit and other crops, however, by a well devised system of water storage in the rainy seasons from the copious downpours of violent thunder storms, when the clouds yield their watery treasures in prodigious quantities, oceans of water now annually running to waste, might advantageously be conserved for the profitable irrigation of considerable areas of productive land at present lying idle for want of the precious element, much remaining likewise to be accomplished with advantage, in well sinking, deep boring, dam building, etc.

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The prevailing winds are from the north, south, south-east, south-west, and west : the first named of these is the agriculturists best friend, and the harbinger of a good and bountiful season, for it brings the welcome and heart-gladdening rains, and moreover averts damage from insect pests of numerous kinds, whilst the west wind which is often very boisterous, and of long continuance, and raises dense dust storms, drives away the much-needed rain ; this wind is most prevalent in the month of August, but sometimes continues throughout September and October, and even longer, the south, east, and south-east winds are all cold nipping winds, especially the two former ; frost begins to fall about the middle of May when the winter season may be regarded as having commenced, and continues to the end of September, sometimes later, if later the fruit crops are generally damaged, if not quite destroyed. But for untimely frost, and violent hailstorms—which latter, especially if accompanied by wind, are even more dreaded by the husbandman than frost, and do considerable damage to trees, fruit, growing crops, and even to houses and live stock—the State could be abundantly supplied with *good* fruit of many kinds, such as peaches, apricots, quinces, figs, plums, pears, pomegranates, mulberries, walnuts, almonds, apples, grapes, cherries, gooseberries, strawberries, melons (water and sweet), and even oranges, lemons, etc., and have some to spare, all of which are now largely imported ; the writer would remark here that profitable work might likewise be done in plentiful fruit seasons, by a well devised system of fruit canning, drying, and jam making, “industries” at present almost wholly overlooked, our happy-go-lucky people apparently preferring to pay high rates for the imported article, often very badly sent out for sale, and unwholesome.

Between June and September the nights are cold and frosty, but generally dry and bracing, and the days are, as a rule, during all the winter season, sunny and pleasant, unless the south and south-east chilly breezes make themselves felt, or the sky is obscured by clouds. The most genial month of the year being April.

The Country is, with well grounded reason, supposed to be rich in mineral deposits, already large beds of coal have been opened up, this black diamond being well adapted for household and other uses, and is as kitchen fuel largely consumed; and diamond mines, yielding the purest stones, are “in evidence” in several places, notably “Jagersfontein,” “Koffyfontein,” “Kaalpan,” and other places. The largest and purest of the South African diamonds have been unearthed at “Jagersfontein,” from which mine the annual yield is considerable. Gold has likewise been found in the vicinity of the Vaal River: for instance at “Lindequesfontein,” now known as “Reitzburg,” where the precious metal has from time to time been panned, and the indications of further rich deposits are not wanting, but capital is needed to import, and equip, suitable machinery, for the proper development of this important industry; there are doubtless many other valuable mineral products hidden beneath the surface, only awaiting the stout arm, and strong shovel and pick of the diligent prospector, such for instance as petroleum, iron, copper, lead, tin, asbestos, etc., the latter already having been found in large quantities near the border; all these products will doubtless be brought to light in the not distant future, but who can doubt that, after all, the premier products, that is, the backbone of the country, will be in agriculture and stock farming.

The Orange River Territory was at the time of the writer's first visit in “1849,” attracting the attention of many Colonists and other persons, of various nationalities, throughout South Africa, and elsewhere.

We crossed the Orange River at Norvals-Pont before bridges were even thought of, called at the farm “Waterfall,” then designated “Old Smithfield,” the property of Mr. Henry Halse, one of the very earliest pioneers, where the Town of Smithfield was first laid out, and where we became acquainted with some of the very oldest settlers in the Sovereignty—English and Dutch,—from here we visited Rietpoort, or “New Smithfield,” the present town of that name, we likewise visited the district of Griqualand (Adam Kok's territory), and some of the Mission Stations

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—French and others,—such as Beersheba, Bethulie, Carmel, Philippolis, etc., in these parts we spent some weeks rustivating, and looking about us, and were much pleased with what we noticed of the seeming capabilities of this promising portion of South Africa, for here providence seemed to have opened up for the adventurous and industrious settler, a new field of enterprise, yea, a veritable land of “Goshen,” containing thousands of broad acres of good and wholesome pasturage for all kinds of live stock, particularly fitted as a sheep and wool producing, horse and cattle rearing country; with much land for profitable cultivation, tree planting, etc.; some portions whereof,—though then somewhat insufficiently supplied with running or surface water—(a need, however, which could in time be amply met by deep boring, well sinking, dam making, etc., etc.), and moreover a country bountifully supplied with various kinds of game—big and small,—and teeming with wild beasts—the expert hunter’s special delight,—the writer’s father—and he too—were so much struck with the seeming capabilities, and material resources of this newly opened up region, that the former at once acquired by purchase from a Mr. Piet Wessels, a productive farm in this favoured part, in extent some 5,000 morgen, or 10,000 acres, called “Waschbank,” in the district of Smithfield or Caledon River, not far from the French Mission Station “Beersheba,” and about twenty miles from Rietpoort, where the Town of Smithfield had now been “finally” laid out; on our return home, we passed through the Site of the present Town of “Aliwal North,” and inspected the interesting hot sulphur springs of Buffelsvley there, which it is said, discharge during twenty-four hours, about 14,000,000 (fourteen million) gallons of impregnated medicinal water, this water being used at Aliwal North, after running a few hundred yards, for irrigation and other purposes; in passing the writer may remark that, to an “outsider,” there appears to be some lack of enterprise or public spirit in the good people of this town, in not having more advantageously utilized these valuable curative waters given them by a benign providence

for the public weal—as a healing agent,—than they appear hitherto to have done.

At the time of our visit to “ Aliwal North,” there was only one building, and that was a general store, owned by a Mr. Elster, whose kind hospitality we enjoyed for a few hours.

Not many weeks had elapsed after our return home via Burghersdorp (which was then a very small village), before the writer's father commenced building a dwelling house on his recently acquired farm “ Waschbank,” and when the house was only partially completed—though habitable,—and after disposing of a farm he owned in the Beaufort West district, he removed his family to the former farm in “ 1850,” hoping that he had now, at last, after a weary pilgrimage of many years, here found a much desired haven of rest: it being his intention “ finally ” to complete the finishing touches to a neat and tolerably commodious residence that he had caused to be built at “ Waschbank,” after having permanently settled down there.

This farm seemed to hold out the promise, judging from numerous indications, of a good and speedy return, for any capital in money or labour expended on it, and here we had hoped to settle down for some time, but alas! in these good intentions the fates were against us, for we were ruthlessly, cruelly, and effectively frustrated in doing so, by “ Moshesh,” the crafty Basuto Chief, and his restless roving bands, after a few weeks residence there. The Basutos recommenced their old and favourite pastime of “ raiding,” and “ plundering ” “ forays,” and the lifting and carrying off of “ live stock ” in great numbers, under the pretence of hunting game, and in other ways making it impossible for land owners to remain on their holdings, until at last their hostile attitude became so threatening that country residents could no longer live in safety, and were peremptorily ordered by the local government authorities to evacuate their farms, in order to save their lives from violence at the hands of these blood-thirsty savages, by seeking refuge in “ laagers ”; this we were consequently compelled to do, our furniture and other

moveable belongings, and live stock, had either to be hurriedly removed off the farm, and cooped up within the confined limits of a “boer laager,” the former to be almost entirely destroyed by sun and rain, and the latter to perish from hunger and confinement, or otherwise to be hopelessly lost; the only other alternative being, to be left behind on the farm unprotected, a prey to the prowling “Basuto bands,”—who were ceaselessly hovering about, in considerable numbers, ever on the alert to rob and plunder the farming community,—and wild beasts, in which latter the country was then teeming.

The “Laager” in which we were “nolens volens” immured, or rather were compelled to take refuge from the barbarity of these interesting dusky gentlemen, was on a farm owned by a Mr. A. J. Smit—a well to do Dutch farmer,—situated about fifteen miles from Smithfield, the same farm, upon which the discovery of gold was, as will be seen further on,—so loudly blazened abroad at the time of the “abandonment,” in “1854.”

After a few days experience, life in the “Laager” became so dreary, and monotonous, and in every way, so distasteful and intolerable, that the writer's father and he (the writer) having resolved upon making a change at all hazards, decided upon visiting Bloemfontein—the chief town of the newly proclaimed Sovereignty,—to ascertain personally there what prospects offered for our obtaining Government employment, or of starting something on our own account, and on our return to the “Laager,” he resolved upon migrating, with his growing and rather costly family, the wreck of his furniture, and the residue of his live stock, to Bloemfontein, and after the necessary waggons, oxen, and horses could be procured for the journey, we bade adieu,—certainly not with many pangs of sorrow, or feelings of compunction,—to “Laager” or “Camp” life, and on the completion of a wearysome and uninteresting ox waggon journey extending over some fourteen days, arrived at Bloemfontein, on the 10th day of April, 1851, which tho' not in those far-off days, as a residence, the ideal of earthly felicity, was, at any rate

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an existence immeasurably better than that of being immured in a “Laager.”

The writer may here add that, his father who had in his early life, been an ardent pedestrian “tourist,” in his own country (England) as well as in some parts of Germany, France, and Belgium, and knew the French language nearly as well as his own, and had wandered in these countries not quite aimlessly, as did that imaginary being the “Wandering Jew,” but with a fixed purpose “in view,” and from a genuine spirit of curiosity, and love of adventure, met on nearing Bloemfontein, a Mr. “J. S.,” an intelligent gentleman, who had, in the same restless spirit of “adventure,” traversed many lands, crossed many oceans, and had come here, alas! physically prostrated by fatigue and suffering, only to die; the frail mortal tenement, which had contained the unquenchable spirit of this indomitable man, had at last succumbed and was being borne hence to its long resting place, in the Bloemfontein Cemetery; here then had met by chance, two congenial natures who had with real zeal compared notes of their earlier days, and wanderings, death had laid his cold hand upon the one, a stranger, whose tragic demise was commemorated by the other—my father—in the following impromptu verses (acrostic) headed :

“LINES ON A DEPARTED STRANGER.”

Sleep wayworn wanderer, o'er many lands,
Till that dread trump pierce earth's remotest bourne,
E'en as his voice, who by thy clay now stands,
Proclaims from sacred writ—to all that mourn—
How long? poor pilgrim, mocking pain and fear,
Each widespread realm, hast thou not travelled o'er,
Now tossed on waves, now parched, on deserts drear,
Some illdefined desire still urged thee on,
Of all thy aimless toils, what now remains?
Nought,—but this lonely grave, on Afric's dreary plains.

NOTE.—The above lines were written at “J. S's” grave in the “Bloemfontein Cemetery.”

The Basutos and other natives had now become very restless and hostile, since last year.

In “1850” a Dutch family, called Van Hansen, were

brutally murdered, in the Smithfield District by a gang of roving bushmen, who, it is said, were adherents of the minor Basuto Chief, or headman, “Pushulie,” or “Bushulie,” a brother of the paramount chief “Moshesh.” This man had for some time past been giving much trouble to the military authorities.

The murdered family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Van Hansen, four children, and two servants, his house was after the massacre, burnt down by the Bushmen; several if not all, the murderers, were subsequently captured, brought to trial, convicted, and executed at Bloemfontein.

At the time this terrible wholesale butchery was perpetrated, it was reported that the cause thereof was Mr. Van Hansen’s refusal to give tobacco to one of the men who had peremptorily demanded it, but there were strong reasons for suspecting that these bushmen,—who were really the dogs or scavengers of “Pushulie,—had been incited thereto by him—a vicious and blood-thirsty knave—who was then, owing to several delinquencies, under the careful “surveillance” of the British Resident, Major Warden.

The first house we occupied in Bloemfontein, which has long since been swept away by that ruthless leveller “Time,” stood on the site of the present Phoenix Hotel. It was a make-shift building, for which a rental of three pounds per month was paid; at this time, living was costly, a loaf of baker’s bread—oftentimes hardly fit for eating,—in weight same as can now be procured for “sixpence,” cost one shilling or more, boer meal was Five Pounds per sack of 200lbs.; our first month’s bread bill amounted to about £11; beef was cheap — one and a half-penny per pound, mutton in proportion, only a little dearer than beef—seeing that slaughter cattle and sheep could then be purchased, the former at from four to five pounds, and the latter at from five to ten shillings, according to size and condition; clothes, furniture, and other household requisites, were scarce and dear (when obtainable), about one hundred per cent. in advance of present cost.

After looking about him for a few days, the writer’s father, who had been an assistant Classical Professor in the

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“South African College,” Cape Town, some years before, secured from the British Resident, Major Warden, the appointment of Government School teacher for Bloemfontein, at the handsome salary of ninety pounds (£90) per annum, also the Postmastership of Bloemfontein, at twelve pounds per annum, which latter was soon after raised to twenty-five pounds, with a monthly allowance of one pound for a room to serve as a “‘temporary’ Post Office.”

It was a curious postal custom—kept up in the time of the Sovereignty,—that a copper “penny” had always to be sewn on to soldiers’ letters, to defray cost of transit.

Besides the petty appointments and emoluments mentioned above, the writer’s father obtained some translations and other work at the local newspaper, “The Friend” Office, thus enhancing his slender income to about twenty-five pounds per month, for which he had to work very hard; the last named employment he was enabled to secure through having been a Sworn Translator of the Supreme Court, Cape Town, some years earlier.

He had as Translator to the “Friend” to unravel, render readable, and intelligible, certain mysteriously written Dutch effusions to the Editor, which were often highly ambiguous, illegible, and even in many instances contradictory, and quite innocent of punctuation of any kind.

The “Friend” newspaper — more correctly the “Friend of the Sovereignty,” and “Bloemfontein Gazette,”—a weekly paper, and Government organ, was started at Bloemfontein by Messrs. Godlonton and White, of Grahamstown, under the management of Mr. Thomas White, on 10th June, 1850; Mr. White some years later took over the paper, and ran it advantageously, on his own account; it was for many years the only official “Organ” for Government Proclamations, Notices, and other Government matter, and was well and ably managed: Mr. White died in London, on the 19th July, 1876, aged 49 years, regretted by many friends; the paper continued to be published after his death by the new proprietors, Messrs. Barlow Bros. & Co., who some time ago started a “Daily

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Edition” of the “Friend,” in addition to the weekly number.

It may interest the curious reader to note here that, at the time the writer's father had charge of the local Post Office, he was particularly requested by the Resident Magistrate, Mr. C. U. Stuart, not to despatch the mails to Colesberg, later than about 4 p.m., as Lions were then still roaming at large in the immediate neighbourhood of the Town, viz. : on the Quaggafontein, adjoining the Town Lands—and adjacent hills,—and these were dangerous customers for postriders and others to meet with alone and unprotected at night; it was at this time, one of the most pleasant outings for sport loving gentlemen, especially those attached to the small Military Bloemfontein “Garrison,” to occasionally go out Lion shooting. In the year “1853,” Major, afterwards Colonel Kyle, the Military Commandant of Bloemfontein, bagged three full grown Lions, one male and two female. Major Chamberlain, an officer from Bombay on a visit here, Lieut. Clarke, a son of the Special Commissioner, Sir George Clarke, from Madras, Captain Robert Bates, of the 45th Regiment, and Lieut. St. John, Royal Artillery, had exciting sport in December, 1853:—Major C. shot *three* Lions, Captain Bates, *two*, Lieut. Clarke *one*, and Lieut. St. John *one*. One of these four-legged gentlemen was particularly vicious, and before receiving his “quietus,” made a desperate charge at Capt. Bates, who was mounted, nearly dragging him off his horse. Certain two young Dutch farmers (Van der Merwes) about this time, killed two full grown Lions, thirty miles from Bloemfontein; even as recently as April, 1855, Lions were seen passing through Harrismith; the District Resident Justice of the Peace there, reported to the Government, on the 2nd April, 1855, that a Mr. William Holder, a resident of Harrismith, was killed in, or very near, the town of Harrismith, by a large *lion*, which was subsequently destroyed, his carcase measured nearly fourteen feet.

In these good old days, and for many years later, the Sovereignty was alive with game of several kinds—big and small—such as black and blue wildebeest, “gnu,” blesbok,

quagga, roebuck, springbuck, ostriches, hares, wild pigs, and a few hartebeest, besides large and small birds of many kinds; many of the birds have entirely disappeared, the mahem, the blue crane, the paauw, the wild turkey (a beautiful dark green bird with a long red bill), the korhaan, the big white locust bird, the flamingo, the heron—where are they now? Only a few of these are left.

Wild beasts such as wolves, tigers, jackals, wild dogs, wild cats, etc.; were often seen by the writer in the day time, leisurely roaming the flats, or airing themselves on the hills; some of these, especially wild dogs, casting defiant looks at anyone approaching them, as if preparing for attack, though they were rarely known to attack human beings, unless wounded, or hard pressed by the hunter; the howling and clattering of wolves and jackals on the flats, and along the river banks, as heard by the writer when travelling at night, would have charmed the heart of the most rabid howling Dervish.

The large numbers of wolves, wild dogs, and jackals, which invested the country, were a very serious evil to the stock farmer; hundreds of sheep, horses, and cattle, were every year killed by the two first of these ravenous brutes, wolves, being of a more cowardly nature than wild dogs, did more damage to young, than to full grown stock, such as young calves, foals, etc., and jackals to lambs; no calf, foal, or lamb, could be left out of the “fold,” or in the “veld,” at night, with any hope of seeing it alive the next morning, unless the two former were provided with a tinkling bell, or a long *white* stick, tied to its neck, by which wolves were scared; wolves, tigers, and jackals often found their way into the farmers’ sheep kraals at night, and helped themselves “ad libitum,” to the fattest stock; and wild dogs attacked flocks of sheep, and other stock, while out grazing in the veld in the day time, and tore off, and swallowed, the flesh of the living animal, in large pieces, without at once killing it, until chased away by herds or others, with guns; the torn animal afterwards dying of the wounds.

These pests were gradually destroyed by being hunted

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down by “hunting parties,” frequently got up for the purpose, and by poison judiciously laid, and besides those modes of destruction, wolves and tigers were killed by spring guns, iron traps, and captured in “wolf houses,” and wild dogs were hunted down, by a “posse” of neighbours, and also poisoned.

The writer’s father now had, as he hoped, a little more good luck, for on the office of Registrar of the “Combined Court” of Magistrates, becoming vacant, owing to the resignation of Mr. R. W. H. Giddy, the Registrar, who was transferred to Smithfield (and was some years later appointed Resident Magistrate at Kimberley), he secured the appointment, but without fixed stipend, the only emoluments being those derived from fees in “Civil cases”; travelling expenses which were, in those days, a very costly item, there being no railways, passenger waggons, or carts, or other cheap modes of locomotion as at present, had to be defrayed at his own cost, and so he only retained the appointment for some twelve months, and was not sorry to be relieved of it.

At this time—June “1852”—Bloemfontein, which name being rendered literally into English, means “Flower Fountain,” or it may also mean “Strong Fountain,” if the original old boer proprietor was particularly enamoured with the strength of the water supply, yielded by the fountain, and which then, and for many years after, was far more copious than now, was first laid out by the British Resident, the late Major Henry Douglas Warden, in 1848, though it had virtually some months earlier been fixed upon as the most suitable site for the Capital of the Sovereignty, owing to its central position, and for other reasons.

Winburg, some sixty miles further north, had however already been the seat of the “Emigrant Boer” Government.

Bloemfontein was said to have been the property of an old Dutch farmer, of the “primitive sort,” called Britz: the old boer dwelling house, near which Major Warden had his residence, could still be seen when the writer

arrived at Bloemfontein in “1851,” the town was then a mere hamlet, with a few houses promiscuously scattered about, without any attempt whatever at regularity of shape, some houses standing along that part known as the “water erven” portion of the town, these obtained their water supply direct from the fountain, and were considered the most eligible of the building sites, are situated on the south side of the spruit—“Bloemspruit”—on each side of the then “open water furrow,” leading from the fountain, and extending east and west, now forming a chain of underground iron waterpipes, and on the site where now stands the Grey College, then to the north and south of the said spruit, in an easterly and westerly direction, then along St. George Street (at the top of the street), being the old “Government School Room,” this old building, one of the very oldest in the town, is still standing, and has attained “historic celebrity,” which will be described later on (this building now forms a portion—the middle portion—of the “National Museum”), then a few buildings along the east side of Douglas Street, among them the dwelling of the late Charles Urquhart Stuart, formerly Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bloemfontein, then the old Dutch Reformed Church in Upper Church Street, where the present Dutch Church now stands, a store near same belonging to Mr. Charles E. Fichardt, now G. A. Fichardt & Co., another store a little further down the street, the property of the late Mr. Isaac Baumann (Baumann Brothers & Co.), and a few private houses and business places in the locality, amongst them on the right side going up the street, the old “Wesleyan Parsonage,” then occupied by the Rev. G. Schreiner, later by Rev. P. Smailes—Wesleyan Ministers,—a little lower down, the first business place of the “Standard Bank,” with Mr. Gilbert Farie as its first manager, and at the corner of Market Square and Upper Church Street, the general store of Mr. J. J. Smook, now the printing office, and premises, of the “Friend” newspaper (under the management of the late Mr. Thomas White), then on the eastern corner of Market Square, the general store of Messrs. W.

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P. R. Dixon & Co., under the management of the late Mr. George Home, and just opposite the large store of the late Mr. Henry Paddison, afterwards purchased by the Government of the Orange Free State, to serve as Public Offices and Council Chamber, where the General Post Office now stands, then at the corner of Market Square and Lower Church Street, the store and dwelling house of Mr. George Page, now the property of Dr. B. O. Kellner, called the “Colonade,” and on the opposite side of the street, the store and dwelling house of the late Mr. Thomas Smith Colley, afterwards Messrs. Cass & Co.’s drapery store; then on the western, or rather south-western corner of Market Square, the store of the late Mr. James Forsythe, afterwards David Arnot’s, where Messrs. Borckenhagen & Co.’s business premises now stand, and where the “Express” newspaper was started, then on the other side of Market Square, north-west end, the large thatched roofed building, at that time belonging to the late Mr. Joseph McCabe, afterwards the “Friend Office,” later the office of Mr. Attorney and Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg, now the Bloemfontein Club premises, then, a couple of neat buildings near the present “Government Offices,” built by the late Mr. John Hopkins, familiarly known as “Polly” Hopkins, foreman of military works, and architect to the military authorities, who assisted the late Mr. A. H. Bain in the survey and laying out of Bloemfontein, one of which was afterwards occupied by the late Mr. Donald C. Grant, Crown Prosecutor, under the British Government, and the other used as a Government office, when Mr. Henry Green was British Resident, and for a time by the Free State Government, then just opposite our residence, a neat and comfortable house, the private residence of the above named John Hopkins, afterwards the property of the late Dr. C. J. G. Krause, destroyed by fire; not far from here, the old “Sovereignty” Club building, which for some time served as a “Wesleyan Chapel,” until the Wesleyan community moved to their own building, afterwards the “Municipal” or “Town Office,” later doing duty as a Public Library; then, at the

top of Douglas Street, the old “Residency,” Major Warden’s, near the “Original” old boer farm house, with its large orchard, a little lower down the residence of the late Mr. Joseph Allison, clerk to the British Resident, at same time doing duty as a Government Office, afterwards the property of the writer’s father, at present the spacious house, and well stocked fruit garden, of Mr. E. W. Hutton, for a time Landrost of Bloemfontein, then, not far off, the residence of Mr. Henry Green, Assistant Commissary General, afterwards British Resident, this house being afterwards turned into a “Dutch Reformed Parsonage,” and occupied by the Revd. Andrew Murray, jun., then the Magistrates’ Court on the corner of Douglas and Gordon Streets, which likewise served for a considerable period as an English Church; then a little higher up Douglas Street, a row of thatched cottages the property of late Mr. Alexander Davidson, afterwards purchased by Captain Schultz, near this Futchers’ Hotel; then, in St. George Street the row of thatched cottages, belonging to Mr. Thomas Smith Colley, occupied by several military officers, and afterwards the property of the writer; then, a couple of buildings on the site of the present Grey College, one belonging to the writers’ father, and the other to himself (the writer), and sold to the “Committee of the Grey College,” where the large College building now stands, and lower down St. George Street the small shops of late Frederick Daniel, and Henry A. Colley, with a few other buildings, including the “Jail,” and last though not least, proceeding in a westerly direction towards the big dam, “Markgraff Place,” the residence of a typical long bearded old hermit, known as P. Markgraaff: now St. Michael’s Home for girls, a large well conducted establishment founded in the time of Bishop Webb.

Markgraff was said to have been a “Dutch Sailor,” who was shipwrecked off the Cape Coast, many years ago, and found his way to Bloemfontein; he used to tell thrilling tales of his many adventures on the Coasts of Guinea, its savages, its trade in black diamonds, i.e. slaves, its gold dust seekers, etc.; this man was a mysterious character, very taciturn, and

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seemed to be in possession of a profound secret which no one could fathom, or get him to divulge. He was indeed a veritable curiosity. (There were other curious specimens of humanity in Bloemfontein then.) Besides the houses above enumerated there were a few others scattered about along different parts, over the town area.

The writer much regrets that there does not now exist, so far as he knows, a faithful photo. or sketch of Bloemfontein as it appeared in 1851, true, he has seen a water colour drawing which professes to pourtray the Town as it appeared in “1851” or before that time, but in reality this drawing seems to be more the outcome of the artist’s vivid imagination, than the result of a faithful delineation of our chief town.

The quarters of the different “details” that composed the small military garrison of Bloemfontein, of between 400 and 500 men “under arms,” consisting of detachments of the 45th Regiment, Cape Mounted Rifles (Cape Corps), and a few Artillerymen, were as follows:—

1. The small detachment of the 45th Regiment, were encamped where the all devouring “Native Location” rejoicing in the euphonious name of “Waihoek,” now disports itself—near the present stone quarry—then non-existent.
2. The Cape Corps, composed of white and coloured men, and officered by white men, with their horses, were encamped on the open space of ground now forming a portion of the grounds of St. Andrew’s College.
3. The few Artillerymen with their horses, were encamped a few yards to the east of the present Native Wesleyan Chapel, lately pulled down.

The Officers, of whom there were about eleven or twelve, among them Colonel Kyle, the Commandant; Captains R. Bates and Blenkinsop; Lieutenants Howard, Rowland, and Dawson, 45th Regiment; Colonel Donovan, Captain Kenyon, and Lieutenant Bourke, Cape Mounted Rifles; Lieutenant St. John and another Royal Artillery Officer, lived in private houses, away from the Barracks,

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some of them in the cottages, St. George Street, then belonging to Mr. Thomas Smith Colley, subsequently to the writer, others in cottages on the site of the present “Grey College”; the last named Lieutenant St. John, of the Artillery, a very young man, probably not exceeding 22 years in age, died at Bloemfontein, from the effects of a severe cold, caught whilst out hunting big game, on the 27th day of January, 1854.

CHAPTER TWO.

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NEW BRITISH RESIDENT—CONVENTION, TRANSVAAL—
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The deceased soldiers were interred in the "Church of England portion" of the old Cemetery—north side, headstones were erected over their graves; these, alas! have for the most part, crumbled into decay; one of the soldiers, who suddenly dropped down dead, on the day the troops marched out of Bloemfontein — 11th March, 1854,—was interred by his fellows (comrades), (these halted for a few minutes for the interment) along side his former messmates.

The Fort, then known as the Queen's Fort, at the sight of which Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, would probably have blushed, contained four or five antiquated, obsolete, and useless iron guns, mounted on unwieldy iron stands, or carriages, and was on the site of the present Fort, which has since then been much altered and improved in appearance, if not in features and formidability, in a Military point of view.

Major Henry Douglas Warden, who had been an officer in the "Cape Mounted Rifles," and had for a long time served under Sir Harry Smith, north of the Orange River at Boomplaats, and other places, was British Resident.

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This gentleman had an anomalous and difficult position to fill as British Resident, placed as he was in the midst of an heterogeneous population, many of whom were far from satisfied with British rule, intensely disloyal, and continually plotting sedition, his power too was prescribed, and very limited, and he was often much hampered by the High Commissioner for the time being, at whose capricious behests he was frequently against his own better judgment (for being on the spot, acquainted with the people and country, and consequently better able to judge of “ Exigencies ” than a peripatetic High Commissioner of what was really needed) obliged mechanically to bow.

Sir Harry Smith’s Proclamation of the Sovereignty embraced the “ Lands and Stations ” of several Native Chiefs and people, amongst those Moshesh, Molitzane, Adam Kok, Sikonyella, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, and others further to the north between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, thus creating besides many so-called white and black British subjects, large numbers of coloured or Native allies, and conflicting interests.

Several of the white British subjects who had not forgotten “ Boomplaats,” and other anterior political troubles, *real* or *imaginary*, chafed under “ British Supremacy ” and were not willing to respond, with a good grace, to the British Resident’s urgent call upon them for Military or Burger aid, when needed, and the Native races were restless, and jealous of each other, and continually plotting mischief and causing trouble by encroachments upon each others territory, consequently murderings, stock liftings, etc., were the order of the day, so that it was not possible, under these untoward circumstances, and with the little help at his command, to preserve peace, restore harmony, or keep order over the extensive proclaimed territory committed to his care by the High Commissioner.

Major Warden left the Sovereignty some time before the British abandonment, broken down in health, and died on a farm called Blackwater, near George Town, Cape Colony, a comparatively young man, on the 2nd day of December, 1856, aged 57 years.

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The Gospel Ministers of the different religious denominations in Bloemfontein, in 1852, were the Revd. Andrew Murray, junior, a son of the Rev. Andrew Murray, senior, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Minister at Graaff Reinet, Cape Colony, who was the first minister of that Church, permanently stationed in Bloemfontein. He came here in 1850, or thereabouts, and was then a young man, an eloquent preacher, zealous and full of religious ardour, in his great work of evangelization, probably no one better adapted for the carrying on of the important work in the vast field of Evangelical labour committed to his care, could have been nominated, his field of labour did not alone comprise the Town and District of Bloemfontein, the latter then very much larger than at present, but it also included other parts of the Sovereignty, he was in short a kind of Missionary Bishop of a vast undefined Diocese (a David Brainard), who almost alone and unaided was placed over a Diocese which comprised some very remote Districts of the Transvaal, such as Zoutpansberg, etc.

Mr. Murray being moreover a large hearted and sympathetic man, sometimes made very long journeys in order to visit those neglected people, “Voortrekkers,” in the far distant interior who had almost grown wild for lack of religious and other instruction; to these people he had doubtless sometimes to preach the gospel as standing between the living and the dead, in those regions where the pestilential “malarial fever” often carried off entire households; so far as the writer can remember, his journeys to those parts were sometimes made on horseback, and though so much occupied with the spiritual needs of his own people in the O. R. Sovereignty, Mr. Murray often held services for the English residents of Bloemfontein (a few years later when they were still minus their own pastor) by whom he was highly esteemed; on the 24th September, 1858, he was presented by the residents, with a purse of money (£75) as a small token of gratitude for having conducted a “weekly” religious service in the English language, for several months.

Mr. Murray having received a “call” from Worcester,

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Cape Colony, accepted it, and left Bloemfontein to the great sorrow of all who knew him; since his residence in Worcester and afterwards in Wellington, Cape Colony, he has been engaged in a great and noble work, the founding of one or more institutions for the education and training of Ministers for the “Dutch Reformed Church” *within the country*, and of High Schools for young ladies; he has also occupied the honoured position of Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod in the Cape Colony, and was for a short time Rector of the “Grey College”—the first Rector. He visited Bloemfontein again a few years ago, to the great joy of his numerous friends and former Parishoners (Dutch and English), to be present on the occasion of the stone laying of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod “Meeting House,” and preached several times in the Dutch Reformed Church, Bloemfontein; and a few years ago had the degree of “D.D.” conferred upon him by one of the Scotch Universities.

The Revd. W. A. Steabler, afterwards Canon Steabler, was the English Clergyman and Chaplain to the Troops; he left Bloemfontein with the Military, at the time of the abandonment, and settled down in Graaff Reinet, Cape Colony, where he resided several years, and died there about ten years ago or more. He was succeeded at Bloemfontein by the Revd. Mark R. Every, who likewise left, and settled down at Burghersdorp, where he died many years ago at a ripe old age. After Mr. Every's departure from Bloemfontein the English Church was left without a resident Pastor, until the arrival of the first English Bishop, Dr. E. Twells.

The Revd. Gotlob Schreiner was the first resident English Wesleyan Minister in Bloemfontein, this gentleman after leaving, was succeeded by the Revd. P. Smailes. Mr. Schreiner was some years after leaving Bloemfontein stationed at “Healdtown,” Cape Colony, where he died. Mr. Smailes was afterwards resident Minister at Colesberg, and died several years ago, in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, at an advanced age. The Revd. Ludolf, Wesleyan Missionary, for a short time preached to the

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English speaking residents of Bloemfontein, after Mr. Schreiner left Bloemfontein, he died in the Transvaal some years ago. Father P. Hoendervanger represented the Roman Catholic Church, in Bloemfontein, this gentleman remained in Bloemfontein for several years after the abandonment, and then returned to his native land—Belgium—where he died many years ago, and was succeeded by Father Bompert, who arrived in Bloemfontein in February, 1870, and is still here.

N.B.—Since the above was written Father Bompert was removed to Kimberley, and died there.

About this time, “1852,” the value of the yearly Imports from England, and Cape Colony, and Natal, into the Sovereignty were estimated at about £300,000, and the Exports at £256,000, as follows:—

Wool, 23,000 bales, valued at £10.....	£230,000
Ostrich Feathers, etc.,	15,000
Hides, Skins, Horns,.....	10,000
Cattle and Horses	1,000
Together.....	£256,000

In 1852 the writer's father became proprietor of his own dwelling house, situated on the site now forming a portion of the “Grey College” grounds, this property—long since demolished,—he acquired out of the estate of Lieut. Dawson, 45th Regiment; to this house the family removed, the exchange of residences being regarded as beneficial in many ways.

Mr. Joseph Allison, Clerk to the British Resident (Major Warden) and Registrar of Deeds, having now in “1852,” resigned both these offices, the writer's father was appointed to succeed him, but he did not fill these positions beyond a few months when Major Warden was suddenly and unexpectedly superseded as British Resident, at the instance of the then High Commissioner, Sir George Cathcart, and the Special Commissioners, Messrs. Hogge and Owen (Major William J. Hogge and Charles Mostyn Owen), by Mr. Henry Green, the “Assistant Commissary

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General” attached to the Bloemfontein “Military Garrison,” the Special Commissioners had been appointed by the Imperial Government to assist the High Commissioner in investigating and reporting upon the affairs of the Orange River Sovereignty. They arrived in Bloemfontein on the 27th November, 1852, for since October the fatuous, impolitic, and shortsighted policy, had been openly ventilated by the English Ministry—“*That as an urgent measure of state policy, the lately acquired ‘Orange River Sovereignty,’ should be abandoned by Great Britain, being, as was erroneously alleged by the promoters of the retrograde measure, a valueless territory not worth retaining, always causing trouble, and moreover an endless expense to the Home Government.*”

Mr. Green, the new British Resident, after having been a few months installed in this prominent position, in a high handed and heartless manner elbowed out the writer's father from his hard earned position as Clerk to the British Resident, and Registrar of Deeds, in order to make room for his “fidus achates,” a certain Mr. “P.C.,” a former clerk of his own who, as was hinted in “vulgar parlance,” knew the ropes and how to work them, and probably had cognizance of some of his lord and master's secrets which, as was freely at the time hinted, might not be expedient to be allowed to get beyond the ken of his faithful “henchman,” thus was the old gentleman unjustly dispossessed “*Nolens Volens*” of his lawful rights, by Mr. G.'s intrigues, who by way of a palliative to this unseemly act on his part, told him (the writer's father) that he had appointed him Head Government Teacher at Bloemfontein, at double his former salary; only the many great difficulties consequent on an appeal to higher authority, owing to the peculiar political position of the country at the time, and the doubt of obtaining a fair hearing, caused passive, though reluctant submission to this palpable act of petty tyranny and double dealing against a deserving official.

The writer has already in former pages referred to the old Government School Room, which is at present the middle portion of the National Museum; this building to which

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great historic value is, even up to the present day, attached by the Government and people of the State, stands at the upper end of St. George's Street; here the writer's father, a well grounded classical scholar, and a trained teacher, of "St. Bees Grammar School," north of England, did not think it beneath his dignity, in the years 1851 and 1852, to beat into the receptive juvenile mind—wherever willing to receive it — the rudiments of practical educational training, and laboured hard to bend many a young human sapling into shape, in which the writer, though then himself a young probationer of limited knowledge and experience, in his youthful glee—being then still not much beyond his teens—occasionally tried to assist his respected parent in the performance of a portion of the bending process, with what success alas! he cannot say, but probably he may sometimes have helped to bend the twig in the wrong direction—who knows?

Here the English Church community worshipped God under the ministrations of the Revd. W. A. Steabler and afterwards of his successor the Revd. M. R. Every. Here many political, social, and other meetings had from time to time been held. Here Sir George Clark, Her Britannic Majesty's Special Commissioner—who after the decease of Major Hogge, one of the special commissioners appointed to carry out the abandonment policy of the British Ministry—had oftentimes to confront the angry and even hostile frowns and acrimonious wordy encounters of the irate Bloemfontein citizens and other opponents of abandonment, here he—the Special Commissioner—formally treated with the delegates elected to take over from him,—as representing the British Ministry,—the country. Here the Convention was signed by Sir George Clark and the said delegates, here the Orange Free State "Constitution" was framed and passed by the Volksraad, who for several months held their meetings here; here one or more large banquets and other "socials" were given to, and attended by many political magnates, leaders, aspirants, and officials—past and present—and other notables of those early days, amongst these Commandant General A. W. J. Pretorius,



JOSIAS PHILIPPUS HOFFMAN,
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE,
13th September, 1854 to 10th February, 1855.



JACOBUS NICOLAAS BOSHOFF,
SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE,
27th August, 1855 to 6th September, 1859.

the great leader of the “Voortrekkers”; Adrian Staander, his deputy; Andries Bester, patriot, the latter appointed by Sir Harry Smith, the first Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of the Vaal River District, Harrismith, as an emolient, to keep him quiet and out of mischief; and other voortrekkers and patriots; here too other noteworthy meetings, public and private, were held; is it then a wonder that this venerable historic building, though barn-like and far from prepossessing in appearance, should be regarded by the Government and people of this State as a relic of the past, worth preserving, and has with almost pious devotion been preserved “in tact” to the present day, and is now being utilized in a way which seems the most fitting, *i.e.*, a repository for “Relics of the past”? The only change in the external appearance of this old erection being the substitution of a galvanized iron roof for the original thatched roof, which latter had gone to decay.

The collection of minerals, fossils, documents, animals, birds, etc., stored in this building is unique and interesting, and well worth a visit, and the town stands indebted to Dr. H. Exton the first curator, and to Dr. Kellner his successor, and those who have been working with and under them, including Mr. M. Levisseur, and other helpers, for so valuable a collection. The Free State Volksraad and Government have likewise extended their liberal patronage and support to this interesting public educator.

The year 1852 opened up a memorable historic event for the “Sovereignty and the Transvaal,” for on the 17th January of that year, a *Convention* was concluded at the Sand River, District of Winburg, between the Special Commissioners, Messrs. Hogge and Owen, acting on behalf of the Imperial Government, on the one side, and Commandant General Andries W. J. Pretorius and many of his adherents and advisers on the other side, which is known as the “Sand River Convention”; by this Convention it was stipulated that the Emigrant Farmers who had since the battle of “Boomplaats” been regarded as rebels against British authority, and consequently proscribed, and for whose persons large rewards had been offered, were now

pardoned, and the people were allowed henceforth to govern themselves in the amplest manner, and make and administer their own laws without any interference whatever on the part of the British Government, except in the matter of slave dealing, which was *strictly* prohibited. The reward of £2,000, which had several months previously been placed on the head of Mr. Pretorious, and minor sums on the heads of the principal officers who were all proscribed with him, was withdrawn (fines had likewise been imposed on other adherents of Mr. Pretorious after a certain “graduated scale” and paid to the High Commissioner’s Secretary, Mr. Richard Southey). This Convention was confirmed by the High Commissioner, Sir George Cathcart, on the 13th May, 1852. Major Hogge, one of the Special Commissioners, died suddenly at Bloemfontein, on the 9th June, 1852, from the effects of over-fatigue and exposure, and was interred in the English Cemetery (Military portion), Bloemfontein. Major Hogge was succeeded as Special Commissioner, for a short time, by Mr. J. B. Ebdon, Barrister-at-Law, Cape Colony.

Major Hogge’s premature decease—for he was a comparatively young man — was unfortunate for the best interests of the Sovereignty, especially in the opinion of the “Anti-Abandonists,” for the “Special Commissioners” were both then believed to be opposed to the carrying out of the measure upon which they had, as a *preparatory* step, been sent out to report fully.

Commandant General Pretorious died at Potchefstroom, in the Transvaal, on the 23rd of July, 1853, at the age of 54 years. He was a man of ability and accounted by his fellows a true Patriot, who in 1836—the time of the great trek—or a little later, abandoned a valuable farm in the Graaff Reinet District, and had gone through many hardships, vicissitudes, and dangers, in order to devote his life at the call of his countrymen, as their leader—in the founding of a “Boer Commonwealth” of *their own*. He was with most of them, a trusted leader, attached to his people, and headed them in many a deadly conflict with the Zulus in Natal, and other aborigines, and they were justly

proud of him. But as is often the case with popular leaders, Mr. Pretorius had bitter enemies and opponents too, who distrusted him, questioned his motives, and sought to undermine his authority; there were moreover violent feuds in his time between rival party leaders and factions, and the Boers themselves were disunited. Mr. Pretorius is thought by those probably best able to judge, to have acted under conscientious motives, and to have tried honestly to do his duty; there seems to be little room for doubting that his great aim was the raising of the Africander people into a self-reliant and progressive “Nation.” He was certainly *one of the most distinguished; if not the most distinguished,* of the Africander Patriots; thus passed away at a comparatively early age the man most deserving to be regarded as the Washington of the Africander people.

At this time — 1852 — as well as for months past, political matters with Moshesh and his Basutos were strained and unsatisfactory, in truth they were daily growing worse, and though no open rupture had as yet taken place, owing chiefly to the British Resident’s inability to mass together a white force sufficiently strong to check stealing, prevent encroachments and forays, and to enforce respect for the existing boundary lines—the chief delinquents being the Basutos—(other differences being mainly caused by disaffection amongst the white farming population, and jealousy and feuds amongst the coloured allies), and for this and other reasons, war with the Basutos seemed imminent; human endurance, having reached its climax, could no longer be restrained, consequently on the 30th June, 1852, a terrible hostile encounter took place at the instance of the British Resident, on a mountain known as “Viervort,” in the vicinity of Maquatling, between a mixed body of about 162 British troops, 120 Dutch farmers, and a motley rabble (native contingent) numbering about 1,000, made up of Fingoes, Bastards, Baralong, and Griquas, counting in all 1282 whites and blacks, under the command of Major Donovan, of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, on the one side, and Basutos and Bataung, under their Chiefs Letsea, Moloppo, Mopeli, and Molitzane, on the other side—number

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unknown, but doubtless far out-numbering the whites, and their allies, which though it seemed at first to favour the former, ultimately resulted in the slaughter of at least 150 Baralong, many others being severely wounded. Many of the Baralong were supposed to have been intoxicated from too free a use of “Kaffir beer” which they had looted from their Basuto enemies’ huts. Amongst the killed Baralong were two brothers of the Chief Moroko; many of the slain Baralong were hurled down the precipitous heights of the Viervoet mountain—a high mountain near the Mission Station “Mequatling,” now “Free State Territory,” then forming part of Basutoland. The Basutos lost, as was reported, in killed only 16 of their number; no casualties had, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, occurred amongst the whites. It was this sad hostile failure (which caused widespread excitement) and other native measures he had favoured, that got the British Resident, Major Warden, unwittingly into trouble with his superiors, as it was thought by them that he had mixed himself up too much in “*ex parte*” native quarrels. This was probably a mistaken view, seeing that the British Resident was expected to act as mediator between the natives by espousing the cause of the apparently oppressed among the Native allies. The Basutos, after this “Viervoet” fiasco, grew more daring, thievish, and troublesome than ever, indeed, so audacious did they become after this hostile success that the Special Commissioners—“Hogge and Owen”—intervened, and after investigating the numerous complaints of Basuto thefts, and coming to a decision thereon at a meeting held by appointment at Winburg, to which *Moshesh* and *Molitzane* were both summoned, the former, however, as was his wont, failing to enter an appearance, sent as his delegates his sons *Moloppo* and *Mashupa*, *Molitzane* appearing in person, the decision they arrived at pledging the *Basutos* and *Bataunas* to the payment of several thousand head of cattle (10,000) and at least 1,000 horses, as compensation for thefts from the whites and the so-called allies: the Baralong and others; this compensation not being forthcoming as stipulated, Sir George Cathcart, the High

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Commissioner and commander-in-chief, after fruitlessly endeavouring to urge upon Moshesh the necessity of compliance with the “Special Commissioner’s” Winburg award, hastily entered the Sovereignty with an army of at least 2,000 men, consisting of Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, and pitched his camp at Platberg, near the Caledon River, not, as he mildly intimated to Moshesh, to “wage war,” but merely to seize the cattle and horses, which had been promised but not delivered, save about 3,500 inferior head, which were at the last moment, on the 18th December, 1852, brought into the “Platberg Camp” by Moshesh’s son Nehemiah.

After some further correspondence and palaver between the High Commissioner and Moshesh, which was entirely barren of good results, and no more fine cattle being forthcoming, a mixed body of troops composed of Cavalry and Infantry numbering seven hundred (700) or thereabouts, marched recklessly into Basutoland on the 19th December, 1852, under the command of Colonels Eyre and Napier, to seize as the Governor grandiloquently remarked, the remainder of the promised cattle and horses. The “Commander-in-Chief,” General Sir George Cathcart, himself being present; the upshot of this precipitate and ill-advised movement, was far from satisfactory to the white inhabitants of the Sovereignty or even to Her Majesty’s troops; the former loudly proclaiming their disapproval by addresses and in numerous public gatherings.

Moshesh and his Basutos were jubilant, for instead of being punished for his heinous breach of a solemn engagement, they were only slightly “tickled,” and doubtless felt highly amused at their good luck in getting off so well, after so great a display of military parade and bounce.

In the Berea, the Basutos surrounded and cut off from the main body, and massacred, one officer, Captain Faunce, of the 72nd Regiment, and several men, and severely wounded several others. Some of the men killed belonged to the 12th Lancers, and their uniforms were afterwards paraded on the persons of their dusky victors, Moshesh reserving for himself an “outfit” of Lancer’s uniform,

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which his Sable Majesty donned on state occasions only. The “Commander-in-Chief” in his despatch to the Colonial Secretary in London, dated 13th January, 1853, said, that Native rumours put down the Basutos killed as numbering 500 or 600, and that the Basutos’ strength consisted of from 5,000 to 6,000 mounted men, and 2,000 footmen. Colonel Eyre in his report after the collision, dated “Camp, Platberg,” 23rd December, 1852, said that in his column eleven men were killed, and eleven wounded; amongst the first named being Captain Faunce, of the 72nd Regiment, who was assistant Quarter-Master General, and amongst the last named were Captain Wellesley and Lieutenant Annesley. Colonel Napier in his report, dated 21st December, 1852, said that his casualties were, owing to the overwhelming force of the enemy, and the rugged nature of the ground, very severe; that a great number of the enemy were killed, and that 4,000 head of cattle, and 55 horses, and a great many sheep and goats were captured. We may therefore conclude that the losses on the British side were considerable at any rate: such was the general impression in those days. The bodies of some of the slain soldiers were collected on the 24th December, 1852, with the assistance of Moshesh’s two sons Nehemiah and Masupha, and interred three days after the conclusion of peace; the Platberg Camp was soon after broken up, and 300 Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, were left *temporarily* to protect the “Bloemfontein Fort.” Some of the captured cattle were sold by public auction, at Bloemfontein; they were very inferior specimens of the kind, and for this reason and owing to a glutted market, only realized 18s. 9d. per head, so that there remained a considerable deficiency for the compensation of those entitled to same, which deficiency was met by a grant of £12,000 or more from the Imperial Treasury.

Thus terminated this mad-brained encounter: a sad ending for the future peace and safety of the sparse white population of the Sovereignty, especially for border residents, and over which they made great lamentations, and were loud in their protestations, and in their sad forebodings of evil to come; regarding what Sir George Cathcart feigned

to consider a Victory as really more resembling an actual defeat. The Governor had sown the “wind” and *they* were doomed to reap the “whirlwind.” So galling and humiliating was the finale of this disastrous and ill-fated campaign to that brave, high spirited and sensitive officer, Colonel Eyre, that he besought the Commander-in-Chief, General Cathcart, to be permitted to plant the British flag on Moshesh’s stronghold, “Thaba Bosigo,” or perish in the attempt, but his urgent request was not conceded.

Sir George Cathcart left the Colony early in May, 1854; he was, notwithstanding the fatal mistake he had made at the “Berea” (probably because he had not been left a free hand), a brave and intrepid soldier, did good work, had won golden opinions, and was highly thought of by many old residents of the Cape Colonial Frontier Districts, for his successful native policy, and settlement of the difficult frontier questions—a difficult task indeed; shortly after leaving the Colony he met a brave soldier’s death at the head of his men at the victorious battle of “Inkerman.”

Moshesh the great Basuto Chief, as he was usually styled, was the son of *Mokatshane*, the latter a petty chief or headman of an inferior tribe. This man (Moshesh) was a remarkable savage, a power in himself, who by his great force of character, natural ability, prowess, and probably an admixture of “good luck,” managed out of the collective “sweepings” of certain small refugee tribes, to become, like “Romulus,” a rallying centre, and in this way ultimately to found a powerful Kaffir “Oligarchy” and had furthermore, owing to great tact and innate administrative genius, obtained unbounded influence over his followers. His mountain fortress, “Thaba Bosigo,” was well chosen, and became a formidable — some thought impregnable—stronghold; his speech was always figurative and highly seasoned with duplicity, and withal parabolic; plain speaking did not quite suit his book; he never himself openly professed christianity, though he sometimes found it convenient to cite scripture and invoke the Diety. He was too shrewd to prevent his people from following the bent

of their inclinations in embracing, or at any rate professing christianity if they choose to do so; for this tolerance he doubtless obtained a strong hold on the affections of his long-suffering Missionaries who seemingly esteemed him highly. These Missionaries were a band of devoted men, perhaps if anything a little too flexible or credulous, but in common with all African natives, Moshesh at heart hated and was jealous of the white man's influence, though he made many gullible “White Skins” believe that he was their sincere friend. On one occasion after receiving an “Ultimatum” from Governor Sir George Cathcart, at a personal interview with that gentleman, in reference to the non-payment of a heavy fine imposed upon his people for never-ceasing cattle raiding, etc., just before the battle of the “Berea” already referred to, on the Governor's saying, “I told you in a letter that I hoped to meet you in peace, and still hope to do so, as I look to you as the great chief of this part,” he (Moshesh), ever ready at impromptu repartee, replied, “I hope so too, for peace is like the rain which makes the grass grow, while war is like the wind, which dries it up; you are right in looking to me for that is in accordance with the “Treaties.” At the same interview a little later on, the Governor on remarking to Moshesh “It would be better that you should give up the cattle,” meaning the stolen cattle, or rather the cattle fine imposed upon him for those stolen, “than that I should go for them,” Moshesh replied, “I wish for peace, but I have the same difficulty with my people that you have in the Colony, your prisons are never empty, and I have thieves among my people too.” Governor—“I would then recommend you to catch the thieves, and bring them to me, and I will hang them.” Moshesh—“I do not wish you to hang them, but to talk to them, and give them advice; if you hang them they cannot talk.” Governor—“If I hang them they cannot steal, I am not going to talk any more; I warn you that if you do not give up the cattle in three days I must come and take them,” etc., etc.

Then came the war already described.

CHAPTER THREE.

CONTENTS.

DEATH OF MOSHESH—RUMOURS OF ABANDONMENT OF O. R. SOVEREIGNTY — ARRIVAL OF SIR GEORGE RUSSELL CLERK, SPECIAL COMMISSIONER — ABANDONMENT — O. R. SOVEREIGNTY PROCEEDINGS — OPPOSITION TO ABANDONMENT—LETTERS PATENT—PROPOSITIONS PUT TO SIR GEORGE CLERK—PROTEST OF INHABITANTS, ETC.

The foregoing quotations referred to, in the preceding Chapter, in the colloquy between Governor Sir George Cathcart and Moshesh, will give the reader a fair idea of his (Moshesh) character; his was a crafty and shifty policy of procrastination and shuffling, and it can hardly be wondered at, that under his rule, although himself a Native of ability and forethought, and in many ways infinitely superior to the ordinary African Native Kaffir Chief, the Basuto nation had won for themselves from the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith, who knew Moshesh and his nation, and their tactics well, the unenviable title of "Nation of Thieves."

Moshesh died at the age of 77 years; he had created the Basuto nation, and was adored by his people, who both loved and feared him, and for a long period enjoyed unbounded prosperity; but his last years were beclouded and full of sorrow, his sons too were a trouble to him. Thus passed away in the midst of fire and fury the ever memorable Year of Grace 1852.

In the following year — 1853 — the many fleeting rumours which had for some months been gaining currency, but which few could credit, as to the probable abandonment by the British Government of the Orange River Sovereignty, were coming nearer, and assuming more actuality, and began now to be fully and freely discussed by all sections of the community, and by all sorts and conditions of men.

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Some for, and some against abandonment; a proposal, however, which seemed so heinous and heartless, was for the most part disbelieved, or strongly condemned, at Bloemfontein, Winburg, Smithfield, Harrismith, and Fauresmith (the latter then known as Sannahs Poort), throughout the Cape Colony and Natal. Public Meetings for discussing the matter were held, protests got up, petitions signed, and remonstrances made against the proposed measure; these were all couched in unmistakable terms of Condemnation.

Sir George Russell Clerk, late Governor of Madras, who was appointed by the British Government, after the decease of Major Hogge, to withdraw the Queen's Sovereignty over the Country, arrived in Bloemfontein early in August, 1853, and his first utterance at once sealed the doom of the Country; for he had only been in Bloemfontein a few hours when, on verbally replying to an address from the Citizens, dated 9th August, 1853, he said:—

“I regret to say that my reply cannot be of that nature which, judging from your address, you would naturally expect, it has been decided by the Imperial Government to relinquish its dominion over this territory, etc.”

Some wag at Smithfield was, soon after, the author of the following “Obituary Notice,” viz. :—

DEATH.

Suddenly, at her residence Bloemfontein, on the 10th instant, at the early age of five years, the “Orange River Sovereignty”; youngest Colonial Child of Mr. John Bull, of Downing Street, London; the early loss of this promising Infant has spread the deepest gloom over numerous friends, not only here, but throughout the Cape Colony, to whom she had endeared herself by so many engaging ties. It may prove a consolation to her numerous relatives to know that, as her supposed malady increased, the attendance of Her Majesty's Medical Adviser, Sir George Clerk, was deemed necessary to be obtained, but the patient, and hitherto-

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gentle spirit, of this highly gifted Child, passed away *immediately* after this very eminent practitioner arrived, alas! too late to render any assistance to her sorrowing relatives. Friends at a distance are requested to accept this notice.—Smithfield, 13th August, 1853.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of the several towns and districts in the country did not tacitly rest content with Sir George Clerk's reply to the Bloemfontein address, but continued their agitation, by holding public meetings, waiting upon him (the Commissioner), by protesting, by memorializing the Home Government, and in every possible way by keeping the *ball rolling*, and by maintaining the excitement against abandonment at fever heat. The Special Commissioner must have been nearly worried to death, and though people were not absolutely rude or insulting to him, he stood a good chance of being mobbed; plain language was everywhere freely used, speakers and writers gave full expression to their feelings, and did not attempt to “gloss over” their surprise and disgust at what was regarded the shabby treatment of the British Government towards its own loyal subjects, from whom better things had been expected; besides it was generally hinted that the Special Commissioner was exceeding the authority given him by the Home Government. Sir George Clerk was, however, quite callous to “Public Opinion,” no amount of argument could influence him against completing the task entrusted to him, and which he himself must have felt to be a highly dishonourable one. The anti-abandonists as soon as possible chose a deputation of two members, the Rev. Andrew Murray, junior, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Bloemfontein, and Doctor A. J. Fraser, a retired Army Medico, to proceed to England, and there to appeal on their behalf, in “*propria persona*,” against the cruel step. The subscriptions to defray the cost of this mission was estimated to amount to about £3,000; of this sum several hundreds of pounds were easily and quickly obtained in Bloemfontein, and in other parts of the Sovereignty—Bloemfontein alone contributing about

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£400 in half-an-hour's time. The Commission or Authority under and by virtue of which Sir George Clerk completed the job entrusted to him, read as follows :—

Signed, Victoria R.

“Victoria by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and Ireland; Queen Defender of the Faith.

“To our well-beloved Sir George Russell Clerk, Knight Commander of the most honourable order of the Bath; Greeting :—

“WHEREAS, we did by a Commission under our sign, manual, and signet, dated Ardverkie, on the third day of September, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Seven, in the Eleventh year of our Reign, Constitute and Appoint our Trusty and Well-beloved, Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, Knight Grand Cross of the most Honourable order of the Bath, Major-General of our Forces, our Governor and Commander-in-Chief, in and over our Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and its dependencies, in South Africa, to be High Commissioner for the Settling and adjustment of the affairs and Territories in Southern Africa, adjacent and contiguous to the Eastern and North-Eastern Frontier of our said Settlement, requiring and enjoining him, the said Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, as such our High Commissioner, in our name, and on our behalf to take all such measures and do all such matters and things, as could and might lawfully and discreetly be done by him, for preventing the recurrence of any eruption into the said Settlement, of the Tribes inhabiting the Territories aforesaid, and for maintaining our said Settlement in Peace and Safety from such invaders, and for promoting as far as may be possible the good order, Civilization, and moral and religious instruction of the Tribes aforesaid, and with that view of placing them under some settled form of Government: and

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WHEREAS, the said Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, as such High Commissioner, as aforesaid, did by his several Proclamations, bearing date respectively the Third day of February, and the Eighth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Eight, and the Fourteenth Day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Nine, Proclaim our Sovereignty over Certain Territories therein described, North of the Great Orange River, including the Countries of Moshesh, Moroko, Moletsane, Sinkonyella, Adam Kok, Gert Taaibosch, and other Minor Chiefs, so far North as the Vaal River, and East to the Drakensberg, or, Quathlamba Mountains, and to make certain regulations for the Government of the same, and declare that the said Territories should be designated as the *Orange River Sovereignty*: and WHEREAS we did by a Commission under our Sign, Manual, and Signet, bearing date at Windsor, the Nineteenth Day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-Two, in the Fifteenth year of our Reign, Constitute and Appoint our Trusty and Well-beloved servant, George Cathcart, Esquire, commonly called the Honourable George Cathcart, Major-General of our Forces, our Governor and Comander-in-Chief, in and over our Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and its dependencies, in South Africa, to be our High Commissioner, for the Settling and Adjustment of the affairs of the said Territories, adjacent or contiguous to the Eastern and North-Eastern Frontier of our said Settlement, which said Commission to the said George Cathcart, we have revoked, and determined, as far as regards the Territories of the said Orange River Sovereignty, and WHEREAS it is expedient that further provision should be made for Settling the internal affairs of the said last mentioned Territories, and for determining the disputes which exist among the Natives, and other inhabitants thereof, and for enabling the said inhabitants to establish peaceable

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and orderly Government within the said Territories :
Now we do by these presents, Constitute you to be our
“Special Commissioner” for the Settling and adjust-
ment of the affairs of the said Territories, designated
as the “Orange River Sovereignty” aforesaid, and
We do hereby require and enjoin you, the said Sir
George Russell Clerk, as such our Special Commis-
sioner, in our name and on our behalf, to take all such
measures, and to do all such matters and things as can
and may lawfully and discreetly be done by you, for
Settling the internal affairs of the said “Orange River
Sovereignty,” and for determining the disputes which
exist among the Native and other inhabitants thereof,
and for enabling the said inhabitants to establish
peaceable and orderly Government therein : and We
do Command and require all our Officers—Civil and
Military— and all our faithful Subjects—Inhabitants
of the said Sovereignty—to be aiding and assisting
you in carrying this our Will and Pleasure into effect.”

“Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, this
Sixth day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and
Fifty-Three, in the Sixteenth Year of our Reign.”

By Her Majesty’s Command.

NEWCASTLE, D.S.

To Sir George Russell Clerk,
Special Commissioner, for the
Orange River Sovereignty.

As will be noted in the above “Royal Commission,”
the terms of the Special Commissioner’s appointment were
“to take all such measures, and to do all such matters and
“things as can or may lawfully, and discreetly be done for
“settling the internal affairs of the said Orange River
“Sovereignty; and for determining the disputes which
“exist among the Natives and other Inhabitants thereof,
“and for enabling the said Inhabitants to establish peace-
“able and orderly Government therein.” Not a word
appears in this “State Paper” as to Empowering the

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Commissioner to *withdraw* British Dominion from the Sovereignty; what wonder therefore, that anti-abandonists should have been led to call in question the great power which he was arrogating to himself, and his right to withdraw Her Majesty's Sovereignty *without hearing what the residents had to say against this ill-judged measure, which was fraught with so much injustice and danger.* Nothing, however, did in anyway daunt him, or disturb his equanimity; he insisted on the appointment of delegates to treat with him for taking over the Country; and so on the 5th of September, 1853, a meeting of Representatives from *four* Districts elected by virtue of a notice published to that intent, by the British Resident—Henry Green,—and directed to the “Civil Commissioner,” dated the 9th August, 1853, and consisting of *ninety-five members—seventy-six* being Dutch, and *nineteen* English—met at Bloemfontein, to discuss matters with the “Special Commissioner,” to which Dr. A. J. Fraser, already referred to, was elected Chairman. To this meeting the Special Commissioner read his “Commission,” and verbally answered certain *Eleven* questions or propositions put to him, which were as follows:—

- 1st.—Regarding the Settlement of the Griqua Question with Adam Kok.
- 2nd.—Regarding the Adjustment of the Boundary Line between the *Basuto Territory*, and the *Sovereignty*.
- 3rd.—Regarding future interference of the British Government between Natives and European Inhabitants.
- 4th.—A Guarantee that the allies of the British Government, or persons from beyond the Vaal River, shall not molest the Inhabitants of the “Sovereignty,” more particularly with regard to Confiscated farms.
- 5th.—Compensation for those who may find it necessary to leave the Country, or have sustained losses by war or otherwise.

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- 6th.—The Share, justly belonging to this Country, of the “Custom Dues” received at the “Ports” of the Cape Colony and Natal.
- 7th.—The Complete, Unconditional Absolution of the Inhabitants from their allegiance to the British Crown.
- 8th.—The Settlement of all disputes regarding *boundaries of farms*, as yet undecided by the Several Land Commissions.
- 9th.—That all Treaties with Natives at present existing be cancelled.
- 10th.—Permission for the future Government to purchase in England, or in the British Colonies, all munitions of war; and a guarantee that no obstacles shall be thrown in their way, by the Colonial Government to prevent such munitions from reaching the “Orange River Sovereignty.”
- 11th.—That all fines unlawfully imposed upon Inhabitants of the Sovereignty, be refunded to them, and that all farms unlawfully Confiscated, shall be restored to their respective owners, or paid for.

A Committee of *Twenty-five* Members was likewise chosen on the 8th September, 1853, from amongst the delegates—*five* members out of each District—for considering with the Special Commissioner, the future form of Self Government for the Territory. This Commission however was *specially* instructed not to take over the Country from the British Government, until the above questions put to the Special Commissioner were *satisfactorily* answered, and until the Commissioner's acts were duly ratified by the “Imperial Government.” On the 11th September, 1853, the Special Commissioner referred to the list of questions proposed, saying that several of the proposals were reasonable; on the other hand, there were some which he could not entertain, especially the *fourth* proposal relating to a guarantee against interference by the Transvaal Republic, and its amalgamation with the present Sovereignty; the *Eleventh* proposal, respecting “Confiscated Lands,” he

considered perfectly intelligible; it was only just towards those who may have purchased the lands referred to, in an authorized manner, that this question should be so arranged that they should not be subjected to loss; but if the proposed guarantee was merely intended to apply to, and guard against, distrust of the proximity of the Dutch community across the Vaal, it is to be regretted. The Commissioner thought, that any real distrust of the kind should be felt, etc., etc. To this the Committee, through their Chairman, Dr. A. J. Fraser, replied on the 12th September, 1853; from which reply it appeared that the differences between them and the Commissioner respecting interference by the Transvaal in “Sovereignty” matters and Transvaal amalgamation with the “Sovereignty,” and matters affecting “Confiscated farms,” had not been satisfactorily cleared up; indeed the “Special Commissioner” soon had reason to know that the Committee did not really intend to assist him in completing his work of abandonment, but had leagued together in a body to resist it as much as possible, and to render the attempt of abandoning the Country as far as lay in their power, altogether abortive, and impossible, and in this they were heartily supported by a *considerable* majority of the most intelligent and well-to-do portion of the people in Bloemfontein—indeed in the Sovereignty generally—and also in the Cape Colony, and Natal.

The following is the protest from residents of Bloemfontein, against abandonment, handed to Sir George Clerk, viz. :—

The Inhabitants protest against abandonment for the following, amongst other reasons, namely :—

Firstly :—Because the British Government by a series of acts, has given the inhabitants of the Orange River Sovereignty every reason to believe that the dominion of Her Majesty extended over Them, would be perpetual, in proof of which they refer to the Proclamation of Sir Harry Smith, under date 3rd February, and 8th March, 1848, of her Sovereignty over the Territory, reasserted shortly afterwards by the triumph

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of Her Majesty's *Arms*, and the subsequent approval of this act by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies—Earl Grey,—dated 21st June, 1848, the opinion of the highest Council in the British Realm, *i.e.*, the Committee of Her Majesty's "Privy Council"; dated 5th July, 1850, the issue of a Commission to Sir H. G. W. Smith as Governor of the new Colony, and the grant of "letters patent"; dated 22nd March, 1854, the Establishment with the approval of H.M.'s "Secretary of State" of the complete machinery of a regular Government: consisting of a British Resident—acting as Lieut.-Governor,—Magistrates, Courts of Law, Legislative Council, etc., the administration of Justice, extending even to the infliction of "Capital Punishment," and the continual exercise of varied extensive governing functions during a period of *five years and a-half*, facts which to them render it evident, how deeply the honour of England would be implicated by the abandonment of the Sovereignty and how justly that act would be regarded as a breach of good faith, leaving a stigma on the British name, and in all probability leading to results the most disastrous throughout the neighbouring provinces; such an exhibition of want of *faith* would certainly tend to excite distrust, and discontent in the native mind; the last vestige of that respect for England, which has recently been diminished by acts of the Government, would be endangered; those who have long been discontented with British policy would have an occasion for triumphing in this new proof of a want of principle, and the mouths of those who have hitherto honoured the British name would be shut when taunted with this last indisputable act of injustice.

Secondly :—Because there is no security that an Effective Government will be formed, after the withdrawal of British authority as the elements of discord and dissension, which the past History of this Territory have so peculiarly tended to create the paucity of able and experienced men, possessing general confidence, and the want of sufficient power upon which the Executive could depend for the enforcement of its requirements, render it improbable that an efficient Government could be

established; and they cannot believe that England would knowingly leave them even to the possibility of a period of anarchy and confusion.

Thirdly :—Because in consequence of the successive Acts of Her Majesty’s Government, and the implicit confidence placed in its declarations, Capital was extensively invested in the purchase and improvements both of farms and of town allotments, sold by Government in the towns and villages, in several of which large sums have been expended in the erection of business and other premises, money has been advanced on mortgages, extensive purchases of produce have been made in anticipation of the coming season, and large credits have been allowed as well by mercantile houses in the Cape Colony, and England, as also by importers to consumers in the Sovereignty; the withdrawal of the British Government would, by the insecurity too likely to ensue, not only depreciate the value of fixed property, but render the recovery of monies due, doubtful, if not impossible.

Fourthly :—Because many of those who on the declaration of “British Supremacy,” faithfully adhered to the Government, having thereby drawn upon themselves the animosity of their countrymen, would, on the withdrawal of the British dominion be left unprotected, to pay the penalty of their staunch attachment to Her Majesty’s Government, by suffering reproach, if not actual violence, at the hands of those who had been less faithful to their allegiance, which would more especially be the case with those persons now in possession of farms formerly confiscated by Government, as the previous possessors would consider themselves entitled to reclaim what was forfeited to a Government which now disavowed its former acts; and because, in addition to this, unsettled land claims, and unsatisfactory decisions would prove a fruitful source of contentions so soon as the restraint of British power were withdrawn.

Fifthly :—Because the complicated relations of the British Government with the Native Tribes would leave the Inhabitants of the Sovereignty exposed to suffer the

consequences of past misrule, insomuch as it can be proved that though friendly feelings existed between the Emigrant farmer and the Tribes to the Eastward, previously to the assumption of Sovereignty, the Natives have now been excited to hostility, and at the same time taught to know their power, whence disastrous collisions will arise, in connection with an unsatisfactory *boundary line*; at the same time the Griqua people would consider the Treaty entered into at the Proclamation of the Sovereignty, as broken, so soon as they were deprived of its promised advantages: and many amongst them would claim the ground formerly alienated from them; and thus on every side the withdrawal of British dominion would be likely to involve the European into disputes with the Native population.

Sixthly:—Because the Circumstances hitherto alleged as reasons for the abandonment of the Sovereignty have undeniably been the fruits of misgovernment, as is clearly and ably stated by Earl Grey in his despatch, dated 15th September, 1851; the inhabitants deny that they were open to blame as a Community, and complain that they have been condemned unheard, their case never having been laid before the “British Legislature,” nor have they ever had any direct communication with the “Imperial Government,” they feel that they have been judged from reports made under excited feelings, or founded on preconceived opinion, if not on incorrect and defective information.

Seventhly:—Because the Revenue of the Country now amounting to £12,000 per annum, having been nearly doubled in the last two years, has hitherto been amply sufficient for the support of the Government already established: while the rapidly increasing Export trade with England in wool and ivory, etc., with an Import trade on British Merchandise and Manufactures consumed north of the Orange River, to the amount of at least a quarter of a Million Sterling, must tend by its employment of British shipping and labour, materially to counterbalance any expenditure from the “Imperial Treasury,” for the support

of the small detachment of Troops, required in the Sovereignty.

Eightly :—Because the general interests of *Religion* and *Civilization* will be seriously affected, for whilst they look back with gratitude to the ample provision made by Sir Harry Smith for the supply of Clergymen and Schoolmasters, they have now reason to dread that the uncertainty of a future Revenue in the absence of a firm Government, with the prospect of disorder and uncertainty, will render it difficult to secure an adequate number of Ministers of Religion, etc., while the excitement prevailing would present obstacles to every religious and practical effort. Social advancement too would in like manner be retarded, for the hope entertained of the humanizing influence, which a peaceful and settled community might exercise on neighbouring Tribes, would assuredly be dispelled.

The Protestors remember with pride, what England has sacrificed for the abolition of Slavery, they know the noble efforts continually made by Her people for the advancement of Christianity, and they cannot believe that the interests and welfare of so many thousands of Her Majesty's Subjects can be heedlessly and wantonly imperilled.

For those amongst other reasons, the Subscribers *most earnestly protest*.

Signed at Bloemfontein on this first day of September, 1853.

George Home, George Staunton, C. E. Fichardt, E. Hanger, J. van der Berg, J. J. Smook, J. Jordan, I. Baumann, Baumann Brothers, D. Arnot, junior, A. J. Fraser, M.D., Wm. G. Every, F. K. Hohne, J. C. Donovan, Thomas White, G. Monton, Godlonton, White & Co., J. Richards, Nathaniel W. Barlow, J. C. Schindehutte, Gotlob Schriener, Andrew Murray, junior, J. H. Ford, P. Hoendervangers, P. Wright, Bindon Blood, J. E. Barrett, Wm. Platts, Wm. Wills, Ernest E. Biddulph, C. P. Wienand, Wm. W. Collins, Frederic Daniel, John Roesch, John L. Latchford, George Josling, R. J. Watson, John Nelson, Edward Brandfort, Essex Harries, Joseph

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McCabe, J. M. Donaldson, William Collins, C. U. Stuart, James Dick, David Paxton, Frederick Pickard, Martin Hopkins, M. Griffin, George Page, A. J. Campbell, J. Weeks, F. S. Smook, S. W. Green, S. Goddard, M. Matthall, H. Tinnery, Isaac Dyason, George Webber, H. A. Colley, Thomas Draper, John Hopkins, W. P. R. Dixon & Co., George G. Wright, R. D. Collins, H. J. McCabe, H. du Ploy, William Sephton, Jan van Tonder, Alfred Hockley, E. J. Biddulph, A. Davidson, Edward Bird.

N.B.—Of the above Signatories only *four* are now living.

CHAPTER FOUR.

CONTENTS.

OLD GOVERNMENT SCHOOL ROOM — GOVERNMENT NOTICES RE ABANDONMENT — MEETINGS OF DELEGATES — DELEGATES' ADDRESS TO SIR GEORGE CLERK — GOLD DISCOVERY NEAR SMITHFIELD — DELEGATES' DEMANDS — PROCLAMATION RE ABANDONMENT — "GREVILLE" CONVENTION — DELEGATES SENT TO ENGLAND TO ROUSE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT, ETC. — "DUKE OF NEWCASTLE," HIS REPLY, ETC. — PROCLAMATION AFTER ABANDONMENT — ANTI-ABANDONISTS' MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN — VIEWS ON ABANDONMENT BY SIR GEORGE CLERK — ADDRESS, MR. ADDERLEY, HOUSE OF COMMONS — JEREMIAH AGAINST ABANDONMENT — PROCLAMATION, "PRESIDENT PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT" — OFFICIALS APPOINTED — PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT — TROOPS LEAVING BLOEMFONTEIN — ADDRESS OF RESIDENTS AND REPLY — PRESENTS TO "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT" BY SIR GEORGE CLERK — PRICE OF FOOD STUFFS, AND FARMS, AFTER ABANDONMENT, ETC., ETC.

The old Government "School Room," already referred to in these pages, now became, alternately, the scene of Unity and Strife, of concord and discord,—by opposing and angry factions,—and *vice-versa*.

Here many of the leaders, and would-be leaders, of "Public opinion," both Dutch and English, marshalled their adherents, and ventilated their Political doctrines in verbose and fiery strains, and, as may be imagined, several of the Dutch residents, especially the old "voortrekkers," of whom there were several still living, and those of their children, who had imbibed the ideas of their parents, and were disaffected, and restless, under British rule,—those chiefly who were still brooding over Boomplaats and Zwartkoppies, and on the loss, by confiscation, of their farms,—after Boomplaats, those too who were fined; all these enthusiastically favoured abandonment, and became close friends of

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Sir George Clerk ; that gentleman having made it his special business to fraternize with, and conciliate these people, by visiting the country districts, and consulting them on their farms, and there stirring up as many recruits as he could for abandonment,—and afterwards marshalling them into working order, and by these means, he, after several days passed in travelling from place to place, succeeded with the aid of his sympathisers in securing Representatives from all the Districts in the Sovereignty to assemble at Bloemfontein on the 15th day of February, 1854 ; how he did it, will further be shown, by the following *two* “Government Notices,” which were published in the local paper, viz. :—

No. 1.—*Government Notice.*

Bloemfontein,
19th January, 1854.

To the Commandants and Field Cornets :

It is hereby notified, that those persons who, on the part of the Inhabitants, are now prepared to discuss with Her Majesty's “Special Commissioner” the terms on which the independent Government of this Territory, will be transferred into their hands, will assemble at Bloemfontein on the 15th day of next month.

(Sd.) H. LOWEN,
Civil Commissioner
and Resident Magistrate.

No. 2.

Residency,
17th February, 1854.

To the Civil Commissioner
of Bloemfontein.

Sir,—With reference to my Circular of the 9th August last, I am directed by Her Majesty's “Special Commissioner,” to request you to make known to the Inhabitants of your Town and District, that the “assembly of Delegates,” then convened, having misconstrued and prevented the object for which it was called, is dissolved.

I have, etc.,

HENRY GREEN,
British Resident.

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Both the above Notices show how indecorously, shall we not rather say, “rudely,”—the Special Commissioner treated the first “strong body” of Delegates, numbering 95 Members—a mixed body of picked men, and chosen by all the Districts, after *full notice* to confer with him,—these gentlemen, too, in spite of above two Notices, assembled at Bloemfontein, on the 15th February, to discuss matters with him, but he wholly ignored them; so anxious was the Commissioner to foist off the Country, it did not matter on whom, he was overheard to say that, if the people could not be induced to take it over, he would leave it to the “*Wildebeest*,” meaning the Game, of which the Country was at that time over well supplied.

The new Delegates got together, by virtue of the foregoing Notices,—numbering “twenty-seven” Members, among whom was Mr. Adrian Staander, a boer “patriot,” one of those who was fined after *Boomplaats*,—this gentleman made himself very conspicuous and serviceable in the matter of canvassing for “recruits,” and was afterwards one of those who signed the “*Convention*,”—all these Delegates were of Dutch origin (Afrikanders), except *one*, a Hollander (Schoolmaster), and *another*, a German (Store-keeper); these gentlemen—who were men after the “Special Commissioner’s” own heart—met at Bloemfontein in “*secret session*,” on the day appointed, and after arranging certain preliminaries, elected as their Chairman, Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, a resident of the Caledon River District, and at once opened negotiations with Sir George Clerk, which culminated in the framing and passing of the Convention of 23rd February, 1854, containing *Nine* Clauses—this “State Paper” was thereupon signed by the “Special Commissioner,” and the “Delegates.”

Sir George Clerk, a day before the Meeting of the *second* body of delegates, addressed the following communication to the “Representatives” (Delegates No. 2):—

Bloemfontein, 14th February, 1854.

To Messrs. Hoffman, Du Ploy, and Senekal,
and others who signed the Memorial.

Gentlemen,—In reply to your Memorial of this date (this was no Memorial, but merely an enquiry respect-

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ing the Delegates No. 1, of September), I have to inform you that the Committee of September, of which some of you were Members, neglected to turn your attention to forming an “Independent Government,” therefore their connection with my duties, which require the introduction of some means of conducting the Government of this Territory’s *independence*, became dissolved.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

GEORGE CLERK,
Special Commissioner.

It is a curious coincidence that just about this time the discovery of *payable* “Gold Fields” should have been reported from Smithfield (this was a loud “thunder clap,” without the lightning flash), for nothing was heard of the Smithfield Gold Fields after the abandonment, and the “Exploring Company” was dissolved on the 17th November, 1855.

The following is the Correspondence which took place between certain gentlemen in Smithfield, and the “Special Commissioner,” on the subject of the Gold discovery:—

Bloemfontein,
14th February, 1854.

To Sir G. R. Clerk,
“Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner,”
Bloemfontein.

Sir,—We, the undersigned representatives of the Caledon River District, have the honour to bring to your Excellency’s notice the fact that the discovery of Gold in the neighbourhood of Smithfield is now an undoubted fact, of which many of us have had actual demonstration on the spot.

It is needless for us to enlarge upon the importance of this discovery, should it appear shortly, as we are fully convinced it will, that the deposits are likely to prove of sufficient quantity to attract a large influx of inhabitants into this Country, there is one point in connection with it, to which we are desirous of attracting your Excellency’s attention.

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Your Excellency is aware of the vast amount of crime and disorganisation of Society, to which these discoveries in other Countries have given rise, and we cannot contemplate the withdrawal of the British Government at such a critical period without feelings of the greatest apprehension; we feel convinced that when Her Majesty's Government decided upon withdrawing British dominion from this Country, they had not in contemplation the altered circumstances in which this province will be placed.

Your Excellency must by this time have seen enough of the strength of “party feeling,” the want of Education, and the unfitness of the inhabitants for “Self Government” in a Country which we have reason to expect will shortly be over-run with persons attracted by the Gold discoveries, and of whose probable character Your Excellency is doubtless well aware.

Should the Executive Authority be vested in persons without the requisite power of enforcing Law and order, we have great reason to expect that this Province will become the scene of atrocities and lawless proceedings, similar to those which have been enacted in California and elsewhere,—we feel certain that Her Majesty's Government never would willingly, by withdrawing British protection, plunge this Country into the anarchy, which, without other causes, at present existing, must ensue, in a Gold producing District, under a weak or ill-supported Government.

We would therefore respectfully submit to Your Excellency, whether your instructions from Her Majesty's Government do not allow you such latitude and discretion, as may be *now*,—in the cause of humanity, and of the safety and welfare of this Country, be exercised,—by deciding to postpone the withdrawal of British Authority, till such time as the dangers we fear have been provided against by a strong and respectable Government.

In pressing this subject upon Your Excellency's serious consideration, we earnestly deprecate the idea of being influenced by political or personal motives,—other than these by which, as the Representatives of the Caledon River District, our duty to our Constituents ought to be deter-

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mined. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing to Your Excellency our conviction, fortified by reports from the other side of the Vaal River, that these deposits will prove far more extensive than can at present be anticipated, and the weighty results of these discoveries,—should our anticipation be realized.

We have the honour to be, etc.,

H. J. HALSE, R. FINLAY, A. WHITE,
WM. COLEMAN, HENNING JOUBERT,
WM. WAY, F. KRONJE, H. OLIVIER.

Answer.

Bloemfontein,
15th February, 1854.

H. J. Halse, Esq.

Sir,—The discoveries made in the Smithfield District, as reported in your letter of yesterday, can have no effect in the determination of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw from this Territory; I adopted the surest Public means of making this generally known, and the inhabitants of Smithfield would find it more advantageous to their interests to believe in it, than to cling to hopes which cannot be realized.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

GEORGE CLERK,
Special Commissioner.

To the communication from the Special Commissioner of 14th February, 1854, the Delegates “No. 2” replied,—that they were prepared to co-operate with him (the “Special Commissioner”) conformably to plan and conditions proposed by Messrs. Bester, Staander, Schuchage, Coqui, Cauvin, Du Plooy, Venter, and others,—to undertake the “Self Government” of the Country, and that the “Assembly,” as they styled themselves, were moreover prepared to render His Excellency all the services he may desire, so far as they were able, connected with the future interests of the Country, or in carrying out his duties;

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His Excellency was further requested to favour the “Assembly” with his presence whenever it may be convenient for him to do so,—that the “Assembly” requests to be informed by the Commissioner whether he is already in possession of the legal instruments whereby we can be declared an “Independent Government” and people, etc., etc.,—to which the Commissioner replied:—

1st.—The absolute independence of the Country and the Inhabitants to be guaranteed.

2nd.—*Alliances* and *Treaties* to be abolished, except the “Griqua” Treaty.

3rd.—Adam Kok having himself infringed the said Treaty, by allowing Sales; the restrictive Clauses as to tenure “to be set aside,” to which Adam Kok has already agreed; a near prospect of amicable and final settlement is in contemplation.

4th.—Trade in Ammunition to be regulated by the new Government, it being understood that it will be placed on the same footing as in the Cape Colony.

5th.—The rights of persons and property, and freedom from all annoyances, to be guaranteed to the English Residents, and all things connected with said rights to remain in “Statu-quo”;—two years to be given to persons who may want to wind up their affairs, etc., to do so.

6th.—Appointment of a Consul to watch British interests, etc.

On the 24th February — one day after signing the “Convention”—Sir George Clerk issued the following Proclamation:—

Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner hereby publishes for general information, that, having upon the 23rd February, 1854, entered into a “Convention,” transferring the Government of the “Orange River Territory” to the “representatives,” delegated by the inhabitants, to receive it,—Her Majesty’s authority over the Territory has ceased, and a “Provisional Administration,” formed by the said

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“representatives,” has assumed the Government, of which all persons are requested to take Notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

GEORGE CLERK,
Special Commissioner.

The following further proclamation was likewise published :—

“ At the Court of Buckingham Palace,”
the 30th day of January, 1854.

“ ORANGE RIVER TERRITORY.”

“ PROCLAMATION.”

WHEREAS we have thought fit, by and with our “Privy Council,” and in exercise of the powers in that behalf appertaining, to abandon and renounce for Ourselves, our Heirs and Successors, all Dominion and Sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland over the Territory designated in our “Letters Patent” of the 22nd March, 1851, by the name of the “Orange River Sovereignty,” and have resolved and determined the said “Letters Patent” accordingly.

We do for that end publish this our “Royal Proclamation,” and do hereby declare, and make known, — the abandonment and renunciation of our “Dominion of Sovereignty” over the said Territory, and the Inhabitants thereof.

Given, etc., etc.,

C. GREVILLE.

The feeling of the Inhabitants of Bloemfontein may be gleaned from the following series of “Resolutions” passed at a large “Public Meeting,” held on 10th February, 1854.

Resolved :—That the Committee having been informed by Her Majesty’s “Special Commissioner” that he is now engaged in treating with persons, who are not *legally* authorised for that purpose,—protests against all his acts in connection with such persons in the strongest terms, and declares that the resignation of the Government of this Country into their hands, is in direct contradiction to the

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terms of his Commission, — and that we, and those we represent, never will submit to any Government so formed, and that the “Special Commissioner” be requested to forward a copy of this our protest to Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom we will also forward a copy direct. That this Meeting denounce the proceedings of Her Majesty’s “Special Commissioner” as illegal, and unconstitutional, that it regards his attempt to thrust upon the Inhabitants of the “Sovereignty” a Government composed of persons who have been elected at *private* Meetings of only a “section” of the community, and not duly convened by “Public Notice,”—with unmitigated disgust, and we hereby declare our determination not to acknowledge the authority of such Government, or to obey its Mandates, and we call upon our fellow countrymen to support us to the utmost of their power in this our determination.

That as our allegiance has always been, and up to this moment is, entire and undivided, and as the “Special Commissioner,” Sir George Clerk, has acknowledged that he has been vested with no powers whatever to absolve us therefrom, nor any power to annul by his own single authority, the “Act of Parliament” of William IV., we declare that his proceedings have been unauthorized by his Commission, and contrary to Her Most Gracious Majesty’s will and wish, as expressed in that document.

That we declare that all dealings of the “Special Commissioner” with any persons, not freely elected, whom he may by either *public or private, open or underhand, means* pretend to call Representatives of the people of this Sovereignty, are “*ipso facto*” *null and void*,—and shall not be recognized by us.

Resolved that as the proceedings of H. M.’s “High Commissioner” and “Commander in Chief,” ever since the fatal battle of the “Berea,” at which by his unmilitary arrangements, and manoeuvres, he was very near being defeated, and the whole circumstances of which have tended to do more mischief to the prestige of British gallantry, power, and wisdom in the eyes of the ignorant inhabitants

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of this District, than anything that has ever yet occurred in South Africa,—followed as they have been by the acts of H.M. “Special and Assistant Commissioners,” have tended to throw everything in such confusion, as never before existed, and could in no other way have been produced; we do hereby charge them, and will hold them liable, for all evils that may consequently occur, in spite of our loyal efforts to prevent them. That should it become a certainty that the “Special Commissioner” will carry out the unjust measure of abandonment, and hand us over to the power of men in whose election we have had no voice, and in whom we have no confidence,—whenever that measure be gazetted that the Committee, at Bloemfontein, shall proceed to organize a suitable and effective government for this Country, which Government we pledge ourselves to support to the uttermost extent in our power.

The following is the full text of the “Convention” already referred to:—

“Convention.”

Art. 1.—Her Majesty’s “Special Commissioner” in entering into a “Convention” for finally transferring the Government of the “Orange River Territory” to the Representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it, guarantees, on the part of Her Majesty’s Government, the full independence of that Country, and its Government; and that, after the necessary “preliminary arrangements” for making over the same, between Her Majesty’s “Special Commissioner” and the Representatives, shall have been completed, the inhabitants of the Territory shall then be free; and this independence shall, without unnecessary delay, be confirmed and ratified by an Instrument promulgated in such form and substance as Her Majesty may approve; finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them, to all intents and purposes, a free and independent people, and their Government to be treated and considered thenceforth as a free and independent Government.

Art. 2.—The British Government has no alliance whatever with any Nation, Chief, or Tribes to the Northward of



JOHANNES HENRICUS BRAND,
FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE,
2nd February, 1864 to 14th July, 1888.



FRANCIS WILLIAM REITZ,
FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE,
January, 1889 to December, 1893.

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the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua Chief, Adam Kok; and Her Majesty's Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any Treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government.

Art. 3.—With regard to the Treaty existing between the British Government, and the Chief Adam Kok, some modification of it is indispensable; contrary to the provisions of that Treaty, the sale of lands in the “Inalienable Territory,” has been of frequent occurrence, and the principal object of the Treaty thus disregarded. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, intends to remove all restrictions preventing Grikwas from selling their lands; and measures are in progress for the purpose of affording every facility for such transactions; the Chief, Adam Kok, having for himself concurred in sanctioning the same, and with regard to those further alterations arising out of the proposed revision of relations with Captain Adam Kok, in consequence of the aforesaid “Sales of Land” having from time to time been effected in the “Inalienable Territory,” contrary to the stipulations of the “Maitland Treaty,” it is the intention of Her Majesty's “Special Commissioner” personally, without unnecessary loss of time, to establish the affairs in Griqualand on a footing suitable to the just expectations of all parties.

Art. 4.—After the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Government from the “Orange River Territory,” the new Orange River Government shall not permit any vexatious proceedings towards those of Her Majesty's present subjects remaining within the “Orange River Territory,” who may heretofore have been acting under the authority of Her Majesty's Government, for, or on account of, any acts lawfully done by them, that is, under the Law as it existed during the occupation of the Orange River Territory by the British Government; such persons shall be considered to be guaranteed in the possession of their Estates by the New “Orange River” Government; also with regard to those of Her Majesty's present subjects, who may prefer to return under the dominion and authority of Her Majesty, to

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remaining where they now are, as subjects of the Orange River Government, such persons shall enjoy full right and facility for the disposal and transfer of their properties, should they desire to leave the Country, under the Orange River Government, at any subsequent period, within three years, from the date of this Convention.

Art. 5.—“Her Majesty’s Government,” and the new “Orange River Government” shall, within their respective Territories, mutually use every exertion for the suppression of crime, and keeping the peace, by apprehending and delivering up all criminals who have escaped or fled from Justice, either way across the Orange River; and the Courts, as well the British, as those of the Orange River Government, shall mutually be open and available to the Inhabitants of both Territories, for all lawful processes; and all Summonses for Witnesses, directed either way across the Orange River, shall be countersigned by the Magistrates of both Governments respectively, to compel the attendance of such Witnesses, when and where they may be required; thus affording the community North of the Orange River every assistance from the British Courts; and giving, on the other hand, assurance to such Colonial Merchants and Traders, as have naturally entered into Credit transactions in the “Orange River Territory,” during its occupation by the British Government, and to whom, in many cases, debts may be owing, every facility for the recovery of just claims in the Courts of the Orange River Government; and “Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner” will recommend the adoption of the like reciprocal privileges by the Government of Natal, in its relations with the Orange River Government.

Art. 6.—Certificates issued by the proper authorities, as well in the Colonies and possessions of Her Majesty, as in the Orange River Territory, shall be held valid and sufficient to enable Heirs of lawful marriages, and legatees, to receive portions and legacies accruing to them respectively, either within the jurisdiction of the British or Orange River Governments.

Art. 7.—The Orange River Government shall, as hither-

to, permit no Slavery, or trade in Slaves, in their Territory North of the Orange River.

Art. 8.—The Orange River Government shall have freedom to purchase their supplies of Ammunition in any British Colony, or possession, in South Africa, subject to the Laws provided for the regulation of the sale and transit of ammunition in such British Colonies, and possessions; and Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend to the Colonial Governments that privileges of a liberal character, in connection with import duties generally, be granted to the Orange River Government, as measures in regard to which it is entitled to be treated with every indulgence, in consideration of its peculiar position and distance from the Sea-ports.

Art. 9.—In order to promote mutual facilities, and liberty to traders and travellers, as well in British possessions, as in those of the Orange River Government, and it being the earnest wish of Her Majesty's Government that a friendly intercourse between these Territories should at all times subsist, and be promoted, by every possible arrangement, a “Consul,” or “Agent,” of the British Government, whose special attention shall be directed to the promotion of these desirable objects, will be stationed within the Colony, near to the Frontier, to whom access may readily at all times be had by the Inhabitants, on both sides of the Orange River, for advice and information, as circumstances may require.

Thus done, and signed at Bloemfontein, on the Twenty-third day of February One thousand and Eight hundred and fifty-four.

George Russell Clerk, K.C.B., Her Majesty's
Special Commissioner.

Josias Philip Hoffman, President.

George Frederick Linde.

G. J. Du Toit, Field-Cornet.

J. J. Venter.

D. J. Kramfort.

H. J. Weber, Justice of the Peace and Field-
Commandant.

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P. A. Human.
J. T. Snyman, late Field-Commandant.
G. P. Visser, Justice of the Peace.
J. Groenendaal.
J. J. Rabie, Field-Cornet.
E. R. Snyman.
P. Du Toit.
H. L. Du Toit.
F. P. Schnehage.
M. J. Wessels.
C. J. F. Du Plooy.
F. P. Senekal, Field-Cornet.
P. L. Moolman, Field-Cornet.
J. I. J. Fick.
P. M. Bester, Justice of the Peace.
W. A. Van Aardt, Field-Cornet.
W. J. Pretorius.
J. J. Bornman.
A. H. Staander.

The “Orange River Sovereignty” had now by the act and deed of the “Special Commissioner” been metamorphosed from a “British dependency” into a “Boer Republic,” which though in point of time, and extent of Territory, compared to its Transvaal neighbour, ranks as the Second “Dutch State” on this Continent is, in point of fact, the more progressive and better governed of the two States, it enjoys an honourable “record,” and has maintained a good and unsullied name amongst other Nations, and is thus entitled to take the “*first rank.*” A considerable portion of the inhabitants of the Sovereignty, who had with *might* and *main*, and with all the *ability* and *means* at their command, strenuously opposed what they regarded as the dishonourable and suicidal act of abandonment—whilst there was any chance of its being averted—now made a “*virtue*” of “*necessity*,” and determined to co-operate with “those in authority,” in establishing a stable and well-ordered “Regime,” but there was others in the Towns—these, however, numbering a small minority—who remained sullen, discontented, and restless, and were not

disposed to settle down peaceably, nor would they decide finally upon leaving the Country, for which provision had been made in “Section 4” of the foregoing Convention; and these men were ever ready to thwart the authorities whenever they thought such could be done with impunity; after some time, however, many of these restless spirits too, finding that they could gain nothing by keeping up a hostile attitude and causing dissension, left the Country, others passively submitted themselves to the new order of things, and eventually became helpful burghers. The attempt of the two delegates, Messrs. Murray and Fraser, who were sent to England to rouse public feeling there, and had hoped to enlist the sympathy of the English Parliament against the atrocious policy of “abandonment,” and if possible to obtain a reversal of that cruel and short-sighted measure, proved futile. Mr. Murray returned to Bloemfontein on 17th August, 1855, having been detained by illness, and Dr. Fraser did not return, but remained permanently in England.

At a Meeting with the “Duke of Newcastle,” on the 17th March, 1855, they (“the delegates”) were told by him that he had not resolved upon the step without considerable hesitation, and only after gaining every possible information; that it was now too late to discuss the question, as instructions had been forwarded to Sir George Clerk, in November, directing him to complete the *final* necessary arrangements, etc.; that British Territory in South Africa, had been far too much extended, and that it was impossible to supply troops for the protection of those who were continually advancing, that he was not without solicitude with regard to the position of Natal, as represented by the Deputation, but the truth was, however unpleasant it might be to an Englishman to think, that, his Country was commencing anything like a “retrograde movement,” that “Cape Town” and its “Port” were really all that Britain required in South Africa. The Deputation likewise met Mr. Merivale, the “Under Secretary of State” for the Colonies, who said that he had been desired by the “Duke of Newcastle” to mention that the latter had not

been correct in stating that the “Law Officers” of the late Government had been quite clear as to the power of the Crown to abandon the Country,—that two gentlemen (Sir F. Kelly and Sir T. Theziger) had hesitated, only however from an idea on their part that an “indemnity” would be required from “Parliament” to accompany the measure, and not from any doubt as to its absolute legality, etc.; in the course of further conversation it became evident that no definite instructions had been sent to Sir George Clerk as to the arrangements connected with “abandonment”—these were left entirely to his discretion,—the Under Secretary further stated that it was not the intention of Her Majesty’s Government to absolve the Inhabitants from their allegiance, as it was thought that they should not be deprived of these advantages which their rights as British subjects secured to them; the Law of Inheritance being referred to, as an instance, in which by a release of allegiance they would lose their rights to inherit property bequeathed within the Cape Colony, Natal, or other dominions of the Crown.

After the signing of the “Convention” and thus dissevering the Sovereignty “sapling,” just about five and a-half years old, from the parent stem, Sir George Clerk lost no time in notifying by Proclamation, dated 24th February, 1854, that the Government of the Sovereignty had been transferred to the Representatives delegated to receive it, that Her Majesty’s authority over the Territory had ceased, and that a “Provisional Government” formed by the said Representatives, had assumed the Government, etc., etc.

To convince the reader that everything possible had been done to avert the “abandonment,” the Writer inserts here a largely signed Memorial, to Her Majesty the Queen of England, dated 1st November, 1853.

Unto Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

The humble address of the Undersigned Subjects of Your Majesty, residing in that part of Your Majesty’s

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dominions, called the “ Orange River Territory ” (Sovereignty).

Is most loyally preferred,

We, Your Majesty’s Subjects, beg to approach your Majesty with an avowal of our sincere and heartfelt attachment to your Majesty’s throne and person; our lot has been cast in a *Region* which may justly be termed the “ Ultima Thule ” of Your Majesty’s Dominions; of these dominions it has been with pride and a peculiar emphasis asserted that on the Empire of the United Kingdom of Britain “ the Sun is never known to set ”; amidst the many contradictory and conflicting tides by which we have been tossed about, within the last two years, the above quoted apothegm has served us for our sheet anchor.

We have, however, now been informed that Your Majesty’s Government has resolved upon withdrawing Your Majesty’s benign and gracious Sovereignty from this Territory; we admit that, if such were the deliberate resolve of Your Majesty, and the Government, and Parliament, which advise and assist you, we ourselves could do nothing to prevent the accomplishment of such an unlooked for catastrophe,—we nevertheless would view, and continue to view, such a course as exceedingly derogatory to the National faith, injurious to the prestige of the first of kingdoms, and calculated to obscure the honour and glory of Your Majesty.

We have read with pleasure and enthusiasm—subdued, because sincere,—the Commission issued by Your Majesty in favour of Sir George Russell Clerk, K.C.B., in which Your Majesty most kindly and considerately instructs him as your “ Special Commissioner,” to put an end to all causes of grievance, or anxiety, among all your Subjects comprehended within the “ Orange River Sovereignty ”; in this Commission we recognize, respect, and do homage to, the spirit which in the most gloomy days of our Country’s history, inspired Your Majesty’s ancestors, and their Ministers, first to bid defiance, and thereafter to dictate terms to combined Europe; Your Majesty’s Commission to Sir George Clerk is straight-forward and explicit. Sir George Clerk has, however, intimated to us, Your Majesty’s most

devoted Subjects, that the British Government has resolved upon withdrawing your Sovereignty from over this Country. We are, please Your Majesty, pioneers of the Desert, and are not expected, far less qualified, to dive into and comprehend the mysteries of “Colonial Administration”; one thing we firmly believe, and that is that Your Majesty never intended to deal with us otherwise than is attested by Your Majesty’s “Sign, Manuel,” and “Signet,” affixed to the Commission in question.

We therefore humbly pray and beseech Your Majesty, to enquire into the “Order of Abandonment,” which has been communicated to us, in Contradiction to Your Majesty’s signed and sealed behests; and we further most humbly and beseechingly implore that Your Majesty, in the exercise of your legitimate prerogatives, will neither sign, seal, approve, or deliver, any document which refers to this Territory, until Your Majesty shall have been graciously pleased to peruse and consider the same.

Such is the humble and loyal address of us, the undersigned Subjects of Your Majesty. — “Signed by a large number of residents.”

The following is a concise statement of the Special Commissioner’s views on the abandonment of the “Sovereignty,” communicated to the British Ministry:—

“The more I consider the position, relative both to the Cape Colony, and to its own internal circumstances, the more I feel assured of its unsuitability as an acquisition, I am impressed with a sense of the vain conceit of continuing to supply it with Civil and Military establishments, in a manner becoming the character of the British Government, and advantageous to our resources.”

“It is a vast Territory, possessing nothing that can sanction its being permanently added to a frontier already inconveniently extended; it secures no genuine interests; it is recommended by no prudent or justifiable motive, it answers no really beneficial purpose; it imparts no strength to the British Government, no credit to its character, no lustre to the Crown; to remain here therefore to superintend, or to countenance this extension of ‘British

“dominion,” or to take part in any administrative measures
 “for the furtherance of so unessential an object, would, I
 “conceive, be tantamount to my encouraging a serious evil,
 “and participating in one of the most signal fallacies which
 “has ever come under my notice, in the course of nearly
 “thirty years devoted to the public service.”

The following was an attempt to discharge the “Order”
 of abandonment, made in the House of Commons, on the
 9th May, 1854, by Mr. Adderley (a far-sighted statesman) :

Mr. Adderley moved an address to Her Majesty, pray-
 ing that “She will be pleased to reconsider the ‘Order in
 “Council,’ for the promulgation of a Proclamation abandon-
 “ing all Sovereignty over the ‘Orange River Territory,’
 “and its Inhabitants, in South Africa.” His object, he
 said, was to vindicate the right of the people of this
 Country to have a voice in the disposal of the
 Dominions of the Crown. He reviewed the history of our
 connection with this Territory, distributed into epochs,
 from its first occupation by British Subjects in “1836,” to
 what he maintained was its unnecessary abandonment, and
 put to the House the question, *not* whether the original
 occupation of the Territory was desirable, or whether its
 abandonment was expedient, *but* whether a Territory
 annexed to the dominions of the Crown, and settled by
 British Subjects, ought to be so abandoned ; he discussed the
 question upon Constitutional and legal grounds, contending
 that the “Orange River Territory” was a Colony which
 the Crown could not alienate “*by its prerogative,*” and *still*
less absolve Subjects from their allegiance, as has been done
*in this case,** even assuming that the Crown had the power
 of renouncing this possession, the manner in which it had
 been exercised by Sir George Clerk, he insisted, was
 informal and illegal, while the act itself was—he endeavoured
 to show—inexpedient, the Territory being the *key* and
heart of the whole South African Colony, and affording,
 according to the testimony of Sir George Clerk, a most
 favourable field for the introduction of Christianity.

*The italics are the Writer's own.

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The following “Jeremiad” appeared in the “local paper” under the heading :—

“JEREMIAD.”

Let our sad plaint arise,—
Open our Sovereign’s eyes,—
And show the Queen,
That, in each loyal heart,
She doth inflict a smart
That but with life shall part.
“God save the Queen.”

Long have we made a stand,
True to our Fatherland,—
Staunch have we been,
Though of our rights despoiled,—
Though truth by spite is foiled,—
Though we in vain have toiled,
“God save the Queen.”

Though of her love deprived,
Loyal we e’er have lived,—
True to our Queen.
Orphan’d and castaway,
Though we have lost the day,
Still we say for aye,
“God save the Queen.”

Fealty we owe to none,
Save unto her alone;—
She is our Queen.
And shall a rebel crew
Have what is her due?—
No! be we e’er so few;—
“God save the Queen.”

On the 24th day of February, 1854, Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, as President of the “Provisional Government,” or rather as “Chairman” of the “Second body of Delegates,” who alternately treated with the “Special Commissioner,” notified by Proclamation that the 23rd February, was an uncommon, if not a solitary, one in the History of the World; that it was the “birthday” of our independence; what we on this day became was acquired unasked, through the generous munificence of Her Britannic Majesty, Queen Victoria, who was yesterday our revered Sovereign; and while other Nations had endeavoured to secure this precious “boon” of independence, after years of struggle, and the shedding of streams of blood,—we have obtained, by simply taking what was offered to us, etc.; he further

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proclaimed that all existing laws, usages, judicial sentences, etc. (not already annulled) were to remain in force, likewise that all Official appointments, Post Contracts, Licenses, etc., would be recognized as heretofore,—and appealed to all friends of “Law and Order” to co-operate with and support the new Government, that they (the Government) extended the right hand of brotherhood to all those who were formerly politically at variance with them, and exhorted them to “join hands” for the general welfare and for union; they further declared to appoint as heads of the “Provisional Government” the following gentlemen:—

Josias Philip Hoffman, President.

Jacobus Groenendal.

C. H. J. Du Plooy.

Andrian H. Staander.

Jacobus J. Venter.

George F. Linde. and

Gerhardus Johannes Du Toit, as Members.

The above “Provisional Government” was formed for a period of “four” months,—until a “permanent” Government could be established.

The “Provisional Government” appointed the following as acting Landdrosts, viz. :—

Hector Lowen, for Bloemfontein.

Frederick P. Schuehage, for Winburg.

Willem A. Van Aardt, for Harrismith.

Gert P. Visser, for Sannaspoort (now Fauresmith).

W. H. Auret, for Smithfield (Caledon River).

The first Volksraad, to represent the people,—one Member for each Ward (“Field Cornetcy”), was to be elected to meet at Bloemfontein, on the 27th day of March, 1854,—to nominate a President and permanent Landdrosts.

On the 11th day of March, 1854, the “Troops,” which had formed the small “Garrison,” stationed at Bloemfontein, since the battle of “Boomplaats,” left “en route” for Colesberg, when the following public address was read to them, by Mr. George Home:—

To the Officers and Men of H.M.’s 45th Regiment of “Foot,” “Royal Artillery,” and Cape Mounted Riflemen,

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formerly composing the “Garrison” of Bloemfontein,—

We, the undersigned inhabitants of Bloemfontein, cannot permit you to leave this Country, without expressing our esteem and regard for the gallant men hitherto forming the small “Garrison” of Bloemfontein, and our deep appreciation of your arduous services, in maintaining, in spite of almost insuperable obstacles, the respect due to the authority of Great Britain.

We also assure you that in you we lose our best friends, and bravest defenders, and wherever it may hereafter be necessary that your lot should be cast, for the defence of our “common country,” or the vindication of her honour, you carry with you our heartfelt esteem and the best wishes of every loyal man in this Country.

With our prayers for your welfare and prosperity,

We have the honour to be,

Your most obedient humble servants,

Andrew H. Bain, W. Dawson, late 45th Regiment; John H. Ford, Francis H. S. Orpen, Isaac Baumann, George Page, J. W. Weeks, H. Jordan, Samuel W. Green, J. G. H. Van Reenen, J. C. Donovan, Thomas White, Nathaniel Barlow, C. E. Fichardt, G. A. Fichardt, Charles Leo Cox, A. Allenberg, William Beeton, George Home, J. Jordan, William George Every, William Collins, Wm. W. Collins, J. W. Donaldson, David Paxton, J. J. Raaff, F. Daniel, Thomas S. Colley, George Webber, W. Futchter, Thos. B. Cliff, Wm. Palmer, John van der Hoeven, F. McCabe, D. C. Grant, George Staunton, Wm. D. Savage, R. D. Collins, H. J. McCabe, Edward Buckley, H. K. F. Maarkgraff, Essex Harries.

N.B.—Out of the above signatories, only five or six are now supposed to be living.

Colonel Kyle, Commandant of the “Fort,” verbally replied as follows:—

Gentlemen,—On the part of the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men, forming the “Garrison” of Bloemfontein, I beg leave to return you our best thanks. Although in comparison to many of us, who have been among you for the last *five* years, I may be considered a

new comer ; yet I have lived here long enough to participate heartily in the feelings engendered on the present occasion. Our profession, gentlemen, as Soldiers, leads us to sojourn for different periods in many places, and I can assure you that on an occasion like the present the sorrow of parting with old friends is greatly alleviated by the consciousness that we carry with us the good wishes and friendship of those we leave behind ; that consciousness now assures me that when at any future time you see mention made in news from distant places, of the names of the several Corps we represent, you will think of those who have so long been your friends and sympathize with them, whether in sorrow or in success. I therefore, more particularly on this occasion, when I well know that the late events may lead to great alterations in many of your circumstances, beg leave to convey to you, “individually,” and to the inhabitants of Bloemfontein generally, the very best wishes of the Garrison of Bloemfontein, and our heartfelt prayers for your future prosperity, wherever your lot may be cast.

Sir George Clerk gave the sum of £3,000 to the “Provisional Government,” as a palliative wherewith to mollify all past bitter political recollections of certain individuals, who had got themselves into trouble with British Authorities,—the sum was to be distributed by the “Provisional Government,” at their own discretion, to those entitled to it.

The Government buildings, and Fort, were presented to the “Provisional Government,” and so were the “School buildings” in Bloemfontein and Harrismith, on condition of their being used for School purposes ; the Government buildings and Office furniture in the different Towns of the Sovereignty were likewise given to the Provisional Government, in lieu of £10,000, which they had asked him for, £6,000—£1,000 of which was to go towards purchasing the late British Resident’s house and garden for their President, £3,000 on account of the “fines” paid after *Boomplaats*, as above stated, and £500 to be given to Adrian Staander, and three or four others, who, its was alleged, were illegally imprisoned, and to the Widows of *Dreyer*, whose husband

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was shot after Boomplaats by order of Sir Harry Smith, and of *Waldman*, who was shot in a skirmish with the late Major Warden's troops, in the vicinity of Winburg.

A certain Doctor Tancred, from Clanwilliam, in the Cape Colony, a versatile and eccentric individual, who, whilst professing to assist the “Provisional Government” in the inauguration of their “Administration,” had made himself look very ridiculous with his many absurd “antics,” got, after considerable reluctance, £200, in addition to the £3 previously collected for him, and was discharged with acclaim; the Provisional Government likewise took over from the “Special Commissioner” some Gunpowder, Shot, etc., for £1,050; they further agreed to pay £95 for the “Barracks” and other Buildings in the “Ordnance Grounds,” in the vicinity of the Fort; the “Special Commissioner” gave the three large antiquated and useless Guns on the Fort, with their appurtenances, to the Provisional Government, also the following arrear “Quit Rents” :—

“Quit Rents” for the year 1853, amounting to	£2,300
,, for previous years (arrears)	2,150
	£4,450

on condition that they should *immediately* pay out of the above sum £1,000 to the British Government, and £1,000 more as soon as they were able to collect it; these were the munificent gifts donated by Sir George Clerk, the Special Commissioner, to help start the Republican Government on a “*safe basis*,” in the equipment of their own administration, and to maintain its existence against the numerous hordes of “aboriginal allies” of England, who were, even at this time, plotting mischief against the “young State,” and seeking to devour it.

The great excitement of abandonment was now past, and the bulk of the people were gradually settling down to make the best of a bad job: on the good old “maxim” of what “can't be cured, must be endured,” and as much as possible to act in concert with the powers “in esse” in the establishment of a stable Government.

The price of food stuffs, which it was feared by some would “go down” by “leaps and bounds,” was maintained, and comparatively remunerative. Good boer meal was selling at from £1 3s. to £2 per sack of 200-lbs.; butchers’ meat at normal rates; oat hay at 7s. to 8s. per 100-lbs. Farms were likewise changing hands at higher rates, and the “outlook” generally seemed promising.

Much more might have been recorded regarding the systematic and untiring opposition to abandonment, manifested both *within* and *without* the “Sovereignty,” but the Writer trusts that these pages will be found to contain a sufficient array of interesting facts, and valuable information, upon that momentous event in “South African History,” to enlighten the curious reader, as to the trend of occurrences from the first inkling of the contemplated policy of abandonment by the British Government up to the time of its actual accomplishment.

In March, 1854, a Commission composed of *three* members, was appointed to apportion and distribute the £3,000, handed by Sir George Clerk, as a sort of “peace offering,” to the “Provisional Government,” to be divided “pro rata” amongst those who had paid fines to the British Government, after “Boomplaats” and “Zwartkoppies” (the fines actually paid amounted to £10,000 or thereabouts), and Mr. Charles Urquhart Stuart, late Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bloemfontein, now an Attorney-at-Law, etc., was recommended by “Government Notice,” of the 9th March, 1854,, to those interested to act as their Agent in formulating and filing their Claims.

The Claimants were called upon, by Government Notice, dated 8th April, 1854, to file their Claims with the Landdrost of Bloemfontein; those claiming from the Transvaal were to be acknowledged too, and all the Claims were to be liquidated on the “share and share alike” principle.

CHAPTER FIVE.

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The “ Provisional Government ” was dissolved by Proclamation, dated 29th March, 1854, and a “ Permanent Government ” was proclaimed, consisting of a “ Council ” of twenty-nine Members, elected by the towns and districts of Bloemfontein, Winburg, Smithfield, Harrismith, and Fauresmith. Bloemfontein being the “ Chief Town,” was represented by two Members, the other Towns, Districts, and Wards each by one Member only; and these twenty-nine Members constituted the first “ Orange Free State ” Volksraad (People’s Council, or Parliament) which assembled at Bloemfontein on the 28th day of March, 1854.

Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, late President of the “ Provisional Government,” was the first elected Chairman of the Volksraad.

On the 15th day of April, 1854, the Dutch Language was by Proclamation declared as the Official Language of the State. The Government Clerks were to be acquainted with both languages.

A “ Government Notice ” was likewise published, on the 3rd day of May, 1854, fixing the office hours of the officials.

Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, the former “ Provisional State President,” now Chairman of the Volksraad, was nominated by that Body as Acting State President, and Mr. Henry Halse took his place as Chairman. Mr. J. Groenendal was appointed Government Secretary and Treasurer-General. A Committee of five members was nominated to draw up a “ Constitution ” for the State, three drafts of which were laid before, and discussed by the *full Raad*, “ in Committee,” approved, and passed on the 8th April, 1854, as the “ *First Constitution*.” A Com-mando Law was likewise passed at the same time.

The Constitution will, the writer thinks, be regarded by all liberal-minded and unbiassed persons as a creditable and firm “ bed-rock ” upon which to build a young State. Among other things “ *Religion* ” and “ *Education* ”—the two most vital elements in the life of a nation,—were provided for; the rights of property, and the personal freedom of the subject, were guaranteed; all persons were declared

equal in the eye of the Law; the liberty of the Press was assured—provided the Laws were respected—and trial by Jury in “Criminal Cases,” established. The term of election of the State President was fixed at five years, and other usual and salutary measures were inaugurated.

The salary of the State President was fixed at £600; that of the Government Secretary and Treasurer at £400; that of the Auditor-General, Registrar of Deeds, and Master of the Orphan Chamber and Insolvent Courts, at £400, ~~out~~ of which he was to find his own clerk. On the 14th of October, 1854, the latter applied for, and obtained, a few days’ leave of absence for rest and change, and proceeded with one of his sons—Richard—on a tour to the Transvaal, respecting which he wrote a series of interesting letters descriptive of same, which appeared in the local paper, “The Friend.” During his absence of about a month or six weeks, the writer undertook his official duties.

Mr. Hector Lowen, the former Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bloemfontein, under the British Government, was appointed Landdrost of Bloemfontein, with Mr. Charles Warden, a son of the late Major Warden, as his clerk.

Mr. John Ford, former Surveyor-General of the Orange River Sovereignty, was appointed Landdrost of Smithfield, Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, Landdrost of Harrismith, and Mr. J. Wessels, Landdrost of Winburg. But, as the latter never took over the office, Mr. F. P. Schnehage was appointed in his stead.

Mr. John Burnet, who had been Magistrate at Harri-smith, and was afterwards appointed by the “Special Commissioner” as British Agent, and stationed at Aliwal North, was confirmed in that appointment.

The election of a “Permanent” State President was fixed for the 13th May, 1855. The following gentlemen were candidates proposed by the Volksraad, viz. :—

Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman.

Captain Struben, of Natal.

Mr. Jacobus Nicholas Boshof, of Natal.

The second session of the Volksraad was held on the

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4th September, 1854. Bloemfontein was now represented by only one Member—Mr. Charles E. Fichardt. Mr. G. P. Visser was elected Chairman.

It was resolved at this session that the Executive Council, as established by the “Constitution,” be the highest “Court of Appeal,” from decisions of the “Combined” Court of Landdrosts, which latter was the highest Court of “First Instance.” This Court came in place of the “Court of Combined Magistrates” of the late Sovereignty. The Volksraad was the highest Court of Appeal in “Land Cases” only.

The letter postage within the Free State was fixed at sixpence the “*half-ounce*,” to take effect from January, 1855. At this time, and for several years thereafter, the cost of sending a *half-ounce* letter to England or anywhere in Europe, was “one shilling and ten pence,”

The salaries of the Landdrosts were reduced to £300 per annum, except one—the Landdrost of Winburg, who was to receive £375 so long as Harrismith remained a part of his Jurisdiction, as there was at that time—September, 1854—only one Landdrost for both these Districts.

Mr. M. W. Pretorius, son of the Commandant General A. J. Pretorius of the South African Republic (Transvaal), and Adrian Staander, an agitator—and one of the signers of the “Convention” of 23rd February, 1854—and J. J. Venter, a Member of the Volksraad, and some others were endeavouring to stir up strife in the State, by getting up memorials to the Volksraad, petitioning for annexation to the South African Republic, and likewise in connection with the £3,000 — “fine money” — received from Sir George Clerk as compensation, whilst other well disposed burghers supported the Raad with counter memorials. Mr. Pretorius having arrived in Bloemfontein, and having been permitted to appear in the Raad Chamber in September, 1854, to explain the reason of his coming to Bloemfontein—which had excited suspicion,—demanded that certain sums of money, paid by his late father for ammunition used at the Battle of Boomplaâts, be refunded to him, to which the Raad could not agree; a copy of the Convention of the

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23rd February being handed to him,—instead of money,—for his information and guidance.

Adrian Staander was soon silenced by the Raad's replying to him—on his intimation that the “Public voice was the King's voice (meaning doubtless by this “truism,” (so often heard since then in this State) that a majority of votes could be easily got in the State for “union” with the Transvaal)—that, though the “Public voice” was doubtless the “King's voice,” the Raad was its “Mouthpiece.”

Mr. J. J. Venter, an annexationist, resigned his seat in the Volksraad in disgust. A Commission of two Raad Members was appointed to confer with Mr. Pretorius regarding the apportionment of the £3,000, which these Transvaal gentlemen would have liked to have “swallowed” up *altogether* and *alone*.

The Coranna headman, David Danzer, had at this Session an interview with the Raad, and it was decided to send a commission to enquire into his rights, and those of Goliad Ijzerbek, another Coranna headman, to certain grounds, claimed by them, on the Vaal River.

The State President was likewise instructed to arrange sundry meetings with the Griqua Chief, Adam Kok, on a day to be fixed by him.

The State President intimated to the Raad, that correspondence had been commenced with the Cape Colonial Government—in terms of the Convention with Sir George Clerk, of February 23rd, 1854—respecting the State's fair share of “Custom Duty” on “imported goods”—*consumed in the State*—upon which *all* the “Import Dues” were being received and appropriated by the Maritime Governments.

This was a very just claim indeed, and one which should in fairness, and without special pleading, have been met in a generous and neighbourly spirit. But the writer regrets to say, that our big Colonial friend and neighbour, could not be brought to share our opinion, and although several attempts were again subsequently made, in an amicable way, to enforce it, the Colonial Authorities as often rejected it on some puerile pretext, until a few years

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ago, when they found that they could not, in decency, any longer withhold it, especially as they then *wanted* a “right of way” for their railway to Johannesburg through the State, in order to obtain which they ultimately entered into a “Customs Convention” with the State, which has worked well, and which at last removed from the Cape Colonial Government the reproach of appropriating what did not belong to them.

On the 27th day of May, 1856, the Cape Parliament appointed a Commission of five Members to report upon the State’s claim to Customs Dues. The majority of the Commission—three in number—recommended that a sum of £2,200 should be paid over to the State, subject to revision at some future time, but even this small sum was not voted by the House.

The Governor, Sir George Grey, a far-sighted and fair-minded statesman, was favourable to the State’s claim, and a Committee of the Cape Parliament had already, on the 3rd April, 1855, reported on the subject, recommending that £4,000 be allowed the State, but all this ended in talk.

On the 3rd day of June, 1854, it was officially announced that the “Election Returns” showed the votes cast for the four candidates who had been proposed for the office of State President, to be as follows:—

For Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman.....	624	votes.
,, Captain Struben	418	,,
,, Mr. A. du Toit	223	,,
,, Mr. J. N. Boshof	18	,,

Mr. J. P. Hoffman was officially declared elected.

On the 6th day of January, 1855, the “23rd day in February” in each year was henceforth declared a Public Holiday, being the anniversary of the State’s independence, and the future sessions of the Volksraad were fixed for the “First day of February.”

“Wild Bushmen” were now becoming very troublesome, and dangerous to the State. On the 12th January, 1855, a small commando of armed men had to be sent out against them. A fight took place in the Winburg District,

about eight miles from the town, when a commando—consisting of about forty men under Landdrost Orpen and a Commandant—went to a kraal where there was a number of these “pests in human form,” who attacked the whites with poisoned arrows—their usual weapons—and assegais, etc. Mr. Orpen was wounded by an assegai in the shoulder, Commandant Staander was struck on the breast by a poisoned arrow, and a burgher, named Opperman, was shot dead. Mitchell, a Winburg constable, was severely wounded, and five or six others were wounded too. Mr. Orpen pulled the assegai out of his shoulder and stabbed his assailant to death with it; he also cut the wounded flesh out of Mr. Saander’s breast, and then sucked the wound, and by that means the patient recovered. Many Bushmen were killed, and several wounded, on this occasion.

The Volksraad assembled on the 5th February, 1855, and the Members seemed to be in a sullen mood. The President stated “*inter alia*” in his address, that there was peace and a good understanding with the Chief Moshesh, that he had already met him, and hoped speedily to have another meeting with him to conclude such arrangements as would lead to a durable peace.

At this session—on the 9th February—a complaint was made to the Raad, by Mr. G. F. Linde, that the President had given to Moshesh, as a “free gift,” a cask of gunpowder, weighing 50-lbs., without the knowledge or consent of the Volksraad, which he—the President—had on the occasion of his first visit to Moshesh promised to that Chief. The matter was much magnified in the Raad, by those members who were hostile to Mr. Hoffman, the President. The Members were specially sworn in, as a “Court of Enquiry,” and the charge was investigated in Mr. Hoffman’s absence, and his opponents tried to get a resolution passed, declaring the President guilty of “High Treason,” in giving the gunpowder to Moshesh. But an Amendment was likewise proposed, which read that, “The President was not guilty of High Treason by giving gunpowder to Moshesh, but that, by altering or adding to the written minutes of his meeting with Moshesh, he had

“deserved the censure of the Raad.” This Amendment got eleven votes, to fifteen for the original motion, which latter was carried. But, as the President could not, in terms of the Constitution, be condemned by less than three out of four votes of the voting Members, the original resolution was inoperative. After the voting of the above Amendment, Mr. J. J. van Rensburg, Member for Winburg, a strong opponent of Mr. Hoffman’s, rose up in the Raad, and shouted at the top of his voice,—“We have lost it, but, in the name of the ten tribes of Israel, I will take the side of the public.”

There was then for an instant, an unseemly rush of Members out of the Council Chamber, and a simultaneous rush of armed men, under the leadership of Mr. van Rensburg, up to the Fort and Public Offices to take possession of both these, which they did, and kept possession just long enough to drive the State President out of office.

When Mr. Hoffman heard what had transpired, he sent the following letter to the Raad, viz. :—

Government Office of the
Orange Free State,
10th February, 1855.

To the Honorable,
The Volksraad,
At to-day’s Session.

Honorable Gentlemen, — As the majority of your Assembly have voted against me, and some of the Members have even been guilty of irregularities by hindering the Public Service, with armed men, with the knowledge of the *majority* of the Raad, without giving me notice thereof, or even opposing it, it is evident that there is no mutual confidence, which is so essential for the carrying out of the Laws, I have therefore the honor to tender my resignation.

I have the honor to be,
Honorable Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) J. P. HOFFMAN.

The Raad, by a majority of votes, accepted Mr. Hoffman’s resignation with all due respect.

Mr. van Rensburg, after the President's resignation, tried to justify his strange conduct, in and out of the Raad, but it was evident that private animosity, riotous clamour, and a desire for a change of Presidents, was the chief factor of the hubbub caused by this comparatively small piece of indiscretion on the part of President Hoffman in giving the gunpowder to one who was regarded as an enemy to the State, without the consent of the Raad—after all the turmoil—amounting to not much more than a “storm” in a tea-cup.

Mr. Hoffman had, before his election as President, been a near neighbour of Moshesh, and as such had lived on very friendly terms with him, and the gunpowder had doubtless been given to Moshesh in “good faith,” hoping by that gift to continue and even cement the friendship as President, which formerly existed between them as neighbours. Besides it was shown that Mr. Hoffman did not promise, and afterwards give, the small cask of gunpowder to Moshesh in a secret and clandestine manner, indeed there were, it was stated, one or more Fieldcornets and others present, when Mr. Hoffman made the promise of the gunpowder to Moshesh, the latter having asked the former for the same, saying that he had, in firing salute volleys for the President at the time of his visit to Thaba Bosigo—“Moshesh's Mountain”—expended all his powder and would like to have it back.

The mistake the President appears to have made was, a want of candour, for, when the gunpowder was first promised to Moshesh—before the last meeting of the Raad—he had omitted to get his Private Secretary to note it in the minutes of the meeting with Moshesh—for the information of the Raad—that such a promise had been made, consequently the Raad remained in ignorance of the fact until the following session, when enquiry was being made, and the minutes of the meeting with Moshesh had then to be supplemented with the addition of the promise of the gunpowder. This was regarded as a censurable act on the part of the President. The Secretary tried to explain the omission by saying that he was not present when the present

of the gunpowder was made to Moshesh. No excuses, however, were accepted, and Mr. Hoffman's enemies were doubtless glad of an opportunity to effect his downfall, for there were many who disliked the “Cripple Government,” as it was disdainfully called, from the fact of the President and the Government Secretary, Mr. Groenendal, both being cripples. Mr. Hoffman was a man of good natural ability, and during the short time he had been in power, considering the difficulties of his position, served the State well, and doubtless honestly, and to the best of his ability, though some regarded him as a little “shifty.” He died many years ago on his farm, in the Smithfield District, at a comparatively early age, probably not more than 58. The Government Secretary, Mr. Groenendal, was a fussy and pretentious little gentleman (from Holland), who made many enemies, and this scored against his chief, the State President.

The Member for Bloemfontein who had espoused the cause of the State President, by proposing the Amendment, resigned his seat on its rejection by the majority. The Chairman of the Raad—Mr. G. P. Visser—likewise resigned the Chairmanship by reason of a reflection that had been made against him for having inadvertently stated that the State President's minutes of his meeting with Moshesh—which were laid before the last Raad—had mentioned the gift of the gunpowder. There was, however, no reason for thinking that Mr. Visser was guilty of wilful prevarication.

Mr. J. J. Venter, one of the Members of the Raad for Bloemfontein District—usually styled “King Cobus,” from the exalted opinion he had of himself,—Mr. Henry J. Halse, Member of the Raad for Smithfield, E. Snyman, for the District of Fauresmith, and Mr. J. J. van Rensburg, Member for Winburg, were nominated by the Volksraad, as a Joint-Commission, for administering the Government until a President could be elected; Mr. Venter to act as Chairman.

The Raad resolved to send a requisition to Mr. Jacobus Nicholas Boshof, of Maritzburg, Natal, asking him to allow himself to be nominated as candidate for the vacant State Presidency, Mr. Jacobus J. Venter being the other candi-

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date. The 15th day of May, 1855, was fixed as election day.

A Commission of two Members was elected by the Raad as a Mission to the Chief Moshesh, to acquaint him with the change in the Government.

Mr. J. N. Boshof replied to the requisition, from Graaff-Reinet—where he was then visiting,—on the 27th February, 1855, stating his willingness to accept the candidature, under certain conditions set forth in his reply. He was elected on the 15th May, 1855, by 1,138 votes, and arrived at Bloemfontein on the 4th August, 1855, when an address was presented to him by the townspeople. His reply was considered manly and satisfactory, and gave proof of great ability and sound judgment. He was sworn in on 27th August, 1855, and opened the Volksraad, with the usual written address, on 28th August, 1855, as the *Second* State President.

Mr. G. J. du Toit was chosen Chairman of the Raad.

The Governor, Sir George Grey, arrived in Bloemfontein on the 13th October, 1855. He was met by the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, and several townspeople—about four miles out—who escorted him into the town, where the inevitable address was presented to him. In his reply he said that the experience he had acquired in pastoral countries enabled him to form some opinion as to the capabilities of this State, and that he was very agreeably surprised at what he saw. He had no doubt, but that the country contained within itself considerable resources, and the elements of great prosperity. His Excellency left Bloemfontein after a stay of about three days.

The State President, Mr. Boshof, had a meeting with the Chief Moshesh, on 16th October, 1855, at Smithfield, at which Sir George Grey was present, when the following agreement with Moshesh was entered into, viz. :—

AGREEMENT.

Clause 1.—That whenever any Basuto subject wishes to enter the Free State he shall be provided with a *pass* signed by his Chief, or by a Missionary according to the

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Free States Law of 31st August, 1855.

Clause 2.—That whenever Moshesh's subjects wish to hunt in the Free State, permission for that purpose is first to be obtained through the Chief, from the Landdrost of the District.

Clause 3.—That whenever subjects of Moshesh failed to act in accordance with these rules, or were found without a *pass* they would be liable to such proceedings as were prescribed by Law.

Clause 4.—That in the event of thefts, where such thefts could be traced to *within* the boundary of any particular Chief, information thereof should be given by the owner of the stolen stock—or by the Field-Cornet to whose “Ward” he belongs—to such Chiefs, in order that the *spoor* may be followed, and the necessary investigation made.

Clause 5.—That in the event of cattle thefts, where the Chiefs of, or within, whose boundaries the cattle have been traced, shall deliver the thief or thieves, together with such stolen stock which may be found in his possession, to the authorities of the Free State, to be punished according to the Laws of the State, that then no further compensation will be demanded, but that when the “guilty party” be not delivered to the authorities, as above mentioned, together with the requisite proofs of his guilt, then the stolen property shall be restored, together with a fine “as compensation,” of four times the value of the stolen property.

Clause 6.—That in every case mentioned, restitution or compensation for the “stolen property,” shall be made within two months after the date of its being demanded.

Clause 7.—That whenever any subjects of Moshesh shall trespass, or squat upon the farms of one or more of the burghers of the State, and shall refuse to remove on being desired to do so by the Field-Cornet, then they shall be driven thence by force.

Clause 8.—That in any case of dispute or doubt about the “right of property” in any farm or land, of any burgher of the State, such right or claim thereto, formerly enjoyed by him, shall continue to be recognised, and allowed

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until a judgment in the case in question shall be decided upon, by the Paramount Chief Moshesh, and the President of the Orange Free State, or other officer authorised to act on his behalf.

Clause 9.—That no burgher of the State shall be permitted to take possession, or place himself upon any land, in the territory of the Paramount Chief Moshesh, without the latter's authority to do so, and if he shall do so, without the requisite permission, he shall be desired to remove, or may be forced to do so.

Clause 10.—That by the word “cattle” shall be understood, as often as it occurs in the agreement, “oxen,” “cows,” or “breeding cattle,” “horses,” “mules,” “sheep,” and “goats.”

If the foregoing Agreement had been faithfully adhered to by Moshesh and his people, the future unhappy and calamitous war and bloodshed between the white and the black races, would have been avoided.

The following Session of the Volksraad was opened on the 4th day of February, 1856, at which Mr. G. J. du Toit was chosen Chairman.

The State President, Mr. J. N. Boshof, in a lengthy and ably written address, reviewed the state of the country generally, proposed many much-needed reforms, and laid before the Raad several necessary draft laws for adoption, or otherwise. Amongst these were :—

- (1.) A Municipal Law.
- (2.) A Law of Evidence.
- (3.) A Law of Criminal Procedures.
- (4.) A Law for regulating the Election of the State President, and other Functionaries, etc.
- (5.) A License Law.
- (6.) A Law Regulating the Registration of Deeds, Making of Wills, etc., etc.

The great *Seal* of the State was laid before the Raad, and approved. This Seal and some other smaller official seals and stamps, were procured for the State through Sir George Grey.

The model of the State *Flag* and the *Coat of Arms*—

sent by the King of Holland per his envoy, Mr. W. Hiddingh—were approved by the Volksraad and hoisted on the Fort, midst a salute of 21 guns.

The Raad resolved that its Members be henceforth clothed in black.

Several Memorials were presented to the Volksraad—praying for “ union ” with the Transvaal—which were rejected.

The suretyship of the different Government officials—entrusted with the collection of monies—was fixed as follows :—

The Treasurer-General, at	£1,500
„ Landdrosts, at	750
„ Landdrost at Harrismith	500
„ Registrar of Deeds	500

The German Mission Station, Bethany, was, during the present session—February, 1856—taken under the control of the State.

The President reported in his speech to the Raad, that His Excellency, Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape Colony, had deposited in the Bank the sum of One Thousand Pounds, as the “ nucleus ” for the founding in Bloemfontein, of an *Educational Institute* for the benefit of the State, out of which the sum of £320 was to be applied in the purchase of certain three erven or plots of land, to serve as a site for a “ School ” and “ Teachers’ Residence,” the Institution to be under the control of the Dutch Reformed Church (Presbytery) of the State.

On the 13th day of October, 1856, the very interesting ceremony took place in Bloemfontein in the presence of the Members of the Volksraad, the Government Officials, and the “ general public,” of the stone laying of the *original* college building, by President Boshof.

This Institution—which was founded by the generous munificence of that far-sighted statesman, and good and sincere friend of the young Free State, Sir George Grey—as already stated, was opened in October, 1858, and, as there was then some difficulty in finding a suitable “ Head

Teacher,” the Rev. Mr. Andrew Murray “provisionally” undertook the duties of Rector, or Head Teacher.

Three Trustees were appointed by Trust Deed, which was notarially passed before the writer, on 10th June, 1857, the other Trustees being the State President—Mr. J. N. Boshof—and Mr. David Griesel—an elder of the Dutch Reformed Church—the properties and monies being vested in them, “in Trust,” as representing the said Presbytery.

The object of the founding of the college was the training of Free State lads, with a view of fitting them for the important positions of Gospel Ministers, Teachers, Government Officials, Professionals, etc.

The sum of £320 being a portion of the £1,000 paid into the Bank, to which the State President referred, was the purchase price of the erven or plots of land—purchased from the writer’s father and the writer—forming the land upon which the College buildings were to be erected, and a builder was specially sent up from Cape Town, by Sir George Grey, to erect the first buildings, which comprised both Schoolroom and Teachers’ Residence, in one building, for which the stone was now being laid. This building was some years ago pulled down to make room for larger and more suitable buildings.

In his address to the Volksraad of 6th October, 1856, the State President, Mr. Boshof, intimated that besides the £1,000 already mentioned, Sir George Grey had promised an additional sum of £3,000, thus making the total gift £4,000.

The Republic had very good reason for being thankful to His Excellency, for his thoughtful and generous liberality, and took it as a noble proof that this far-sighted Englishman manifested a sincere and genuine interest in the higher education of her sons, in whom he appeared to take great interest, the more keenly expressed, as he felt prompted to aid the State in helping to advance both her religious and educational development at the very time when the State was helpless and most needed such aid, and this kind act has been thoroughly appreciated, and made the most of, for the ‘Grey College,’ by which name it has been, and

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still is, and ever will be known, in honour of its founder, has enjoyed, under several rectors, an unqualified measure of success, and has from time to time sent into “public life” young men who have done honour to it, some of whom are at the present day occupying important religious, social, and political positions as Gospel Ministers, Government Officials, Members of the Raad, professional men, progressive farmers, etc., etc. Especially has it, under the able and popular guidance of the present rector, Dr. Brill, and his staff of assistants, made great headway, and has been a great boon to the Country.

CHAPTER SIX.

CONTENTS.

GREY COLLEGE, CONTINUED—NEW COLLEGE BUILDING, AND DAMES INSTITUTE—“THE EUNICE”—THE INFANT SCHOOL—THE NORMAL SCHOOL—THE RAILWAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL—GREY COLLEGE SOCIETY—WRITER ADMITTED AS ATTORNEY—PUBLIC SALE OF ERVEN AT BOSHOF—BOUNDARY LINE—CORNELIS KOK AND NICOLAAS WATERBOER—DEATH OF CHARLES URQUHART STUART—WAR WITH THE PETTY KAFFIR CHIEF WIETZIE—CHARLES LEO COX.

The Education imparted in the Grey College is a solid and practical one, the Dutch and English languages being placed nearly side by side. Both these being the medium of communicating knowledge, they both stand in the foreground, and both are patronized. This being primarily a Dutch Republic, the official language—Dutch—has naturally, in some respects, the precedence.

It cannot reasonably be denied that English is thought much of by a large number of Dutch parents, who, as a rule, seem anxious that their sons and daughters should gain a good grasp of it, and the young people themselves seem—in the greater proportion of instances—to be more partial to the English than to their own language.

The writer cannot, however, ignore the fact that there has of late been a tendency in the Volksraad to give Dutch a somewhat undue prominence, but this, it is to be hoped, is only temporarily. Latin and Greek, French and German, etc., are not neglected, and technical carpentry—on the “Silloyd” system—has likewise been introduced.

This Institution has hitherto had the reputation of being non-exclusive; there is, the writer has reason to think, no real desire to “boycott” the English or any other language, as is the case in another place, not very far off.



MARTHINUS THEUNIS STEYN,
SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE,
January, 1897 to May, 1902.

The language of which Englishmen think so highly, and are so justly proud—and fancy everyone should know—has a chance given it here.

It is true that, during the earlier history of the College, i.e., in 1859, a somewhat illiberal spirit seemed to have been awakened against the English language, when application was made for State aid, but this, the work of a narrow-minded faction, was soon suppressed, and did in reality not amount to much.

The College is at present under the control of a “Committee of Management,” consisting of seven members called “Curators,” the Rector, Dr. Brill, being Secretary. Three of the members are nominated by the Volksraad, and four by the Dutch Reformed Church Synod—Members constitute a quorum.

The College receives liberal annual grants from the Volksraad, which has been, for a series of years, its ideal nursing father.

The boarding establishment is under the control of a “house master,” and is able to provide accommodation for more than one hundred boarders, and is always full; indeed it has occasionally, for want of house room, become necessary for the College authorities reluctantly to refuse boarders from elsewhere.

A considerable addition has from time to time been made to the “College grounds” by the purchase of adjoining lands, and grants by the Town Council, in and near St. George’s Street, upon which buildings have been erected, and a large and handsome double-storied building—facing Douglas and Lower Church Streets—containing Class Rooms, Lecture Room, Offices, Hospital, Dormitories, House Master’s Residence, etc., has recently been completed on the “original” land, and other buildings are in contemplation at no very distant period.

This Building could not have cost much less than £30,000, perhaps more, but though it is doubtless in many ways an acquisition, and seems to be convenient, roomy and well ventilated, it is nevertheless regrettable that so costly a structure should, through an act of mis-

taken policy, or crass obstinacy, or both, have been placed on a plot of ground so ill-suited for it, where it does not alone present a dwarfed and stunted appearance, but where, besides this—and that too, a far greater objection—no adequate provision could be made for *play* and *recreation* grounds for so large a number of boys, this being so essential an element in a health preserving point of view.

Some time before this new building was taken in hand—the question having been mooted as to the most appropriate site for it—the Bloemfontein Town Council—of which the writer was then a member—offered the Government, through the “College Curatorium,” as a *free gift*, a very suitable and extensive piece of ground lying to the north of the Dutch Reformed Church, where suitable school buildings, together with residences for the Rector and other teachers, and the necessary outbuildings might have been erected, and large gardens and play grounds laid out, but, strange to say, to the surprise of many good judges, this liberal offer was rejected.

In 1882, the Government, at the request of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod, and with the knowledge and consent of Sir George Grey, took over the Grey College, which then became a Government School.

Besides the Grey College there are many other Educational Institutions in Bloemfontein, illiberally aided by the Government, as follows, viz.:—The Dames Institute—“Eunice”—the Normal College, the Infant School, the Poor School, the Railway Industrial School, also other schools in the different Free State “towns,” “districts,” and “wards.” The “money vote,” under the head “Education,” was, in 1899, £61,075, out of which Grey College was to participate to the extent of £2,962 10s., the Dames Institute to the extent of £1,150.

A few years ago a society was formed, known as the Grey College “Re-Unie,” consisting chiefly of teachers and pupils, past and present. This Society has met several times, and is the means of keeping up the interest of the old pupils and the public in the College, and of maintaining that animating spirit known as “Esprit de Corps.”

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The English, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic Churches, have likewise, with very little Government aid, done, and are still doing, good and lasting work in “Education” among their own people, for boys and girls—white and black—throughout the State. The “Homes” for girls, connected with the English Church in Bloemfontein and Harrismith, are regarded as model institutions; the Wesleyans deserve mention too, in no grudging spirit.

On the 15th day of November, 1856, the writer was admitted by the “Circuit Court” at Fauresmith, as an Attorney in the State.

On the 16th day of April, 1856, the first “Public Sale” of erven at Boshof—*alias* Van Wyk’s Vlei—took place, and the town was laid out. Forty-seven erven were sold, each plot of ground realizing about £38 11s.; the writer’s father went to Boshof to start the “Erven Register” there.

The boundary line between the native Griqua headmen Cornelis Kok, and Nicolas Waterboer, was settled at their request by the Griqua Captain, Adam Kok, of Philippolis, on the 10th day of October, 1855, and the latter communicated the definition of the lines to the State President on the 25th October, 1855.

The year 1855, marked the decease of a remarkable man, who had for some years taken an active part in the early history of the country, for in November of that year, Mr. Charles Urquhart Stuart, a gentleman who had for some time been Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Bloemfontein—under the Sovereignty Government,—and became after the abandonment of the Sovereignty, an Attorney and General Agent, died suddenly at Lockshoek, the farm of Mr. Gert P. Visser, near Fauresmith, whilst on his way to attend the “Fauresmith Circuit Court.” His death came unexpectedly, and caused a blank in the community, for he was not only a man of striking physique—being upwards of six feet in stature—and well proportioned withal, of great ability, and indomitable perseverance, but he likewise took a prominent part in religious, political, and other questions, and was looked up to and respected by his fellow townsmen.

Mr. Stuart was born in Elginshire, Scotland, in 1809, where his father was a physician. In 1835 he proceeded to China, India, and Ceylon, and settled down at the latter place, as a coffee planter, and there became a Member of the Legislative Council. Owing however to reverses which overtook him in Ceylon, he migrated to the Cape of Good Hope in 1849, where he was introduced to the Cape Governor, Sir Harry Smith—who was then arranging the affairs of the Sovereignty—by whom he was appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, of Bloemfontein and District, which position he vacated not long before the “abandonment,” and then became an Attorney and General Agent, and having resolved after the abandonment to remain in the country, built up a large legal practice. On the 14th November, 1855, he left Bloemfontein to attend the Circuit Court at Fauresmith—where he had some law business—apparently in the best of health, as appeared to the writer, who was likewise preparing to start to the same place, on the following day,—and who saw and spoke to him on the day he left. He suddenly became alarmingly ill on the road, with difficulty got so far as Mr. Visser’s farm, and died there,—after a few hours of intense suffering, from what was pronounced to be a violent return of “Ceylon Fever,” from which he had suffered many years previously—at the early age of “46” years.

Already early in 1856, that staple article of Commerce, “Merino Wool,” was beginning to make a good show in the State, the quantity delivered in Bloemfontein, in one season, being estimated to number at least 1,200 bales, and throughout the entire State at least 5,000 bales; this, valued at £10 per bale, totals £50,000. This marked a great contrast with the year 1850, when one of the most active “wool dealers” who, in fact, had the monopoly of nearly the entire wool trade, secured what was then considered an exceptionally large clip of wool, i.e., “fifty bales.”

The natives in the eastern border of the State, had been harrying the inhabitants of those parts for some months, by encroaching upon their lands, stock stealing, etc., so that it became necessary to send an armed commando out

against them, on the 25th April, 1856; the delinquent was a petty Kaffir Chief called “Witzie,” and his tribe, a kind of offshoot of the Basuto nation, whose followers had, without leave, located themselves on that part of the State known as Witzieshoek, and were making further encroachments on private lands of Burghers and others, and had also freely, for a long time, indulged in the Kaffir propensity of stock lifting. The Town Contingent, under Field-Cornet William George Every, numbered “Fourteen armed men”; there were then about seventy-five white men in Bloemfontein, capable of bearing arms, but as there was at the time of starting off to the commando, a fear that Moshesh and his people might side with Witzie, and attack the State, it was deemed prudent to keep a force of at least twenty-five men regularly to guard the Fort, and that others should be detailed to serve in the defence of the Town in various ways, which was done as effectively as possible.

The entire Burgher force which was massed for commando duty, did not probably much exceed five hundred men, got together from different parts of the State, with the addition of a few friendly natives. The campaign was soon over; no white men were killed or wounded, but about fifty of the enemy were reported to have been shot, and a son of Witzie was made prisoner. Witzie sent one of his headmen to procure help for him in the Transvaal, but the man was intercepted and killed; the Kaffirs showed fight, and were well armed, and apparently well provided with ammunition. They were drawn out of their “mountain fastnesses,” and according to the report of the Commandant-General—Mr. Louw R. Botha,—dated 12th May, 1856, 1874 head of cattle, 80 horses, and 390 sheep were captured with great difficulty—owing to the rugged state of the country—and driven down the high mountains, but most of the best cattle could not be got at, and were consequently driven off by the enemy for safety. Altogether it was estimated that 4,000 head of cattle were captured during the time the commando lasted. One-third of these cattle, etc., went to the Government, and the remainder were to

be divided amongst the men who had served on commando, as “prize booty.” In another report from the Commandant General, dated 17th May, 1856, he stated that 1,850 cattle, 60 horses, and 400 sheep and goats were captured on the high mountains at the source of the “Tugela River,” and that thirty of the enemy were killed, and that Witzie and his eldest son, were supposed to have been among the killed. The captured cattle were sold by public auction, on July, 1856, but realized a “mere nothing,” as they were inferior stock. It transpired later that Moshesh had no intention of taking part in the quarrel (perhaps because he saw that the State was on the alert) for he sent a son, and two or three others as “hostages,” to the Free State camps. The demand upon Witzie and his people, as compensation, by the Commandant-General, was for 1,700 head of cattle, and 300 horses, but this demand was not complied with, and hence the necessity for an “armed expedition,” and though the commando was dissolved and thanked by the Government, it had broken up in an irregular manner, and before the requisite authority had been given for disbandment by the authorities, to the great disappointment of the State President, and the Commandant-General, after being in the field only twenty days. As fears were entertained that the enemy had not been thoroughly subdued, patrols had to be ordered out to reconnoitre, but it was soon found that the natives had left that part of the country, and peace was fully restored.

The writer may here add that several residents of Natal offered the State President their help against Witzie, but as there was no need for foreign assistance, and it did not appear that they had obtained the sanction of their Government to make the offer, same was declined with thanks.

A harrowing domestic tragedy occurred on the night of Saturday, the 26th April, 1856, on a farm called “Rustfontein,”—then a portion of the late Major Warden’s farm, “Douglas Valley,” about two miles to the north of Bloemfontein, at that time occupied by Mr. Charles Leo Cox, with his wife and family of two young children, both girls. Mr. Cox, who had for some years resided in the

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“Orange River Sovereignty,” was a cultured English gentleman of, as was alleged, good family, and had some three or four years ago, married a Miss Maria Magdalena Bouwer, a daughter of a Mr. Willem C. Bouwer, a farmer resident at Douglas Valley. This marriage, it was rumoured, was not a happy one. About 9 o'clock on Saturday evening Mr. Bouwer, who was a member of the Executive Council, being detained in town, at a Council Meeting, somewhat longer than usual, received a letter from Mr. Cox, desiring him, and Dr. C. J. G. Krause, to come out to his farm Rustfontein, *at once*, the latter to render medical aid to his wife and child. The note to the Doctor read as follows:—

Douglas Valley,
26th April.

For God's sake come out at once, I think my wife and child are at the point of death; the cause I cannot explain. Come out without delay.

CHARLES LEO COX.

On receipt of this urgent note, these two gentlemen promptly responded to the call; when they got to the farm they found Mrs. Cox lying dead on the floor very much bruised and knocked about; the youngest of the two children, “Susanna,” aged about eight months, also dead on a couch, and the elder child, “Charlotte,” aged about two years, in a dying state. Their suspicions being aroused at the mysterious and heart-rending sight they had witnessed, both gentlemen hastily returned to Bloemfontein (Mr. Cox being unaware of their having returned to town), and reported to the Landdrost what they had seen, by whom the writer, who had a day or two before—at the urgent request of the Field-Cornet, Mr. W. G. Every,—taken over his duties as Field-Cornet, during latter's absence on the Witzie Commando (the country being then under Martial Law) was desired (then after midnight) to proceed *at once*, with the town police, and a few townspeople, to Mr. Cox's farm, and do what seemed needful there. On arriving near the homestead, on Sunday morning, at about 2 a.m., they saw Mr. Cox a few paces

from his front door, coming towards them ; he was extremely excited and very abusive, and violent in his language, and threatening in his demeanour, towards Mr. Bouwer and the Doctor, the later of whom he declared might have saved his child's life if he had come sooner, the writer and his party likewise sharing largely in his invective, for having unexpectedly, and to his surprise and disgust, appeared at his door. The circumstances seeming *fully* to justify such a “summary course,” Mr. Cox was arrested,—whilst loudly proclaiming his innocence, and threatening vengeance,—and conveyed to the town prison. The following day (Monday), a preliminary examination was held before the Landdrost, on a charge of “threefold” murder, which was adjourned from time to time, until the accused was finally committed for trial before the Higher Court ; Mr. Cox all through the “preliminary proceedings” protesting his innocence, and lamenting the death of his children, of whom he was said to have been a fond and indulgent parent.

On the 15th day of July, 1856, the accused was arraigned before the “Combined Court of Landdrosts,” in Bloemfontein, on an indictment charging him with the murder of his wife and children. The Landdrosts sitting as judges were the Landdrosts of Smithfield and Bloemfontein, and the Acting Landdrost of Winburg—that Landdrost being absent on duty. The indictment “charged” the accused with having partly throttled and partly beaten to death his wife, throttled his daughter Susanna, and poisoned his daughter Charlotte, with strychnine, administered to her in raisins. The State Attorney, Mr. Alfred B. Roberts, appeared for the prosecution, and Mr. Attorney C. J. Vels, a local practitioner, for the accused. Mr. Vels applied to the Court, supporting his application by affidavit, for postponement of the trial, on the grounds that material “Medical Witnesses,” for whose appearance the necessary steps had been taken, had not arrived. The State Attorney objected to postponement, alleging that sufficient time had been given to summon witnesses, etc. The Court, however, acceded to the request (on ascertaining from accused's Counsel the nature of the evidence expected from the

witnesses who had not appeared), by adjourning the Court to the 17th July, on which day the Court again met, but no witnesses appeared; even then, Mr. Vels on behalf of the accused, now submitted to the Court the question whether in terms of the “British Act of Parliament,” William IV., Chapters 6 and 7, of 13th August, 1836, which prohibited the trying of British subjects on this side of the Orange River, and which act had not, as yet, been specially repealed, the accused should not be tried in the Cape Colony, he having expressed a desire to be regarded as a British subject. He likewise cited the “Bloemfontein Convention” of 23rd February, 1854, which gave those claiming to be British subjects, three years’ time to leave the State. He likewise cited the Proclamation of the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith, of 14th March, 1849, by which the “Court of combined Magistrates” of the late “Orange River Sovereignty,” was prohibited from enforcing Criminal sentences *beyond a certain gravity*, that is to say, those entailing punishment of from three to five years’ imprisonment, etc.—without a previous reference to him (the High Commissioner)—to which the State Attorney replied:—1st, With reference to the jurisdiction of the Court, he remarked, upon the state of the country to the north of the Orange River when the “Act of Parliament” was passed: British subjects had crossed the Colonial boundary, and as no regular Government or Court of Law then existed here, many crimes were committed, especially against the natives, but all this he declared was afterwards altered,—*Firstly*, by proclaiming British authority, and appointing Magistrates, and later by making over that authority to the inhabitants of this State; *Secondly*, that the grant of the three years, was, he said, not intended to apply to criminal offences, being only intended to give time to persons, claiming to be British subjects, to *dispose of and transfer their properties*—without let or hindrance; *Thirdly*, that in all cases where crimes are committed, the country where they are committed invariably claims the right of trying the offender in its own territory. The State Attorney further remarked, that he had written to the Attorney-

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General of the Cape Colony—Mr. William Porter—and that that gentleman had replied that the Convention of 23rd February had—though not formally, yet virtually—repealed the “Act of Parliament,” which was consequently a “dead letter.” The Attorney-General’s letter, under date 1st May, 1856, read as follows, viz. :—

“Crimes are local in their nature, and can only be tried in the Courts having jurisdiction, in the place where they are committed.” He further wrote in answer to the query, in how far he considered himself called upon to deal with such cases as the present one, under the “Act of Parliament——.” That if “A.B.” was guilty of a murder or theft, which fell under the category of “general” and not “local crimes,” that is such as are regarded by Civilized Nations, and the “Law of Nations,” as crimes, it was his opinion that by the Convention of this State said “Act of Parliament” was cancelled, in so far as related to crimes committed in this State; further that he could not deal with such cases, *for then the difficulty would arise that any person declared “not guilty” here could again be tried in the Colony, which was contrary to the principle that no person can be tried “twice” for the same crime, and we would then have two competent Courts for the trial of such cases, whilst the act only intended to establish one Court.* The State Attorney further said that a letter had been received from His Excellency the Governor, Sir George Grey, addressed to His Honour the State President, from which it appeared that several requests had been made to him (the Governor) respecting this case, and that he had considered it his duty to refuse to take any part in it. The State Attorney lastly said that, in terms of Section (2) of the “chapter” on “judicial authority,” in Ordinance No. 1, of 1856, the “Courts of Combined Landdrosts” have jurisdiction in criminal cases, for any crime or offence, committed in the district where the Court may meet.

Here the President of the Court remarked, “We have “the opinion of the Attorney-General—Cape Colony—“respecting the Act of Parliament, that it can no longer “be applied here, and that if, after the abandonment of

“this country that Act had not become a ‘dead letter,’ all that was being done here by the present Government, was a mere farce, and that the Laws enacted by the Volksraad were inoperative, etc. We would then be blindfolding the people, and would pretend to be something, when we really were nothing. The Proclamation of 14th March, 1849, contains nothing ascribed to it; the jurisdiction of the British Magistrates was not in truth so limited as was stated, the intention only was that sentences above a certain standard should be sanctioned by the Governor; if a British subject commits a crime here, he must be sentenced the same as any other foreigner. We knew nothing before to-day, that the accused had made any “special” claim to be regarded as a British subject; only now—when so great a charge is made against him—as little as this Government has jurisdiction beyond the Orange River, just so little has the British Government to do with the case. Where must anyone be tried, if not at the place where the crime is supposed to have been committed?” The Acting Landdrost of Winburg agreed with the views so fully expressed by the President of the Court. This gentleman had taken his own notes, which, however, he was, by virtue of a rule of Court, debarred from reading at the time. The Landdrost of Smithfield dissented, and promised to state his views later on. He seemed to regard the English Act of Parliament as still of force, as same had not been “specially” repealed.

The indictment having now been read to the accused, he pleaded “not guilty.” A Jury of nine members was empaneled and sworn, and ten witnesses were heard for the prosecution, at great length, especially the Doctor (C. J. G. Krause), and nine for the defence. The trial lasted nine days, the Court sitting about nine hours each day. After the evidence had been heard—at the end of the “summing up”—and the “charge to the Jury,” by the President of the Court, and of the addresses by the State Attorney, and the Counsel for the accused—the Court adjourned for the Jury to consider their verdict. On re-

assembling the Jury declared that they were not able to agree, whereupon the Court again adjourned for the Jury to re-consider, or consult further, and when the Court re-opened they brought in the following verdict:—“We find the prisoner guilty of ill-treatment, whereby the death of the late Maria Magdalena Cox was occasioned, but, whether the ill-treatment was done with premeditation, or from outwardly exciting causes, the Jury leave the Court to determine, as the evidence on this point is not sufficiently clear. As regards the death of the children, they, the Jury, were assured that the Court would pronounce a sentence based on justice and moderation.” This “verdict,” which was in fact no verdict at all, was “provisionally” minuted. The Counsel for the accused moved the Court to name the “substantive” crime in Law involved in the verdict. The State Attorney moved that the Jury be called upon to state whether the ill-treatment was of the nature set forth in the indictment. The presiding Landdrost, with the concurrence of the other Landdrosts, requested the Jury again to retire, and re-consider their verdict, as in the present form it could not be recorded, it being the province of the Jury—not the Court—to decide on the “Premeditation”; and to assist them in their further enquiry, the Court offered them the use of the “Court Minutes” of evidence, which was, however, declined. After an hour’s absence the Jury again returned, and the foreman read the following verdict:—“As a further explanation of the *first* verdict of ‘Guilty of ill-treatment,’ the Jury desire to state that the ill-treatment was done by the prisoner with premeditation, according to the terms of the indictment.” This verdict being recorded, the State Attorney moved that a verdict of “murder” be recorded, according to Van der Linde, Book 2, paragraph 10, Section 5. The accused’s Counsel tried to show that the passage cited from Van der Linde was distorted by the State Attorney, and in a motion for arrest of judgment, resumed the argument he had adopted at the beginning of the trial, viz., that by virtue of the “Act of Parliament” already referred to, the Court was incom-

petent to adjudicate the case; he likewise enumerated his further grounds for “arrest of judgment,” as follows:—

(1) The incomplete and partial charge to the Jury.

(2) That while one of the Jurymen was out of Court the examination of a witness was proceeded with (though it was proved that the few words of evidence taken down in his absence, were read over to him after his return).

(3) The irregular form of the verdict.

The majority of the Court rejected all the grounds advanced for “arrest of judgment,” and declared the Court’s competency to pass sentence; the Landdrost of Smitfield again dissenting, Mr. Ford was requested to note down the grounds of his dissent. Amongst other reasons he stated, the grave doubts he entertained of the Court’s jurisdiction, whilst the Act of Parliament remained unrepealed, and the partial charge to the Jury, etc., by the President of the Court. When Mr. Ford had finished the reading of his paper he rose from his seat and left the Court, saying as he did so, that he had now done his duty. The President tried in vain to prevent his leaving the Court, he remarked in reply to the appeal to stay, “I will not remain, I am off.” The Court immediately adjourned to the next morning, and on re-assembling the next day—26th July—the Registrar of the Court, being meanwhile appointed and sworn, as a Member of the Court instead of Mr. Ford—who had left his seat on the previous day,—the accused was now asked whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, “according to the Law,” to which he replied, “merely the fact of my innocence,” and he demurred at the swearing in of a New Member of the Court after the conclusion of the trial, and intimated his intention of appealing to the “Executive Council,” as the highest “Court of Appeal,” for a review of the sentence. The President of the Court then passed “sentence of death” in the usual form, execution to take place at such time as the State President may appoint.

The Executive Council as “Court of Appeal,” having met on the 14th August, 1856, the death sentence against the condemned—of 26th July—was brought under

“review,” Mr. Vels again appearing as counsel for the condemned; this gentleman, Mr. Vels, having signed a memorial to the State President, against the presiding Landdrost of the “Lower Court,” a few days before, calculated—as was alleged—to bring the Courts of the State into contempt and disrepute, and further for having during the trial stigmatized an appeal to the Executive Council, to be an “atrocious mockery,” was called upon by the Executive Council as the Highest Court of Appeal, to show cause why his name should not be “struck off the roll of Attorneys of the State. Mr. Vels in his defence said:—

Firstly—That the Executive Council as “Court of Appeal” was not competent to call him to account, or to take any steps against him in the matter.

Secondly—That as regards signing the memorial, he was at liberty to do so, conformably to the laws of the country, and that if Mr. van Soelen—meaning the President of the Court—thought proper to proceed against him, he was prepared to defend himself.

Thirdly—That in the Petition of “revision,” he had made use of the words “atrocious mockery” with reference to the “review itself,” before the Council, whose Members by participation and previously pronounced judgment, on this trial, had rendered themselves incompetent to decide on it, “in revision,” and he maintained that his conduct had not been inconsistent with his *oath*; that he was admitted by the “Circuit Court,” and by it authorised to “plead” before all the Courts of this State, and that the Appeal Court had not the power of prohibiting him from still doing so. The Executive Council, as Highest Court of Appeal, therefore pronounced the following judgment:—

This Court decides—That as a “Court of Appeal,” it possesses the highest jurisdiction and authority in the State, as a “Law Court,” and as such has the power to take cognizance of the misconduct of any Member or Officer of the inferior Courts who are, according to Law, officially entitled to practice before this Court, and are consequently subordinate Officers of this Court.

The Court further decides—“That the Memorial

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dated 25th July, 1856, and signed by Mr. Vels with others, and presented and delivered to the State President, and published in certain of the Cape Colonial Newspapers, involves certain gross charges against the Acting Landdrost of Bloemfontein, which, if substantiated against him, would render that official unworthy ever to hold office in this State.

“That if the charges which appear in said Memorial, against Acting Landdrost van Soelen, the President of the “Circuit Court of Landdrosts,” holden last week at Bloemfontein, should be found to be groundless and untrue, the same must, in that case, be regarded as a “punishable calumny,” and as having proceeded from a desire to bring the “Judicial Courts” of the country into public contempt, to render the Government powerless, and to endanger the safety of the State.

“That although this Court does not deny the right of one or more of its Officers *individually or collectively*, to prefer charges of misconduct or partiality against a judge before the “Executive Authority,” *provided such be done in a proper manner and in seemly language, and not be previously blazoned abroad about the world, and written in a manner calculated to render the judge an object of ridicule to the public; it nevertheless appears to the Court that the language of said Memorial in the cases enumerated in Sections 2 and 3, is highly unbecoming, and shows a want of deference and respect towards the tribunals and Government of the country, and that it is wrong and punishable in any officer under the Government, or in any person holding an official position in any of the “Judicial Courts” of the State, to compose, sign, and publish, or to present, such writings—still more, when such is done conjointly with a number of private persons—as tending by such a bad example to mislead the public, or to encourage or instigate proceedings or consequences calculated to produce disturbance, and an interruption of public tranquility and peace.*

“That by reason of the misconduct of Mr. C. J. Vels, he has infringed the obligation of his *oath*, and has rendered himself unworthy of acting and practising as an attorney

or advocate in this or any other Court of Justice, in the Orange Free State, and this Court accordingly orders that his name be struck off the *roll* of Attornies, and that he shall not henceforth be permitted to practice in the said capacity until he shall have shown to the “Executive Council” indications of more becoming and peaceable behaviour, and also regret for his past misconduct.

The Executive Council, as “Highest Court of Appeal,” further, on the same day, pronounced the following decision on the “death sentence” recorded against Mr. Charles Leo Cox, by the Circuit Court of Landdrosts, on the 26th July, 1856, brought before this Court, “in revision,” as follows, to wit:—

This Court though on the whole approving of the proceedings taken and recorded by, and before, the Lower Courts decides:—

(1) Regarding the exception of “non-jurisdiction,” of the Circuit Court of Landdrosts, founded on the British Act of Parliament, 6 and 7, William IV., unanimously decides that such exception is wholly unfounded, and that the “Judicial Courts” of the Orange Free State exist by and under the Laws promulgated by the Volksraad, neither can or may this Court recognise any other law or authorities which in the slightest degree infringe that jurisdiction. The Courts cannot concede that, because trial by “Jury” has, by the Constitution, been introduced into this State, it necessarily follows that all “laws” and “customs” relating therto—whether as adopted in Great Britain or elsewhere—must necessarily be regarded as having been accepted by, and be of force in this State. This Court cannot admit it as an established rule here, that the Circuit Court of Landdrosts is not at liberty, *after* receiving the verdict of a Jury—even after such verdict shall have been minuted, and so long as the Court may still be deliberating on the nature or legality of such verdict—and the Jurymen are still in their seats, and have not been discharged, or before the accused or his attorney is allowed to speak, or shall have stated his objection to such verdict, or the accused shall have applied for an “arrest of judgment,”

or shall have made any other application bearing upon such verdict, and consequently before the Court shall have pronounced sentence—whether on their own motion, or on the application of the “Public Prosecutor”—to decide that the verdict of the Jury is irregular, illegal, or otherwise inadmissible, and to direct the Jury to take the matter into further consideration, and to bring in another or amended verdict.

That when, however, such other or amended verdict is brought in by the Jury, same ought to be taken and minuted by itself, and not in conjunction with the former verdict—either wholly or in part—but the first verdict shall, in such a case, be regarded as wholly cancelled and annulled.

That the *first verdict* was irregular, incomplete, and against the Law, as it was not *sufficiently clear*, as to whether the prisoner is “guilty” or “not guilty” of the crimes laid to his charge, on all the three Counts, or on *each* Count separately, nor of which *crime* he was found “guilty.” In another clause of the Executive Council’s decision they decided that the Lower Court was justified in requiring the Jury to re-consider their verdict, and to bring in an *amended, clearer, and legal verdict* on *each* of the counts charged against the accused in the indictment; and in another clause the judgment set forth that the Jury, instead of bringing in such an amended or new verdict, only gave an explanation of their meaning in connection with the second “count” or “section” of the indictment, which could not be accepted as an explanation, being wholly in contradiction of the *first verdict*, and that they (the Jury) did not even, in the explanation or *second verdict*, bring in their “finding,” as regards the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, under the *first* and *second* counts of the indictment.

The Court therefore decides that, in consequence of the irregularities which have arisen, owing to the informalities of the verdict, the entire trial was irregular, and orders that the “judicial proceedings” connected with same, together with the *verdict* of the Jury and the *sentence* of

the Circuit Court, be cancelled and laid aside, just as if such trial had never taken place; with authority to the State Attorney (should he think proper) to bring the prisoner to trial again for the crime of “murder” of his wife, Maria Magdalena Cox, and of his children Susanna and Charlotte Cox. Respecting the leaving of his seat on the “bench,” by the Landdrost of Caledon River—after the conclusion of the “trial,” *nothing further remaining to be done than the passing of the sentence and the filling up of the vacancy by another appointment, the Court declares that, under the “Constitution” and Laws of the State, nothing can be discovered showing that such new appointment, and the passing of sentence by a majority of the Courts, constitutes, in the trial of a criminal case, an illegal act.*

The Court feels compelled to remark here, that the conduct of the Landdrost of Smithfield (Caledon River) in leaving the bench in the way he did, and the remarks made by him “*in public*” when doing so—on the inexperience of the Courts, and particularly on the conduct of its presiding Member—were irregular, and highly censurable, and in variance with terms of “Ordinance No. 1 of 1856,” section on “Judicial Authority,” clauses 9 and 12—and was evidently dictated by partiality towards the prisoner, and with the object of preventing the Court from pronouncing sentence against him, and intended to render all the proceedings connected with the trial, *invalid and of no effect.*

That further the Court has not been able to detect, on the part of the “Lower Court,” the least sign of partiality or prejudice for or against the prisoner—during the trial which lasted nine days—but finds, on the contrary, that it exercised such praiseworthy patience and exactness, as has never heretofore been shown in any other trial held in this country, and has displayed such indulgence towards the prisoner as would not be tolerated in such trials elsewhere; and as regards the other grounds of “revision”—noted by the Attorney for the prisoner—namely, partiality shown by the President and some Members of the Executive Council, not the faintest proof of such partiality has been adduced.

One of the Members of the Executive Council (Mr. John Kolbe) differed from his fellow members, as to the verdict of the Jury, holding the opinion that, when a verdict has once been “minuted,” it should be regarded as *final*, and the Court is then no longer competent to deliberate respecting it, or to direct the Jury to bring in another verdict. He likewise disagreed with the clauses 5, 6, and 8, of the decision, being of opinion that the intention of the Jury was clearly to bring in a verdict of “Homicide,” or “Manslaughter,” and that the Circuit Court should have passed sentence on such verdict. Mr. Kolbe likewise differed from clause 9, of the decision, and thought there should be no new trial.

The State Attorney, now that the *first* trial had been cancelled and declared “no trial,” deemed it his duty, as acting in the “public interest,” to institute proceedings “de-novo” against Mr. Cox for the murder of his wife and Children, consequently criminal proceedings were again commenced at Bloemfontein, on the 13th October, 1856, before a Court composed of the Landdrosts of Bloemfontein, Fauresmith, and Harrismith. The State Attorney, who again appeared as prosecutor, had caused a similar indictment, as at the first trial, to be served on the accused, who protested against a second trial on the grounds that he had already stood his trial before the Circuit Court, on 16th July, and following days, on the same “criminal charge”; that a “lawful jury” had brought in a “lawful verdict,” punishable by Law; that he requested a “revision” to the Executive Council as “Highest Court of Appeal,” merely in consequence of the erroneous application of the law then made—by a clearly incompetent Court—and finally because the “Court of Appeal,” by allowing another trial, had again misapplied the Law, in redress whereof he had in vain applied to the people of the State, by memorial to their representatives in the Volksraad—as the Highest authority in the State—and that, notwithstanding all this, he continued to lay claim, “till death,” to his lawful rights, and accordingly, on the above-named grounds, protests against a *second* trial, on the same indictment,

solemnly declaring his unwillingness to defend himself a *second* time, and concluding with a demand that he be set at liberty. The Court having rejected all the exceptions and objections raised by the accused, in his “protest,” and having noted his refusal to plead to the indictment, caused a plea of “not guilty” to be minuted, and appointed Mr. Attorney Johan A. Smellekamp as his Counsel. A new Jury was empaneled and sworn, and the same witnesses heard as at the first trial, and after a hearing extending over about six days, the Jury, on 18th October, 1856, brought in a verdict of “guilty” on all the counts of the indictment, when sentence of “death” was pronounced upon the accused, and a “revision” was again noted to the Executive Council.

Mr. Smellekamp had endeavoured, by motion before the Combined Court, to get the trial removed to Smithfield, and had likewise made application for its postponement, to procure material medical evidence, with a view of rebutting certain “medical evidence” which had already been recorded against the accused at the *first* “trial.” He likewise objected to the sitting of the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, who had already sat as judge at the first trial, and had passed *sentence*, and who had—he alleged—in the “summing up” of the case to the Jury, not properly explained the law to them; and finally because he—Mr. Smellekamp—had (owing to the shortness of the time allowed him to prepare the defence), no chance of challenging any of the Jurymen, as directed by Law, the Jury having already been *sworn* when he was charged with the defence of the accused. He cited in support of his contention, passages from Blackstone and Van der Linde.

The Court rejected all the above-stated objections, and on the 27th day of October, 1856, the trial was again brought “in revision” before the Executive Council. Mr. Smellekamp objected to one of the Members of the Appeal Court who had sat as Judge in the “Lower Circuit Court,” at the first trial. This objection being overruled as “groundless,” he then again applied for a month’s adjournment of the hearing “in revision,” with a view of obtain-

ing “rebutting medical evidence,” for which he declared there had not been sufficient time granted by the Lower Court, which the Higher Court could see no grounds for granting inasmuch as no *fresh* evidence could be received in this Court, as “Court of Appeal.” Mr. Smellekamp then again spoke in support of the “protest” handed in by the accused, and of his application for removal of the trial to Smithfield, by reason of “local prejudice.” The Court, after adjourning for a couple of hours, pronounced the following judgment:—

“In reference to prisoner’s ‘plea’ as to jurisdiction of “the Circuit Court of Landdrosts, on the ground of his “having already stood his trial on the same charge, the “Court decides that this ‘exception’ or ‘plea’ is unfounded, “as the Court of Appeal *annulled the former trial, and gave “the State Attorney leave to indict the prisoner anew.*

“With regard to the request for the removal of the “trial to Smithfield, and the protest against the compet- “ency of the presiding Landdrost, as a Member of the “Lower Courts, the Court decides that these exceptions “were brought in too late; and that, had they even been “advanced, before the prisoner had pleaded, and the Jury “was empaneled and sworn, the Court of Landdrosts was “at liberty to reject the first-mentioned as unfounded, “since it appears that the prisoner did not apply *in time* “for leave to summon his witnesses. With regard to the “incompetency of the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, that “has not been proved; and finally as to the other objections “under ‘revision,’ this Court declares that it can find no “reasons to come to a decision favourable to the prisoner, “and consequently rejects all the exceptions brought before “it, and dismisses the case ‘in revision,’ with costs.”

The effect of the dismissal of the “revision” by the Court of Appeal, was that the “death sentence” remained in force, and the unfortunate “condemned” was executed, *by hanging*, in Bloemfontein, a few days later, still, to the *last moment*, solemnly protesting his innocence. This, therefore, was the melancholy ending of a long and exciting trial, which gave rise to many great and angry disputations

and bickerings, and cast a deep gloom over the town.

The writer does not profess to have recorded, in the foregoing pages, more than a mere scanty outline of all that actually took place in connection with this melancholy and memorable trial.

To publish everything that was said, done, written, and printed—the latter in newspapers both in and out of the country—would of itself fill a fair-sized volume, for which no space could be found here. The evidence, for instance, which was “voluminous,” and though for the most part circumstantial, and seemed overwhelming as attesting the guilt of the accused, has not been touched upon here. Suffice it finally to say that many most determined attacks were made upon the Courts, the State President, and several of the Government officials, during the four months’ continuance of the criminal proceedings, by sundry persons who professed to be the friends of, or sympathizers with the accused, in the shape of letters, and what seemed like libellous, and scurrilous anonymous accusations, which usually appeared in print. Fervid and impassioned appeals were likewise made to the Governor of the Cape Colony—Sir George Grey—and to the Attorney-General—Mr. William Porter—imploping their interference, with a view of suppressing the trial. These attempts, however, proved fruitless, as neither of these high-placed officials were inclined to interfere. The execution was branded as a “judicial murder,” and popular excitement ran high. Persons who had before been friends, but had formed diverse conclusions as to the *guilt* or *innocence* of the ill-fated condemned, became acrimonious opponents, and altogether this sad event cast a dark cloud over the town, and there were probably few persons, amongst the “general public,” who did not recoil at the horrible fate awaiting one, who there was every reason to think, had sprung from a good and reputable family, and who had probably been well and delicately nurtured; and these people would doubtless have been well pleased to hear that he had effected his escape from jail, and had got himself well and safely out of the country, for which—it was openly avowed—ample opportunities had been afforded him during

his long incarceration, but of which he ostensibly failed to take advantage.

It was regrettable that the British Government, which had then no Agent or Consul in the State, did not see their way clear in being represented at the trial, especially as Mr. Cox had appealed to them; this would have prevented much carping and unjust misrepresentation.

The State was then in its infancy—scarcely three years old—and the Government, however much actuated by a sincere desire to act fairly and honourably, was inexperienced in the adjudication of trials of such complication, gravity, and magnitude. The Landdrosts, though on the whole intelligent men, were not trained lawyers, and consequently it was hardly possible to conduct these criminal proceedings—in the midst of many intricacies, and great and well-planned opposition—in every respect, with that decorum and regularity as might be expected in older and more settled countries. The two trials were unfortunate too, created a wrong impression, and evoked surprise and bitterness (though not “*ultra vires*” or antagonistic with local laws and usages); and there were, furthermore, no actual reasons for suspecting the “*bona fides*” of the officials who had to do with the case, though unfortunately there were irregularities, not wilful, but nevertheless apparent, and these gave occasion to unceasing and captious clamour; and many unfounded aspersions, and untruthful and vindictive charges were consequently levelled against several officials and others directly engaged in the trial, who had a duty to perform however distasteful, by designing and spiteful individuals, in and out of the country, to serve their own ends.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

CONTENTS.

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The 23rd day of February, 1857, was the third year of the State's independence, and was celebrated as such with joy and acclamation,—but alas!—the cup of mirth was not without its drop of trembling; for Mr. Marthinus W. Pretorius, the so-called President of the Transvaal (South African Republic)—but regarded as such by only a small section of the people there—who acknowledged the authority he arrogated to himself, and where much discord, anarchy, and even blood-shedding had recently prevailed, and was still rampant, the Community being split up into fierce,

opposition rival factions following different party leaders—such as Pretorius, Potgieter, Schoeman, Joubert, and others.

The districts of Zoutpanburg, Lydenburg, Marico, and part of Zuikerboschrand not acknowledging him, Pretorius made his unwelcome appearance unexpectedly, and without the usual previous official intimation, in Bloemfontein, on the 27th day of February, 1857, with a Mr. Goetz—the latter gentleman assuming to be a member of the Potchefstroom “Executive Council”—and with about *ten* of his own people from the Transvaal, and *forty* Free State Burghers.

Mr. Pretorius and his fellow travellers professing to have been sent on a special political mission to the Free State Government, by what he choose to style a “Commissie Volksraad”—a mysterious kind of body specially created to serve a certain undefined purpose.

The Free State Volksraad, being now in session this, “Commissie Volksraad”—which appeared after inquiry to be a kind of offshoot from the Potchefstroom Raad, had, it was alleged, instructed Mr. Pretorius to confer with the Free State Authorities respecting a certain draft ordinance on Free State Burghers rights, and a few other ordinances touching only on Free State matters, which the Potchefstroom authorities fancied concerned them too; instead, however, of adhering to his instructions, on his being admitted into the Council Chamber with Mr. Goetz to speak on the subject of his mission, it was found that whilst pretending to have come on a friendly mission, the real object of his visit was to stir up strife by plotting with certain seditious Free State Burghers who had for some time been fruitlessly endeavouring to bring about a “union” of the two States—in an illicit manner, and by claiming certain large tracts of Free State territory, falsely asserting that same had been ceded to his late father—Commandant-General W. A. J. Pretorius—by the British Government, and that the present owners of farms there were only guaranteed in their peaceable possession of these farms for three years, and further maintaining that he, in his capacity as President of the South African Republic, was the actual

ruler of the Free State, i.e., the Country between the Vaal and Orange Rivers,—and finally protesting against the *legality* of the present Free State Government. These absurd lying rumours were actually credited by many credulous and ignorant Free State Burghers, who were misled by them into “open rebellion” against their own Government. The Volksraad fearing upon good grounds, that Mr. P.’s presence in Bloemfontein was undesirable, that he was causing trouble by endeavouring to undermine legitimate authority and by inciting to rebellion, after having refused his second request to be *again* permitted to appear in the Raad, passed a Resolution expressing their deep displeasure at his presence in Bloemfontein, declaring that it could no longer be tolerated and desiring his speedy departure from the Town. Amongst his other impolitic and censurable acts, Mr. P. had come to Bloemfontein without giving the usual official notice to the Government, of his intention to do so; he had even arranged for certain “riotous” Free State subjects, and also, as was openly asserted at the time, for the Basuto Chief “Moshesh” to meet him at Bloemfontein, and had furthermore sent to the Volksraad insulting and threatening communications, as to his claim to Free State Land, etc.

This unseemly behaviour on the part of Mr. P. had in certain quarters already caused “open rebellion” against the Government, and many burghers, amongst others Mr. G. F. Linde (late Commandant), a certain Mr. Els and others, in the Bloemfontein District, and several others in the Winburg and Cronstadt (now Kroonstad) Districts, were being prosecuted for High Treason; it now became evident that this mad-brained and unconstitutional action on the part of Mr. P. must of necessity culminate in an “open rupture” between the two States at an early date.

Mr. P. finding it becoming rather too hot for him in Bloemfontein, left rather hastily, after gaining knowledge of the Volksraad’s Resolution.

The Free State had always been desirous of cultivating amicable relations with her Sister Republic, but this desire was not reciprocated on the other side; the Volksraad

therefore under the present state of high political tension with the Transvaal, caused to be published, for general information,—and to show the absurdity of Mr. P.’s claim to Free State soil—copies of the Transvaal “Sandriver Convention” of 17th January, 1852, and of the “Bloemfontein Convention” of 23rd February, 1854, both with the British Government, containing the definition of boundary lines of each State—already referred to in these pages—and appointed a Commission of “three members” to assist the State President and the Executive Council as a “Vigilance Commission,” in adopting such measures as the safety of the State and the maintenance of Law and order under the present menacing state of Political matters may demand—this being specially necessary as the President had received information that the Raad at Potchefstroom had approved of Messrs. Pretorius and Goetz’s extraordinary proceedings in Bloemfontein.

The Free State Government Secretary notified to the Potchefstroom Authorities, under date 8th April, 1857, Mr. P.’s behaviour at Bloemfontein, and stated that though he might have been arrested and tried for his criminal conduct, by the Courts of the Country, and sentenced in terms of the Law, that stringest course had not been adopted; further, that the Government regretted to find that Messrs. P. and G. were really the delegates of the Transvaal “Commissie Raad,” and that Mr. P. furthermore styled himself President of the South African Republic, whereas it was generally known that he was merely “provisionally appointed” by a “Provisional Raad” which was elected by *only* a portion of the Burghers of the South African Republic, until a legal Raad could be elected; as merely “President” or “Chairman” of the Executive Council, it therefore still remained to be seen whether he would be elected by the majority of the public, as their State President: as also whether the new Constitution of the Transvaal would be confirmed or not—as they knew that the two Commandants—Stephanus Schoeman and W. Joubert—took no part in it, and that these gentlemen regarded the Raad at Leydenburg as the only legal Raad

existing in the Republic : and they had, therefore, sent that Raad a copy of their letter of the 17th March, and begged to inform them that in case of further interference by Mr. P. and his party in Free State affairs, they would consider it their duty to assist the supporters of Law and order in the Republic, against lawlessness and presumptuous conduct, there, as well as here, in political, religious, and Church matters ; a step they still trusted may be avoided by the good judgment and peaceable disposition of the Republican Burghers. To this communication the so-called “Krijgsraad” at Potchefstroom, consisting of several Members, Commandants, and Field-Cornets—amongst them being Mr. S. J. P. Kruger (commonly called “Paul Kruger”), the present Transvaal President,—replied on 15th April, 1857, that tho’ they were glad to see that the Courts of the State were open to them, they were nevertheless deeply grieved, and astonished to find from “sworn declarations” the way in which unfounded prosecutions were being preferred against persons who wished to place themselves under the Transvaal Government, and therefore the Krygsraad, considering that Mr. Pretorius had promised protection to the persons now being prosecuted. They demanded that all such prosecutions be instantly stopped, and that all fines already levied, or still to be levied, be refunded : that all persons “in prison” be released and it be made publicly known that all prosecutions have been withdrawn ; if this demand be immediately complied with and the offices of the Free State remain open to them, that *then* they—the Krygsraad—too would comply with the request of the Raad of the Orange Free State ; but if not, they—the Members of the said Krygsraad—declared, that they would render the promised protection to the prosecuted persons, and that they expected a *decided* answer by the person charged with the delivery of their letter, that, however, they did not agree to his waiting longer for the answer than say, twenty-four hours.

A Mr. C. Weyers, who styled himself “Acting President,” likewise wrote from Potchefstroom on the 17th April, in answer to the Government Secretary’s O.F. State’s

letter of 8th April, saying, that they regarded the threat to help certain rebels, in the South African Republic, as most ridiculous, and the last gasp of a “dying man”; that the President, Mr. Pretorius, was expected back from Buffels-river immediately, and that on his return they would show the writer that they were both willing and able to defend themselves against Free State assaults upon their rights; the other portion of the Government Secretary’s letter, he added, were too insipid (*laf*) to reply to.

There were likewise other offensive Communications received from the Transvaal party, all breathing an intensely malignant and hostile spirit, especially was their indignation kindled to the boiling point, by the detention in Bloemfontein, by the Government, of 1,200 pounds of “lead,” said to be the property of a Mr. Forstman; which was regarded as “Contraband.”

The mask was now thrown off, and a portion *at least*, of the Transvaal friends and sympathisers of Mr. Pretorius, were trying to steal a march upon their peace-loving Free State neighbours, by stealthily crossing the Vaal River, into Free State territory, but President Boshof and his supporters were not to be caught napping, and consequently with the advice and consent of his advisors he issued a proclamation on the 25th April, 1857, notifying publicly, that a Transvaal Commando had crossed the Vaal River, and were in the Free State, he therefore *at once proclaimed* “Martial Law” in the State, and constituted a Council of War, further the burghers were Commandeered from all the Districts to take the field *at once*; they responded with enthusiasm, and marched to the Vaal River to meet the wily enemy, no one seeming to fear P. and his rabble horde. The Bloemfontein “Town Contingent” (among whom the writer found himself as a faithful fire-eating Free State burgher) left the Town at noon, on the 30th April, 1857, under acting Field-Cornet C. T. Papenfus, with merry hearts, quite ready, like the legendary Knights “of the Round Table” of old, to measure their strength and avenge grievances with the “Vaalpensen,” for whom the ordinary “Free Stater” had in those days a profound contempt; the “Townsmen” were

even chivalrous enough to hope for orders to march into Potchefstroom, the then Capital of the Transvaal. One of his—P.’s—Transvaal opponents offered President Boshof from 800 to 1,000 men to co-operate against P.’s army, but that offer could not, for several State reasons, be made available.

The President left Bloemfontein for the front soon after the Bloemfontein “Contingent” had left, and was in good form, and anxious to meet the disturbers of his country, and so were the Burghers, and their Officers, the Raad Members, and the Officials.

Mr. Frederick Senekal was elected Commandant-General, and on the 13th May, 1857, the President issued “General Orders” for the guidance of the Commando, regulating the mode of marching, camping, and the general discipline, of the Free State forces; these “orders” consisted of “twenty sections.” The ‘War Council’ (Krygsraad) consisted of Commandants and Field Cornets, of not more than nine, and not less than three, officers; the State President, if present, or in his absence, the Landdrost, or Commandant-General, presiding; “death sentences” could only be pronounced by a “Krygsraad” consisting of not less than *twelve* members, and were to be confirmed by the President’s “fiat”; there were arrangements made for “patrolling” and “scouting” by day and by night, also for “night watches.”

Two other proclamations were likewise issued, on the 14th and 15th May, at Rhenoster River Camp, near the Vaal River, by the President and Executive Council, the first notifying to the inhabitants of the Transvaal that the “Free State Commandos” had taken the field, owing to the hostile threats of Mr. Pretorious, and other persons, professing to be in authority in the Transvaal, and for inciting Free State Burghers to rebellion, etc., and not with any intention of invading Transvaal territory, and appealing to the respectable burghers of the Transvaal not to give heed to evil counsel to shed brother blood, but rather to consult with, and take the advice of wise men, and by so doing arrange matters amicably and declaring the State’s readiness to

receive a “deputation” legally elected by the people, to confer together, excluding, however, from such deputation, all persons who had been the immediate cause of these hostile movements, etc. The Second Proclamation defined the powers of the “Krygsraad”—“War Council”—and notified that no “death sentence” could be pronounced by a “Krygsraad” composed of less than *twelve* members, nor unless *two-thirds* voted for such sentence, and further, that “death sentences” could not be carried out without first having obtained the State President’s “fiat”—also giving the “Krygsraad” power to refer any such cases to the Ordinary Criminal Courts of the Country “for trial.”

On the 11th day of May, 1857, there were assembled on the banks of the “Rhenoster River,” a few miles south of Vaal River, a Free State Commando of about 706 armed men and 163 Camp followers, white and black—making together 869 men, one 9-pounder gun mounted on the wheels of an ox-wagon, five Commandants, twenty-four Field-Cornets, fourteen Government officials, fifty-five wagons, and twelve carts; the writer acting for a short time in the capacity of “Public Prosecutor” of rebels.

A determined and reckless “desperado,” a partizan of Mr. Pretorious, who had become a notorious rebel—called Carel Geere, a farmer residing on a farm called Witte Klipfontein, District Cronstadt (Kroonstad); this man, who looked like an Italian or Turkish brigand, and acted like one too, had with several others, equally reckless characters—white and black—ensconced himself in a formidable stronghold on the Vaal River, from which he, for a short time, defied the entire Free State Army. Carl Geere and a man called Van der Kolf, had done all in their power to bring down the Basutos upon the Free State, *when the Commando was in the field*. With a view of drawing off this band of evil-doers who had openly joined Geere, the State President, as acting for the Krygsraad, issued a Proclamation on the 14th May, inviting those who had joined him (Geere) thro’ ignorance, or misrepresentation to lay down their arms within eight days, and return to their farms, when they would be leniently dealt with; but this Proclamation was not heeded.

Carel Geere failed in his many attempts to strengthen his “Fortress” by a “considerable” accession of Free State Rebels, and also by obtaining Basuto aid from the Basuto Chief Moshesh, as he had vainly hoped to do: and could, therefore, not render himself sufficiently secure to withstand the Commando. He was taken prisoner in a Kaffir Kraal in which he had taken refuge on his return from Moshesh and Molitsane, and conveyed to the Transvaal Camp with *five* of his confederates by a Free State Patrol of *thirty* men, and arrived there at 11 p.m. on the 24th May, and on the 28th May he appeared before the Krygsraad with his rebel companions, when his case was referred for trial to the “Court of Combined Landdrosts.”

On the 22nd May, the Transvaal Commando crossed the Vaal River with about 350 mounted men and three small canon, and encamped about five miles *within* Free State territory, at a distance of about *six* miles from the Free State Commandos. On hearing this, a body of the latter, numbering about 400 men, went out under the command of the Commandant, General F. Senekal, to intercept them, and prevent their further forward march into the State, when it was found that after crossing the Vaal, they had taken possession of some koppies, to strengthen their position, and to cut off all communication between the two States; on learning which the O. F. State Krygsraad sent a letter to their Commandant, under a flag of truce, desiring to be informed of their intentions, to which letter they sent an “open answer,” addressed to President Boshof, stating that as the “Free State Commando” had come to help the rebel Schoeman, the Transvaal Commando had entered Free State territory and would not leave it unless driven out by force of arms. On receiving this insolent reply, and after strengthening our position, by digging the necessary trenches, etc., preparatory to making an attack on the invading enemy, especially as they were advancing further into the State with the avowed intention of encamping on the banks of the Rhenoster River, about six miles from our Camp, which was lower down the river, our “Commandant-General” ordered out a Commando of be-



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tween seven and eight hundred armed and mounted men, with the *nine-pounder*, to meet the enemy, and if possible to prevent their encamping on the river. When we got to their Camp they had already formed a “laager,” and were drawn into line to meet us, with about 200 cavalry, and nearly the same number of footmen, and three small cannon, and we, perceiving their warlike attitude, likewise extended into line, facing them, at a distance of about 200 yards apart, impatiently awaiting the order to fire. We were now expecting a hot rifle *fusilade*, when, strange to say, after facing each other in this menacing manner for some minutes, a number of white flags were unexpectedly sent to our lines, by what we had been led to regard as our infuriated and determined foe, proposing a parley. This the Leaders granted, with some hesitation, preferring, as our people did, to drive the arrogant, but by no means heroic foe, back across the Vaal River, whence they had come; and after having kept us in this warlike array, still facing each other, for about three hours, in a burning sun, on an extensive and treeless level sand plain, overtures of peace were being pleadingly made, by our gallant (?) foe, and we were ordered to break up our fighting line and return to the Camp.

The Peace proposals ended in Mr. Pretorious, and his fire-eaters, undertaking to re-cross the Vaal River on the following day, 27th May—which they did. The Copy of the “Treaty of Peace” will show how this “fiasco” on the part of the Transvaalers ended.

The following “resume” will give a tolerably correct idea of what took place before the Signing of the Treaty of Peace:—Whilst we were still in “battle array,” on our Commandant-General forming his men into position for an advance, several men from the enemy’s ranks on seeing this, advanced towards us bearing white flags, but as they were carrying arms they were driven back by our men, with the cry, “Lay down your arms!” whereupon two of their number—Messrs. Uys and Grobbelar, in spite of all opposition, forced themselves amongst our men, the former crying out, “Why in the Name of the Most High God, will you shed innocent blood for the sake of a liar?” Many also amongst

the enemy were disarmed, others tied white flags to their ramrods, and reversed their arms. “Commandant-General” Senekal, after consulting President Boshof, decided that the “invaders” should be called upon *immediately* to lay down their arms, and at once evacuate “Free State Territory” on pain of being fired upon. The enemy was then completely at our mercy, and would have readily agreed to the most humiliating terms, but for the imprudent interference of a couple of “Free State Raadsleden” who were not true to the State, and were in our Camp condoling with them.

On the 24th May, President Boshof received letters from Messrs. Schoeman and Joubert, the bitter opponents of Mr. Pretorious, dated 10th May, stating that they would commence their onward march with their Commandos on the 22nd May, and would probably join the “Free State Commandos” in *ten* or *twelve* days time; the former with about 300 men, and the latter with about 130 men. Mr. P. had doubtless heard this, and he and his “braves” had become alarmed, and this was probably the cause of his hasty Peace Proposals.

On the 29th May, President Boshof, with the “Commandant-General” and these members of the Volksraad who were at the Camp, escorted by a body of 170 men, proceeded to Vaalriver Drift—“ford”—to resume the Peace negotiations, and on the 30th May a meeting took place between twelve deputies,—chosen on each side, twenty-four in all,—which “broke up” without coming to any definite arrangements, and on the 1st June, the negotiations which were commenced on an island in the River—a sort of neutral ground—were resumed on the Free State side of the River, the members finding that the noise and chilliness of the river were too uncomfortable and inconvenient. On the 2nd June the negotiations assumed a more definite form, an understanding or basis having been arrived at on all essential points which was committed to writing in the form of a Convention or Treaty, and signed by the members and both the Presidents. Mr. Boshof proceeded to the Camp, refusing to meet Mr. Pretorious on sundry grounds, the chief ground being, it was said, by reason of Carel Geere’s

recent mission to Moshesh to stir up the Basutos, he being urged thereto, as was then openly stated, by Mr. P. On the 3rd June the Free State Commando proceeded homewards and got that day as far as Rhenosterkop; on the 4th June the Commando reached Cronstadt, now called Kroonstad, where it was disbanded. The Bloemfontein Contingent, who had charge of the prisoners, Carel Geere and other Rebels, continued their march to Bloemfontein, which they reached on the 8th June, after sunset—the heroes of the hour—amidst the plaudits of their Town friends, to whom, alas! they could, but through no fault of their own, show no ghastly wounds, or deep scars, nor could they exhibit any “war trophies,” no—not even an empty bandolier—for theirs had been indeed a bloodless victory, which is doubtless the best of all victories.

The State President and his party returned to Bloemfontein on the 9th May, and was greeted with the inevitable “public address” and a salute of twenty-one guns from the Fort,—His Honour had zealously done his duty to the Country, and the people told him so.

The strife begun by our Transvaal neighbour in so ostentatious, dishonourable, and reckless a manner, had now ended in their discomforture, and on the 15th day of June, 1857, another Proclamation was issued by President Boshof, intimating that in consequence of the conclusion of a “Treaty of Peace” between the “South African Republic” and the “Orange Free State” the Commando had been disbanded, the burghers had returned to their homes, and the Courts of Justice were re-opened, but owing to the still unsettled state of the country “Martial Law” could not be wholly revoked, and would remain in operation until all matters connected with the recent disturbances shall have been brought to a final close, and that a “Krygsraad,” to consist of a Landdrost, and four members, being Commandants, Field-Cornets, or Justices of the Peace, shall continue to exist for the trial of all “Commando Cases,” charges of Rebellion, etc.

The following is the text of the “Treaty of Peace” referred to in the foregoing pages, which was concluded at

“FREE STATIA.”

the Vaal River, on the 1st June, 1857, between the Deputies of both States, consisting of the following members, to wit:—

DELEGATES OF THE O. F. STATE :—

Members of the Volksraad—J. J. Venter, H. J. Joubert, F. P. Schnehage, E. Bruwer.

Commandant-General—F. J. Senakal.

Commandant—M. van der Walt.

Commandant—C. van der Walt.

Acting Field-Cornet—L. Papenfus.

Acting Field-Cornet—Daniel Grobbelar.

Justice of the Peace—Cornelius du Plooy.

Secretary—L. van Foreest.

DELEGATES OF THE S. A. REPUBLIC :—

Commandant-General—T. F. Dreyer.

Commandant—S. P. Kruger.

Commandant—F. P. Pretorius.

Commandant—W. J. Viljoen.

Commandant—J. H. M. Struben.

Commandant—J. H. Nel.

Landdrost—D. W. Botha.

Chairman—J. H. Grobler.

J. van der Merwe.

D. A. Botha.

Secretary—H. S. Lombard, jr., S. H. Visagie.

Art. 1.—The Deputies of the “Orange Free State” acknowledge in the name of the Government of the said State, the “South African Republic,” to the north of the Vaal River, to be free and independent, and the rights of its inhabitants to establish such form of Government within the same as they may think proper.

Art. 2.—The Deputies of the “South African Republic”—in the name of the people and Government, acknowledge the “Orange Free State” within its own boundaries, as they existed under the administration of the “British Government,” as free and independent, and also the right of the inhabitants to establish such Government there as they may think proper.

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Art. 3.—The Deputies above mentioned, acknowledge the right of both States to make their own Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Political, and to carry them out within their own respective limits, in the same manner as is universally practised and recognised amongst all civilized and independent Countries.

Art. 4.—The Deputies of the “Orange Free State,” desire from the Deputies of the S. A. Republic before named, in the name of its Government, the “declaration” that the attempt made by their President, Mr. Pretorius, to ignore, render powerless, and annul, the existing authority of the Orange Free State, and to excite rebellion against the existing Government of the said State, on the part of its own lawful subjects, is an unlawful, and highly censurable deed, and promise that the same shall never again be permitted, or sanctioned on the side of the Republican Government; acknowledging the right of every people in the event of intermeddling to demand proper satisfaction, and in the case of refusal, to compel the transgressors thereto, by “force of arms.”

The Deputies of the Republic aforesaid, acknowledge that they can find nothing in the documents laid before them which gives them a claim to the lands of the Orange Free State, or the right to interfere in their Government, and that if they find that Criminatory documents laid before them cannot be refuted by sufficient proofs (which may possibly exist, but of which they are at this moment unaware) they are compelled to regard the conduct of their Government as blameworthy; they at the same time fully guarantee as previously acknowledged, that they neither can, nor will, make claims to the “Orange Free State,” and consequently that they will not suffer such claims to be made at any time.

Art. 5.—On the ratification of this “Treaty of Peace,” the Deputies promise, in the name of the Government of the “Orange Free State” to exert their influence with the Commandants, Messrs. Schoeman and Joubert, to lay down their weapons, which they have probably already taken up, against the South African Republic, and the

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Deputies of the Republic above-named, declare themselves, on their side, disposed to the conclusion of such terms with the said Messrs. Schoeman and Joubert, as shall be calculated to effect, and consolidate peace between them.

Art. 6.—The Deputies of *both* States promise to act with the greatest indulgence in the punishment of Seditious persons after a proper enquiry into their offences, before the Courts of both States; the Deputies of the “South African Republic” further promise to exert their influence with such inhabitants of the Free State as may already have taken up “arms” against their State, as to cause them to lay down their arms.

Art. 7.—The Deputies of the “Orange Free State” promise in the name of the Government of said State, to grant and extend within their State, the same rights and privileges to the burghers, and subjects of the Republic aforesaid, as are, or shall be, afforded to those of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and Natal, and no more; provided that such rights and privileges be also reciprocally granted, and extended, by the Republic of the “Orange Free State.”

Art. 8.—The Republics of both sides are agreed, that the President, or Chief Administrator, or head of each State shall not have the right to visit the State or Territory of the other, without previous notice being given.

Art. 9.—The property which has thus far been seized since the commencement of hostilities shall be delivered up.

Art. 10.—The foregoing Articles having been agreed to by the Deputies on both sides, Peace is hereby concluded and established between the South African Republic to the North of the Vaal River, and the Orange Free State.

Approved and ratified at Vaal River Camp by the Executive Council, on the 1st June, 1857.

M. W. PRETORIUS, *President.*

H. S. LOMBARD, *Member of the “Executive Council.”*

Approved and ratified at Vaal River Camp, “Orange Free State,” on 1st June, 1857.

J. N. BOSHOFF, *President.*

and CHAIRMAN, “*Executive Council.*”

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The above “ Treaty of Peace ” was duly ratified and confirmed, by the “ Legislators ” of both States.

Several of the leading Rebels were tried by the “ Circuit Courts ” in the Free State; *Carel Geere*, after a lengthy trial lasting five days, was sentenced to death at Winburg, on the 26th August, 1857; Isaac Pretorius, for “ High Treason,” got fourteen years’ hard labour; Johannus Jacobus Jacobs and Pieter J. J. Pienaar, each to ten years’ imprisonment with cost of suit.

Carel Geere addressed a letter to Mr. Pretorius on the 3rd September, 1857, after his condemnation, informing him thereof, and entreating his mediation to obtain a “ reprieve ” or “ pardon ” by Memorial, as he (Mr. P.) had got him into the trouble—his sentence was subsequently, on an appeal from the Transvaal, and on Memorials signed by about 500 persons, commuted by the “ Executive Council,” on 23rd September, 1857, to a money fine of £150.

The number of persons tried by the “ Krygsraad ” and sentenced to payment of money fines are as follows:—

In the District of Bloemfontein:—

Eight persons	at	£75	each.
Eight	„	£50	„
Twelve	„	£25	„
Thirteen	„	£15	„

In the District of Winburg:—

Three persons	at	£150	each.
One person	at	£100	
One	„	£75	
One	„	£50	
Three persons	at	£30	each.
One person	at	£25	
One	„	£20	
Two persons	at	£15	each.
Two	„	£7 10/-	each.
One person	at	£5	
One	„	£2 10/-	

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A few of the above fines were reduced by the “Executive Council.”

The cost of the Transvaal *raid* on the Free State Territory, without the least provocation, and which the Transvaal Authorities acknowledged as a flagrant act, and highly censurable on their part, was calculated at £1,157; and the aggregate Expenditure incurred by the Free State burghers amounted to about £21,119, which sum ought in justice to have been refunded by the Transvaal, but they shirked their obligations and did not pay a single penny. Thus ended the Transvaal invasion of the Free State.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

CONTENTS.

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A Marshal spirit was now being slowly created in the State, by the starting of Volunteer Corps, in support of the Government,—to serve as occasion might require.

In at least three Towns of the State—Bloemfontein, Smithfield, and Fauresmith—Corps were started. The regulations framed by these Corps were now—August, 1857—submitted by the State President, Mr. Boshof, for confirmation, to the Volksraad.

The Bloemfontein Corps, of which the writer was appointed an Officer, was known as the “Bloemfontein Rangers.” This Corps afterwards did excellent service during the long Basuto War, and its tattered banner, which had witnessed some lively, and a few victorious encounters with the enemy, is still to be seen in the National Museum at Bloemfontein; very few of the original members of this smart Corps are now living.

The writer is, however, much pleased to be able to mention the name here of a former member, viz., Mr. William Hanger, residing, as the writer has ascertained, in the Transvaal, who was an officer too.

The writer would here observe, as a memento to the good sense of President Boshof,—that fully realizing, as he did, the necessity of preparing the burghers, by some organized or Military training, for their own defence, in a country beset by black and coloured enemies, and having noticed the great want of order and discipline during the recent Commando; he laid before the Volksraad a scheme, whereby the burghers, without being subjected to regular Military service, and drill, of which they seemed to have a great dread, should be somewhat better practiced in the use of fire-arms, and Military tactics, and evolutions, than they were at present—“1857.” To attain this desirable object, he suggested to the Raad, that each Field-Cornetcy should be directed to make up lists of men who would be willing to assemble as “Volunteers” every three or four months, at some suitable place in his Ward, and go through sundry armed and Mounted Military exercises, and at least once a year, all the Field-Cornets should be called upon to muster with their Volunteers, either at the chief Town of their District, or at some other central place to be agreed upon, for target shooting, etc., and that as an encouragement,

prizes be awarded by the Government to those most expert in riding, and in the use of fire-arms, etc. By so doing he hoped to awaken a kind of Military patriotism.

On these lines, he, some time afterwards, prepared regulations, which gave rise to much unpleasantness between him and the members of the Raad, who could not see as he did.

On the 27th August, “ 1857,” an Ordinance defining “ Martial Law ” was passed by the Volksraad, and on the 29th September the “ Executive Council,” by virtue of this Ordinance, promulgated regulations for “ Councils of War,” a need much felt during the recent Transvaal “ imbroglio.”

Mr. Boshoff, a far-sighted man, and ever on the alert to watch over the interests of the State, displayed much ability, in the absence of “ legal enactments,” for his guidance in the recent Transvaal trouble, by hastily framing, with the advice and consent of the “ Executive Council,” such regulations as could be made “ momentarily ” available *in case of emergency*; and it was greatly due to his activity, and wise counsels, that the State was able so soon to disband its burghers, the Campaign having lasted little more than one month.

The Statement of the State’s “ Revenue ” and “ Expenditure ” for 1857, was published: and the former was put down at £17,085 and the latter at £18,795, — the deficiency being £1,710. The “ Revenue ” for the year 1856 was £15,135 18s. 9½d., and the “ Expenditure ” for the same year £15,327 14s. 11½d.; these small deficiencies were generally balanced later on, from the current Revenue.

The baneful effects of Mr. Pretorius’ attempt to cause disruption in the State were still “ strongly ” in evidence, in some parts of the country, and scurrilous untruthful attacks were continually being made upon the State President, the Officials, and the Government generally, by evil-minded Newspaper scribblers, and others, in the Transvaal, and elsewhere, which were being fomented by sundry persons of the baser sort, calling themselves “ Free Staters.” These attacks Mr. Boshof felt acutely at the time, and he deemed it expedient, in self-defence, to refer

them to the Volksraad, as representing “ voxpopuli,” which latter brought him into office by a large majority, in order to test, by that means, the real popular feeling towards him, when by far the greater majority of the Raad members spoke in high terms of praise of the President, and expressed the ardent wish for him to remain in the position he so ably filled, regarding—as they asserted—his retirement from office as a calamity for the State; besides condemning in unmeasured terms of disapproval all those who had made libellous and untruthful attacks upon a man, who was known to be strictly honourable, and right-minded; these assurances did much in reconciling the President to retain his position as Chief Magistrate, from which he was otherwise prepared to retire at once,—in any case with an honoured and honourable record.

The great need was being felt in the Town of a Municipality, and as a Municipal Law had, some time ago, been promulgated,—since Mr. Boshof had assumed office as President,—a meeting of Housholders was held, on 5th January, 1858, for the election of five gentlemen to frame “Municipal Regulations,” under Ordinance No. 8, 1856: these Regulations having been duly framed by the five gentlemen elected, viz. :—H. A. L. Hamelberg, Thomas White, Dr. C. J. G. Krause, George Home, and James Dick, and confirmed by the “Executive Council” on 3rd February.

The Volksraad met on the 1st February, 1858, and the State President read his speech, which was an interesting and instructive “State Paper,” as indeed, all his speeches had hitherto been. He laid upon the table of the House about twelve draft Ordinances to be dealt with by the Raad, all necessary Laws, such as, viz. :—

1st.—An Ordinance for defining the rights of Travellers.

2nd.—An Ordinance against wanton destruction of game.

3rd.—An Ordinance for framing regulations for Towns and Villages, not having Municipalities.

4th An Ordinance for Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.

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- 5th.—An Ordinance prohibiting the reckless burning of grass.
- 6th.—A Marriage Ordinance.
- 7th.—An Ordinance for regulating the payment of Transfer duty.
- 8th.—An Ordinance for regulating Sales by Public Auction.
- 9th.—An Ordinance for regulating the trade in Munitions of War.
- 10th.—An Ordinance for regulating the proceedings in Courts Martial.
- 11th.—An Ordinance for regulating the Administration of Estates—Testate and Intestate, etc., etc.
- 12th.—An Ordinance for regulating the Administration of Insolvent Estates.

The Raad members had before them, during this session, their own Standing Rules of Order,—brought up to the House by a Commission appointed thereto, which set forth in Clause 82, “that when the Raad deemed it necessary, they could, by ‘Resolution,’ require the State President to leave the Assembly, and continue absent therefrom; and that the Government Secretary could, in like manner, be desired to leave the Council Chamber”; these two Clauses, besides two or three others, which likewise trenched upon the President’s authority—though of minor importance—he took exception to, and justly regarded as an unwarrantable assumption of power, by the Raad and an infringement of his prerogatives, according to the Constitution, and a lowering of himself, and his Officials, in the eyes of the Public; indeed it was difficult to understand how any one, holding the position of President, and possessed of any self-respect, especially a gentleman of Mr. Boshof’s refined spirit, could passively brook such an insult; and the passing of a measure which added considerably to the difficulties of the Government. Under these circumstances he could not therefore allow these “Clauses” to pass unnoticed, but felt himself bound to protest against their being passed; the Volksraad wisely by a majority, listened to the President’s well-grounded remonstrances, and shelved the

objectionable Clauses ; it was asserted by those who advised the Volksraad to adopt the objectionable Clauses that there were similar provisions made in France and Holland, but this was no reason why they should be introduced into this State.

A numerous signed address was presented to Mr. Boshof, on the 6th February, 1858, by Bloemfontein residents,—these thinking that there was a possibility of his resigning, owing to this misunderstanding with the Raad,—if not amicably arranged, this address gave voice to the fullest confidence in the President, and appreciation of his wise administration, and vigorous exertions, in promoting the Public welfare, declaring that the State was mainly indebted to him for its flourishing condition since his arrival here, and respectfully requesting him to retain his important position ; it was generally known that there were in the Raad a few ignorant and narrow-minded men, who hated the President, simply because he was too far-sighted, and too progressive for them, and who objected to reforms of any kind.

Mr. Boshof replied to the address presented to him, that he felt flattered, and gratified by their assurances of so favourable an estimate of his labours, that the “Resolution” already taken, obviated the necessity of his *at once* resigning his Office, and again placed him in the position of assisting the Volksraad with advice, etc., to the best of his ability.

Matters seemed now likely to go on smoothly between the State President and the Volksraad, when the Public were again startled by the unexpected announcement, on the 25th February, 1858, that the President had on that day handed in his resignation, which he desired might take effect from the 15th day of the following month (March), whereupon the Volksraad passed a Resolution, expressing grief and surprise that His Honour should have been induced to take a step so unpalatable to them, and to the Country generally, and requested him to retain his Office, even though not for the full Official period of five years, at anyrate until a more opportune time than the present, when his tried experience and abilities were so urgently required ; a

copy of this Resolution was sent to the President, who replied that he had determined not to withdraw his resignation. The Volksraad thereupon elected an “Executive Commission,” consisting of three members, to administer the Government, viz. :—Messrs. G. du Toit, E. R. Snyman, and J. J. Hoffman,—until a new Election could take place. Meanwhile Mr. Boshoff’s resignation having become generally known, one or more Field-Cornets with their men, came into Town, and these presented Memorials to the Raad, which were supplemented by other Memorials from the Towns-people, etc., requesting the Raad, through a deputation, to interview the President, and induce him to withdraw his resignation; this the Raad declined to do, as they had already accepted it, leaving it to the Public to use their own personal influence with Mr. Boshof, which they did by waiting upon him in large numbers for that purpose, the result being that he gave his consent to their withdrawing the resignation. The Commission of “three” appointed by the Raad to take his place now resigned, and Mr. Boshof was again reinstated as President; two or three of the Raad members were “huffed” at these proceedings, and resigned their Seats.

There was now another great trouble “in store,” for the much harassed “State,”—the Basutos who had for some months been very restless and defiant, incited thereto by certain sinister influences from outside, now became openly hostile; about the middle of February, 1858, an “Express” reached Bloemfontein from the Landdrost of Smithfield, intimating that “Bushulie’s” people had taken forcible possession of several farms and homesteads within the State, and had destroyed buildings, etc., from which the lawful owners were obliged to retire; besides carrying off large numbers of live stock. Moshesh was *at once* appealed to by letter, from the State President, to which letter he promised to send a written reply, but which as usual with him, was slow in coming. The Frontier burghers, in the Smithfield district, meanwhile went into “Laager,” awaiting the course of events; the Volksraad being in Session, sat with closed doors, and a serious rupture with Moshesh, and his

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freecooter tribe, was momentarily expected. This was unfortunate for the young State, only four years old, and which had only recently extricated itself from the ‘Transvaal’ muddle.

The State President had a meeting with Nehemiah Moshesh, a son of the Chief Moshesh, beyond the Caledon River, on the 10th March, 1858. This meeting lasted several hours, and led to no definite results. It appeared from what was said by Nehemiah, that Moshesh did not acknowledge the boundary between the Free State and Basutoland, known as Major Warden’s line, and that certain farms, belonging to Burghers, were encroached upon; these farms the Basutos claimed as their property, though situated on the State side of the said line; this trumped-up claim not being acknowledged by the State President, as the boundary line had been fixed by the “British Government” long before the abandonment, and could not now be altered.

On the 11th March, 1858, the State President wrote from Klipplaatdrift, Caledon River District, to Moshesh, informing him that the meeting with Nehemiah led to nothing which could justify him in disbanding the armed burghers which were assembled for self-defence; that his brother “Bushulie,” and another Chief called “Lebenja,” had driven burghers off their farms, destroyed their houses, etc., and had done other damage, and that at a meeting between the Landdrost of Smithfield (Mr. J. Sauer) and Nehemiah Moshesh, recently held,—at the instance of the Government,—at which amicable terms were proposed, for arranging a settlement; those terms had been rejected, and instead of coming to an arrangement, he (Moshesh) put forward frivolous excuses for Bushulie, and even tried to justify his conduct, and brought unfounded charges,—upon *heresay statements*,—against some Free State Field-Cornets, etc., etc.; that he, the President, “though fully justified in at once issuing ‘orders’ to the burghers to seek redress by ‘force of arms,’ but being peaceably disposed, and anxious to avert the horrors of war, as long as there remained a single chance of avoiding it, gave him, M., another oppor-

tunity for proving, what he so often vain-gloriously professed to be,—‘a Man of Peace.’ ”

The President put the following written questions to Moshesh, to which *definite* answers, in writing, were requested by the 19th March, at Bloemfontein, as on that day the “Executive Council” would meet, viz. :—

1st.—Are you willing to compel or force Bushulie and Labenja to pay the damages caused by them, and their people, to the farms of the burghers according to a fair valuation,—within the period of One month?

2nd.—Will you promise to take *prompt* measures to prevent cattle stealing in our Territories, and to remove Bushulie and Labenja, far away from our boundaries?

3rd.—Will you engage, without any further delay, to pay up the arrears of compensation for horses stolen by Basutos, as already undertaken by you, and to cause compensation to be made, according to your agreement with me, for such thefts as can be shown to have been subsequently committed by your subjects?

4th.—Will you engage to respect the “boundary line” of our State, such as you agreed to do with Major Warden, and which was confirmed by Her Majesty, the Queen of England’s High Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith,—until such time as any alteration may be agreed to therein, between the Paramount Chief of the Basuto Nation, and the authorities of the Free State, whether by mutual consent, or by way of arbitration, as proposed to you by His Excellency, the Governor of the Cape Colony, to which this Government is inclined to accede, upon fair and reasonable terms, and prevent your people from entering our State armed, on any pretence whatever, on pain of being treated as Enemies, unless previous consent shall have been obtained from the Landdrost?

To these questions Moshesh replied “in writing,” on the 22nd April, “that among the many questions, which “at many times, were ever ready to disturb the peace between whites and blacks,—there is a great one which lies “at the bottom of all the other questions,—that is, the “‘boundary’ question; that question did not trouble us at

“ all in the first beginning of the arrival of the whites,
 “ because I received them in my country in a peaceful
 “ manner, and then they were much obliged to me for
 “ having let them pasture their flocks, but that question
 “ did afterwards,—when these people began to consider
 “ themselves the owners of the land,—only lent to them,—
 “ you may yourself be aware that since thirteen years ago,
 “ I issued a protest against these people, who then wanted
 “ to sell the places, which they were permitted to stay upon,
 “ but to-day you say that we must acknowledge the limits
 “ of Major Warden, imposed upon me ‘by force,’ although
 “ that very limit has been disclaimed as unjust by the High
 “ Commissioners ‘Hogge’ and ‘Owen’—by General Cath-
 “ cart,—and by Sir George Clerk.”

“ I am therefore very much astonished to hear from
 “ you again about a line which takes off so many Basutos
 “ from the very places where their fathers were living, and
 “ cuts off so many villages from my Dominion; but although
 “ divided with you upon that question, which has caused
 “ so many disturbances to trouble us, I desire not the force
 “ of weapons, and I accept with much gratitude the pro-
 “ position contained in your favour of the 11th instant, of
 “ settling the matter by way of ‘arbitration,’ and I should
 “ be happy if His Excellency, Sir George Grey, may accede
 “ to our desires.”

“ In consequence of that I shall write immediately to
 “ His Excellency, and whilst waiting for his answer, I hope
 “ that you will keep peace on the Frontier, and not allow
 “ your people to come armed, into my country; I should
 “ like very much to see them going back to their farms,
 “ with their families, for the ‘Laagers’ are producing
 “ much excitement among my people, and shall excite some
 “ of them to do mischief.”

“ You can believe me, if I say I am still the old
 “ Moshesh, who shall never begin to fight against a people
 “ with whom I like to keep peace, and a good understand-
 “ ing.”

Note.—The above is a verbatim copy of M.'s letter.

The President replied on the 22nd March :—“ I received a letter yesterday, ‘erroneously’ dated 22nd April, signed with a ‘cross’ and purporting to be from you, in answer to my letter of the 11th instant; in times and under circumstances like the present, and particularly on subjects of such grave importance, I think it absolutely necessary that your communications should be attested by your own Seal, as has been customary of late, and witnessed by the persons residing with you, and known to us, in order to prevent imposition, and to remove all doubt.”

“ Taking the letter before me to have really come from you, ‘as alleged,’ I lose no time in replying thereto; Nehemiah promised to forward my letter of the 11th to you immediately,—that was on *Thursday*, and it could have reached you on *Friday*, the 12th, if ordinary diligence had been used; that it did not reach you before *Tuesday*, the 16th, can only be ascribed to intentional delay, but still, if you had answered immediately, as you say you have done, the letter might easily have reached me by mid-day of the 19th.”

“ On the 19th the Executive Council met, and there being no answer from you, I have been advised to issue a ‘Proclamation,’ a copy of which I enclose to you herewith; had your present communication been straightforward, and to the point, and shown that you were indeed anxious to preserve peace, I might still have felt justified in taking measures of a similar tendency; it however clearly shows the contrary, for you have not even so much as alluded to the *three* first demands, which I made in my letter of the 11th, and your answer to the *fourth* is unsatisfactory, inasmuch as you have not stated whether you will respect the *line* which I have named, and desist from intermeddling in affairs which belong to this Government, and remove your people into your country, beyond that ‘line,’ until that question could be settled as proposed by you.”

“ Such being the case, you have put it out of my power to dismiss the burghers now assembled under arms, and

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“ to desire those families who have been driven from their
“ farms to return to them, and I feel it my duty to proceed
“ in taking such measures as I shall find unavoidable for
“ the defence of our just rights. Whatever the conse-
“ quences might be ; the blame will rest on yourself entirely,
“ as even,—on the dispute which you have raised as to the
“ line,—I have never been able clearly to ascertain from
“ yourself, to what extent you mean to claim the land,
“ whether it only refers to the District of Caledon River—
“ or to any others,—and if so, to what other parts of the
“ Free State, and also to what extent.”

“ Should I have to send any further communication
“ to you, or any of your inferior Chiefs, I shall do so by
“ letter, under a ‘flag of truce,’ by one or two unarmed men,
“ to one or other of the nearest posts within your Territory :
“ I shall instruct the Landdrosts, Commandants, and Field-
“ Cornets to observe the same rule, and expect that from
“ your side, you will do the same.”

“ Any further communication that you may wish to
“ make to me, please forward, addressed to the Landdrost
“ of Smithfield, to whom I shall give instructions to act on
“ my behalf, with the advice of the council of War.”

Here follows the Proclamation referred to in the
President’s letter :—

PROCLAMATION.

“ WHEREAS the inhabitants have for many years
“ past been exposed to great damage, and loss of cattle,
“ horses, and other property, through the various tribes of
“ Natives acknowledging the paramount authority of the
“ Chief Moshesh, without adequate compensation having
“ ever been made for any of the offences in question, or the
“ offenders having been punished, the consequences of which
“ having been that cattle stealing, and encroachments on
“ the Territory of this State, became so aggravated, that
“ towards the end of the year 1855, hostilities had already
“ begun to appear inevitable, and would unquestionably
“ have taken place had not the Chief Moshesh been induced,
“ by the mediation of the Governor of the Cape Colony, to

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“ enter into a compact with the President whereby he agreed
“ to respect the lands which were in possession of the
“ burghers of the State, and consented to his subjects being
“ removed from them, and whereby he engaged himself to
“ pay regard to the Law against ‘vagrancy,’ in force in this
“ State, and to cause his subjects to obey it, and undertook
“ to cause indemnification for stolen cattle, and horses, to
“ be made, from the period of the taking over of the State
“ from the British Government, and likewise engaged to
“ prevent robberies, and to punish future offenders.”

“ BUT WHEREAS, the Chief Moshesh, has in no respect
“ adhered to the compact in question; inasmuch as the
“ promised ‘compensation’ has been but partially paid, and
“ that with ‘refuse’ Kaffir cattle, and horses, while those
“ that have been stolen remain in possession of the Basutos,
“ and their Captains, whilst the ‘vagrant law’ is continually,
“ and in spite of all warnings, contravened in different parts
“ of the State, by the Basutos who scour the country with-
“ out ‘passes,’ in armed bands, of several hundreds, whether
“ to hunt game, which they destroy, and leave lying in
“ heaps,—or under other prettexts, declaring that they have
“ no need of passes, as being the rightful owners of the
“ soil.”

“ WHEREAS, cattle and horse stealing has been unin-
“ terruptedly continued on a greater or smaller scale,
“ insomuch that in the Winburg District *Horses and Cattle*,
“ to the extent of some hundreds, have been recently swept
“ off, and inasmuch as certain Captains, among whom were
“ Bushulie a brother of Moshesh, and Labenja, have from
“ time to time so persisted in harassing the inhabitants of
“ the Caledon River District by threats of a hostile character,
“ that the latter have been compelled to leave their dwell-
“ ings, and have lately gone to such lengths as to squat in
“ ‘armed bands,’ on inhabited farms, and after their owners
“ had quitted them, have laid waste and destroyed houses,
“ orchards, and gardens, so that at the beginning of last
“ February, the Frontier inhabitants were once more forced
“ to quit their farms, and to congregate in ‘Laagers.’ ”

“AND WHEREAS, the Chief Moshesh, has haughtily

“FREE STATIA.”

“refused to comply with two very equitable proposals made
“to him by the Landdrost of Smithfield, viz. :—

“1st.—That compensation should be made for the
“desolated farms, according to a fair
“valuation ; and

“2nd.—That the Basutos be driven from the farms,
“of which they have lately unjustly
“taken possession.”

“His Honour, the President, has accordingly resolved,
“after consultation with the members of the Volksraad,
“Field-Commandants, and Field-Cornets, assembled at the
“Camp between the Orange, and Caledon Rivers, on the
“3rd and 11th of this current month, to desire of the Chief
“Moshesh’s distinct, and unequivocal, answers to the fol-
“lowing questions on which shall hinge the issue of ‘Peace’
“or ‘War,’ viz. :—

“1st.—Are you willing to force and oblige *Bushulie*,
“and *Labenja*, to pay over, according to an equitable
“valuation, within the space of one month, the amount of
“damage done by them, or their people, to the farms of our
“burghers as before mentioned?”

“2nd.—Will you promise to adopt prompt measures,
“to put a stop to cattle stealing in our Territory, and that
“you will remove ‘*Bushulie*’ and ‘*Labenja*’ to a consider-
“able distance from our limits?”

“3rd.—Will you undertake, without further delay, to
“pay out the arrear compensation, for Horses stolen by
“Basutos, as you have already engaged to do ; and in con-
“formity with your compact with me, to give indemnifica-
“tion for such thefts as shall be proved to have been
“subsequently committed by your subjects?”

“4th.—Will you engage to respect the boundaries of
“our State according to your agreement with Major Warden
“and the ratification thereof with Her Majesty’s High
“Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith,—till such time as it
“shall have been agreed between the Chief of the Basuto
“Nation, and the Government of the Free State, to make
“any alteration therein, whether by mutual consent, or by
“means of arbitration, as was proposed by yourself to His

“ FREE STATIA.”

“ Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony, to which
“ the Government will consent, on reasonable terms; and
“ to remove your people from our State and prevent them
“ from entering it armed under any pretence whatever,—
“ on pain of being treated as enemies,—unless they shall
“ have obtained the Landdrost’s previous consent thereto?”

“ To which queries Moshesh was requested to send a
“ ‘Written’ answer, on or before ‘Friday morning,’ the 19th
“ instant (this day).”

“ AND WHEREAS, no answer has been sent and it thus
“ clearly appears that Moshesh is disinclined towards peace,
“ and there are moreover the clearest indications that
“ Moshesh excuses, and justifies, the proceedings of
“ ‘*Bushulie*,’ and other Captains, and claims as his own
“ Territory: a large inhabited, cultivated, and improved
“ portion of this State, and considers the burghers who
“ reside therein as his subjects.”

“ WHEREFORE, His Honour, the President, in consider-
“ ation of the facts and reasons above recited, with the
“ advice and consent of the Executive Council, and by
“ virtue of the authority conceded to him by the Hon.
“ Volksraad, at its last session, declares that no other course
“ is now open for the State than to assert its rights, against
“ the guilty Basuto tribes, *by force of arms, to consider and*
“ *treat them as enemies*, until they have rendered full satis-
“ faction for all the insults and injuries to the authorities,
“ burghers, and inhabitants of this State; and the inhabit-
“ ants and burghers are hereby called upon to do their duty,
“ under these painful circumstances, in defence of their
“ rights, and for the preservation of the country, and its
“ people, in the firm reliance that the Almighty will crown
“ their efforts, with an honourable, and permanent peace.”

“ Done and proclaimed, at Bloemfontein, in the Orange
“ Free State, on this 19th day of March, 1858.”

The above proclamation was publicly read at the
different burgher “ Camps,” and the burghers appeared
ready and willing to take the field against the Enemy; Mr.
H. Weber being elected Commandant-General of the forces.

“ FREE STATIA.”

A comando left Smithfield, under the Landdrost, at 4 a.m., on the 29th March, 1858, for “Beersheba,” *alias* “Zevenfontein,”—a French Mission Station, owing allegiance to Moshesh,—to disarm the hostile Natives there. This Commando was joined by the Bloemfontein Contingent, under their Field-Cornet, Mr. W. D. Savage, and Field-Cornet N. Muller’s men from the Bloemfontein District. On their arrival there a demand was made to surrender; to this demand, a petty Captain, called Mooi,—a Baralong, of Morrokka’s tribe,—alone complied, all the other Natives refusing to do so; and it was reported that the first shot—“in anger”—came from the Beersheba Natives. The burghers thereupon commenced firing too; about thirty natives were killed there, and twenty more by some burghers who were “lying in ambush” on the Caledon River. Two burghers only were slightly wounded, and two horses killed. Four thousand head of cattle, four hundred horses, and four thousand sheep, were reported to have been captured; the burghers were particularly enjoined not in any way to interfere with the Missionaries, or their belongings. On the same day, the 29th March, an engagement took place at a “stronghold,” called Vechtkop, where *seventeen* Basutos were said to have been killed, amongst whom was “Makwaai,” a brother of Moshesh; there were here about *One hundred and fifty burghers* against *Six hundred of the Enemy*; on the same day Bushulie’s Town was captured and destroyed.

This was practically the commencement of the “Basuto War” of “1858.”

Reports were received from the Winburg District that, on the 25th March, One hundred and fifty burghers had a hot engagement with two Basuto Commandoes,—one being “*Paulus Moplie’s*,” and the other “*Moletzanie’s*,” all well armed, and mounted, and numbering between *Eight and Nine* hundred; when the Kaffirs were repulsed, and retreated to the mountains, and being pursued, lost *thirty or forty* of their number, thirty horses, and sundry guns, etc. One burgher was reported as killed, and another slightly wounded.

Another attack was made on the 2nd April, on “*Paulus Mopelie*,” and “*Moletzanie*,” at their stronghold, “*Vier-roet*”—the scene of the disaster of 1852, when the Enemy was totally routed,—a great many were killed, and a large number of cattle and horses captured.

On the 3rd April another “Commando” left the “Camp,” in pursuit of the Enemy, and after arriving in the vicinity of a rugged place known as “*Hell*,” (an appropriate name for a deep, dank, and gloomy valley, surrounded by high mountains, and made slushy, and porous, by sundry small springs of water), and after capturing a few cattle, the order was given to form “laager,” and whilst doing so a “Kaffir Commando,” numbering about three hundred, was seen coming towards them; a Field-Cornet, named Pienaar, gave orders to remount, and *thirty* men under him (Pienaar) engaged the Enemy, when they came in contact with another “Basuto” Commando; this second Commando charged the Burghers, after the latter had emptied their guns, which caused the 30 burghers to “fall back”—retire—but they had not proceeded further than six hundred yards, when the Enemy overtook, overpowered, and slaughtered *fifteen* out of the *thirty* burghers, besides wounding another severely, and three others slightly. Just after this untoward occurrence, the burghers gained an accession to their numbers, and then charged and dispersed the Enemy, who again rallied, and again charged the burghers, but were driven back “helter-skelter” with the loss of *Sixty-one* killed, among whom was a white man, who it was said had been fighting on their side; Six hundred and twenty head of cattle, twenty-seven horses, and Eight hundred and seventy-four sheep and goats, were captured here.

It was computed that on the 15th day of April, 1858, there were under arms in the field, against the Basutos, fifteen hundred armed and mounted men (Free Staters) with one gun, and the strength of the Enemy was estimated at, at least ten thousand; the burghers had marched into the Enemy’s country; the latter could bring all their men into the field; whereas the “State” had to keep a large number of their men in reserve to watch their extensive

borders, and keep open their lines of communication; the Enemy were nearly all armed and mounted.

A letter was received by President Boshof from the Governor, Sir George Grey, dated at Cape Town, the 30th March, 1858, acknowledging receipt of the former's letter of the 16th March, in which the President informed the Governor of the outbreak of hostilities, which had become inevitable, and desiring the Governor not to prevent “Colonial Volunteers” from coming to the assistance of their Free State friends, and relatives,—*if they felt inclined to do so*; in reply to this request the Governor sent the President a copy of the “Proclamation of Neutrality,” which he had issued, and to which he felt it his duty to adhere. No one could wonder at this decision on the part of the Governor, for the British Government was at peace with Moshesh, and his people, and could not “break faith” with them.

A report was received from the “Burgher Camp” at Cathcart's - drift, Caledon River, from Commandants Senekal and Pretorius, dated 14th April, 1858,—that on the afternoon of that day they marched with *three hundred* men to meet a large body of the Enemy, and after fighting about an hour and a-half, they were surrounded by thousands of the Enemy, who stormed them on every side, and they had to retire “in order” to the “Camp.” When they got to the “Camp” they were again fiercely attacked by about from *Six to Eight* thousand Basutos; the fight lasted for four hours, many of the Enemy were killed; during the fight on the 14th April, two burghers were killed and thirteen wounded,—of the wounded two died later.

Commandant Frederick Senekal was on the 28th April, 1858, elected “Commanadant General” of the State “forces,” in place of Mr. H. Weber, who had to retire, owing to ill health; Mr. Senekal proved a suitable man for the important position, and besides he was popular with the burghers.

On the 30th April, the Commandant General, supported by the “Bloemfontein Contingent,” took possession of Letsea's Town, “Moreja,” with about 1,000 men; here

the Enemy tried to surround the Commando, and kept up many “watch fires” on the high mountains all night long; and here were about “four thousand” Basutos led by Letsea, the eldest son of Moshesh, “in person”; the Basutos’ loss was estimated at one hundred killed and two hundred wounded.

Some of the burghers found on a mountain, in, or near, the scene of action at Morija, “partially decomposed,” the remains of two white men apparently, showing signs of brutal torture, inflicted on the unfortunate victims before death; portions of their skins being found “cut up” into narrow strips of an inch wide, their “scalps” were hacked into small round fragments, the skin was torn off one man’s face, and the hands were severed from the bodies. These men had evidently been captured alive, and mutilated before death. A further search resulted in the finding of other human remains, in a sack; a headless body was likewise found hanging to a tree; all these remains were those of white men, who had probably been taken alive at the “Hell,” and barbarously mutilated,—these remains were interred at the ‘Camp.’

The Enemy now appeared to be getting disheartened, and it was expected that they would soon propose terms of peace; the burghers were planning an advance on Moshesh’s “stronghold,” Thaba Bosiga, from which the “Commando” was on 7th May, distant only about fifteen hundred yards, but as they—the Enemy—seemed to have massed at this point in great numbers, apparently *at least* four thousand strong, were well armed, and occupying formidable positions, and would probably make a determined stand, the “Commandant General” considered that it would be highly indiscreet on his part, to “rush” an attack on Moshesh’s formidable, and almost impregnable, stronghold, “Thaba Bosigo,” without reinforcements and a fresh supply of ammunition, which were both daily expected; meanwhile he decided, after a little reconnoitring in search of pasturage—owing to the scarcity of grass for his horses and cattle, where he was then encamped,—to shift his Camp to the Caledon River, and wait there until the expected reinforcements and supplies should reach him, intending *immediately*

on their arrival to resume operations. On reaching the river two or more of the Commandants, with their Field-Cornets, and their “Krygsraad,”—connected with the Smithfield, Fauresmith, Philippolis, and part of the Bloemfontein Districts,—suddenly announced their intention of returning home, with their men,—promising to take the field again when required by the Government to do so. This was an illegal, and wholly unpardonable act on the part of these Commandants and Field-Cornets (except perhaps in a “minor degree,”—for those belonging to the Smithfield district, whose borders were in continual danger of being invaded—“raided”—by the Enemy during their absence on Commando); a pretext which the others could not plead.

When the intention of these “runaway” Commandants and Field-Cornets became known to the “Commandant General” he, together with the Commandants and Field-Cornets of other Districts, and their burghers (i.e., the greater portion of the Bloemfontein District, including the Town of Bloemfontein) vehemently and angrily protested against the runaway Commandants, Field-Cornets, and their men, deserting their “posts,” and laid before them, in the plainest terms, the great danger to the country of breaking up the Commando,—without having first thoroughly finished the important work they had undertaken, especially as they had made so good a beginning,—but nothing could dissuade them from their “criminal intention,” of deserting their “post,”—and alas! they did so.

The Commando was, owing to the desertion of so many men, too much reduced in strength, for those who were true and faithful to their country to remain in “Laager,” and these had consequently to “break up” too; this “breaking up” of the Commando was a fatal step for the State, and fraught with great danger as the “sequel” will show.

A “Government Notice” appeared in print, on the 11th day of May, 1858, from the State President, which read:—“That whereas a majority of the Officers of the “‘Krygsraad,’ at the Camp before Thata Bosigo had de-

“cided, that time should be given to the Burghers to rest
 “from their operations in the field, and to prepare for a
 “great ‘campaign,’ should it be required, also to provide
 “themselves with what is indispensable thereto, and
 “deeming that the object of the Expedition has been
 “partly attained by the punishment of the Basuto Chiefs
 “*Bushulie and Letsea*, for their past offences against this
 “State, it has been determined to stop offensive operations,
 “at least, for so long as no new occasion shall arise for
 “again assembling an ‘armed force,’ and that for these
 “reasons, the Commando has been disbanded.” As will
 be seen from this Notice, the President tried to put some
 “colour” on this “inglorious” proceeding,—indeed, it was
 not discreet at this “critical juncture,” to do anything else,
 —though in reality, and at heart, His Honour, the Volks-
 raad, and all well-wishers of the State, were much shocked,
 alarmed, and disgusted at this abrupt “break up” of the
 “Commando,” which forboded a huge crop of evil results;
 it was generally felt that a little more patience and patriot-
 ism on the part of the burghers would have drawn from the
 arrogant dusky Enemy, who had been hard pressed,—
 urgent proposals for Peace.

The President sent a letter to Moshesh, dated 12th
 May, worded as follows:—“We have now been nearly two
 “months at War, and much blood has been shed, and
 “injury inflicted on both sides; as a man, and a Christian,
 “I would wish to see an end to ruin, and the destruction
 “of life. Mr. Pretorius, the President of the South African
 “Republic, has offered his services to bring about a cess-
 “ation of hostilities, and my burghers have consented to
 “retire into the State for a while. I have therefore
 “thought proper to write you this letter, requesting to be
 “informed whether you are willing to receive Mr. Pretorius,
 “or a Deputation to be sent by me, who will be instructed
 “to propose certain terms to you, and if you are willing
 “to do so, whether you will give instructions to your people
 “to let them pass unmolested and safe.”

Moshesh replied to this letter on 16th May, as follows :
 —“Good Friend,—I, Moshesh, do greet you, Boshof,—

“ my Chief and Master ; your messenger came in last night,
 “ with a letter from you, in which you have begun to speak
 “ of ‘Peace,’—I am sorry that you ever did speak of War,—
 “ it is not Moshesh who began War ; and I must add,
 “ that I have not fought any battle as yet. At the com-
 “ mencement of the past sad affairs, I thought that the
 “ whole of the War was intended against *Bushulie*, and
 “ you well know that you found him alone in his Town,
 “ without any other Chiefs to help him, but when you
 “ attacked the innocent and harmless ‘Zevenfontein’—
 “ meaning ‘Beersheba’—I was surprised, and also grieved,
 “ beyond all comprehension ; I then gave orders to all my
 “ Captains to fall back upon ‘Thaba Bosigo,’ and it is due
 “ to your warriors to acknowledge that since the day war
 “ was declared, they never fell in with Moloppo Paulus
 “ Mopeli, Moletsane, or any other Captain, till you met
 “ them on the banks of the Caledon River, they only found
 “ on their way the people of one isolated village, and also
 “ a few old men, and sick people ; this much I can safely
 “ assert, about the Eastern Commando : I had given similar
 “ orders to those who were fighting in the West, and you
 “ know that even at Zevenfontein, you only found a few
 “ men who never meant to go to War ; all the fighting men
 “ had already left their doomed Town ; did Morose, who
 “ lives on the banks of the Orange River, molest you in
 “ any way ? I left *Bushulie* alone, where he was, because
 “ you said he was a robber ; Letsea had orders to fall back
 “ also, and if he attacked you at the place called ‘Hell,’
 “ he disobeyed orders, and at last I strongly enjoined on
 “ my people, without excepting the smallest Captains, not
 “ to disturb you on your march, till you would outspan in
 “ view of my Mountain ; before I began to strike, I wanted
 “ to ascertain what was the true intention and power of
 “ the boers ; whilst they were forming their ‘laager’ at
 “ ‘Thaba Bosigo’ I said within myself : I am a dog, and
 “ if my master Boshof beats me, I shall bite him ; however,
 “ for reasons unknown to me, your Commando would not
 “ come to a fight, and after a short visit, the ‘laager’ broke
 “ up, and made for Bloemfontein.”

“ Tell Mr. Pretorius, if you please, that I am always
 “ his friend, but that his mediation has for its object to
 “ part two adversaries, who are fighting against each other ;
 “ tell him that I did not yet fight you, but that you alone
 “ were fighting ; I did not mean to resist, till you would
 “ attack me at ‘Thaba Bosigo,’ and what evidently shows
 “ that I never did act on the offensive is the fact of my not
 “ having fallen on the ‘laager’ when it was ‘disbanded,’
 “ and trekking away from ‘Thaba Bosigo’ ; we must both
 “ thank Pretorius for his good wishes, but I must tell you
 “ that I have got confidence enough in your own Govern-
 “ ment, without requiring the mediation of Foreign
 “ Powers ; I will receive your deputation.

“ Oh ! my good Chief Boshof,—call in the Captains of
 “ your late Commando, and rebuke them much, for they
 “ have done you much harm in their march through my
 “ country ; you style yourself a Christian in your last letter
 “ to me : I know long since that you are a Christian, but
 “ the Captains of your warriors are not, for, if you persisted
 “ saying that they also are Christians, we would immedi-
 “ ately conclude that there is no God ; what then does
 “ Christianity consist of ? In destroying Christianity ?
 “ Have not your warriors destroyed the splendid station
 “ at Zevenfontein ; did they not also burn the Missionaries’
 “ house at Moreja ? Did they not take the whole of the
 “ Rev. Mr. Arbousset’s furniture, along with a new waggon
 “ of his ? Aye, and you stripped as well Mr. Maeder, the
 “ assistant Missionary, at Morija, and dreadfully damaged
 “ the large Church which had been erected at great expense,
 “ on that very station ; when you came to Thaba Bosigo
 “ you fired more than ten cannon shots at the Mission pre-
 “ mises, but the Lord did not allow you to touch them.
 “ No, my good Chief, the Captains of your Commando are
 “ no Christians, for I shall never believe that Christianity
 “ consists in carrying away women and children into cap-
 “ tivity, or shooting down old or sick people ; and all this
 “ has been done by your children. I repeat to you again,
 “ you ought to rebuke them publicly, and even chastise
 “ them, because they have made so little of your Honour.

“ who is their father. When I was at war with Sinkonyella
 “ I gave orders to my people not to destroy that Chief’s
 “ church, and they did not touch it; and at the time the
 “ Bastaards joined Major Warden, who was marching
 “ against me, I sent one of the principal men of the tribe
 “ to protect the church of the rebellious Bastaards at Plat-
 “ berg, and consequently no damage was inflicted on those
 “ two houses of Worship. What shall the world say when
 “ it hears that the children of a Christian Chief have de-
 “ stroyed and ruined churches; whereas the children of a
 “ heathen Chief were afraid to meddle with the ‘House of
 “ God.’

“ Your warriors deserve another great reprimand. Of
 “ course I must believe what you tell me, namely, that the
 “ burghers have consented to retire to the ‘Free State’ for
 “ a while, on account of Pretorius’ mediation; the very
 “ fact of their retiring home with such motives was, or at
 “ least ought to have been, a commencement of Peace;
 “ why then did they burn deserted villages on the road,
 “ and also the grass of the fields? And unless a plausible
 “ explanation is given of such conduct, how could we ever
 “ believe that the Peace of the Boers is, or ever will be,
 “ sincere?

“ My policy in this War was to see first, and consider;
 “ the Boers have been unanimous in saying that the present
 “ War was to last till one of the two Nations was rooted
 “ out of the face of the Earth, and because I do not wish
 “ to do anything that would be blamed by the British
 “ Government, I allow the Boers to try the intended ex-
 “ termination by all means they like to choose. Could
 “ the English ever blame me, who am yet a barbarian and
 “ a heathen, for following the example of a civilised and
 “ Christian Nation? And now if my heart could allow me
 “ to copy your children, I would be justified in carrying
 “ women and children into captivity, in killing old and sick
 “ people, and in sending to Eternity all the blind people
 “ that I could find in the Free State; I would also be
 “ justified in burning all the farms where yourself and your
 “ Captains reside; but this, if I did it, would be too great



ADVOCATE H. A. L. HAMELBERG.

“ a calamity, and there are great merchants in Bloemfontein, Fauresmith, Smithfield, and Winburg,—but who could find fault with me, even if I did all that? It is the custom in our country that when the people of a Town go to a dance in another Town, the compliment is returned by the people of the visited Town to go to the Town of the visitors; and agreeably to this usage, we were going to invade the Free State, in every direction, and to burn everything before us, but the Lord has inspired that it was good to prevent us from rendering evil for evil. As the winter is drawing near, I wish that your deputation would soon come, because in case we could not agree, we must go on with the War; for the sooner we fight, the better for all parties, in order that after the great battle is over, we may all retire into some ‘Winter quarters.’ ”

“ We have got several reasons for wishing a fight :— first we have never acted on the offensive; second, you have destroyed our corn in several Districts of the Lesuto, and because the people of those Districts shall be hungry during the Winter, we would like to look for some food in the ‘Free State’; thirdly, the reports of your Commanders, and Correspondents, which are published in the ‘Friend,’ are wonderful ‘inventions,’ and therefore are utterly false; however, some burghers of the Free State might take them to be faithful and trustworthy statements, and taking for granted that we have been greatly and easily defeated, they might in the succeeding years be inclined to incite wars against us, perhaps for many specious reasons. Moreover these statements have hurt the feelings of our warriors, whom I had great trouble to keep within bounds, during the present struggle; the English know that we are no cowards, and would like the Boers to learn that we know how to fight for our rights; now you say we are great cowards; although I wish for Peace, it might perhaps be better that we should fight, once or twice, on *both sides*, in order to get better acquainted with each other, and then

“perhaps Peace would be a little more sincere on the part
“of the Boers.”

“However my name is ‘Moshesh,’ and my sister is
“called ‘Peace.’ I never liked war in my youth,—how can
“I like it now I am old? But I lament your having so
“loudly spoken before the War began, of all the great
“calamities you were going to inflict upon our Nation, and
“what I regret more is that your conduct has clearly shown
“the true existence of these wicked ‘intentions.’ I have
“already advised several of my Captains of what is going
“on, and my wish that we should both pray to God that
“an ‘amicable settlement’ may be the result of our present
“correspondence. I will send one of my sons to meet
“your deputation at Thaba ‘Nchu, and I have given in-
“structions in order that they may not be molested or
“insulted on the road; such are, my good friend and
“Chief, the true words of

“Your true and humble servant,

“MOSHESH.”

President Boshof replied on the 18th May, as follows :

“Good Friend,—I have received your letter of the
“16th instant, in reply to mine of the 12th, and have now
“to inform you that I will send two gentlemen as a Depu-
“tation from here on Monday next, the 24th instant, and
“that they will expect, according to your promise, to meet
“your son at ‘Thaba ‘Nchu,’ to accompany them to
“‘Thaba Bosigo,’ in order to secure to them a ‘safe conduct,
“there and back again.”

“Your letter contains a great many subjects, which it
“is impossible for me now to answer or explain; there are
“several charges, quite foreign to me, and which require
“to be enquired into; this I do not think, for the present,
“practicable, nor do I see that a ‘full reply’ to your letter
“would lead to any good results.”

“As you express yourself willing to listen to ‘proposals
“of peace,’ I will give orders to all the authorities of the
“Free State to abstain from any offensive act against your
“people, in the sure expectation that you will do the same

“on your side; for should this not be strictly observed, the object which we have in contemplation may be frustrated.”

“I have this day received a letter from President Pretorius, acquainting me of his arrival with a Commando at Cronstadt (Kroonstad), and that he was proceeding to Winburg.”

“I have written to him that I shall meet him there, and will then acquaint him with the measure so far already entered into between us,—with a view of putting a stop to any further offensive operations, until the result of the proposed settlement of existing hostilities shall be known.”

“By the last post I received a letter from His Excellency, the Governor of the Cape Colony, kindly tendering his mediation in our differences; I shall instruct the deputation to be sent from here, what to do; should you be inclined to accept the tender of the Governor; His Excellency having informed me that he had also written to you to that effect.”

The deputation, referred to in the above communication, consisted of two gentlemen,—Messrs. William George Every and Lodewyk Jacobus Papenfus, who were furnished with “written instructions,” and they left Bloemfontein, for “Thaba Bosigo,” via Thaba 'Nchu, on the 24th day of May, 1858, where by appointment they were to meet a son of Moshesh, by whom they were to be escorted to “Thaba Bosigo.”

To outsiders and strangers, who did not know the mysterious ways of the wily “Moshesh,” the great Chief of the Basuto nation, the thought might occur on reading his long-winded and semi-pious effusion, addressed to President Boshof, that all the right was on his side and all the wrong was on the side of the “State,” and the burghers; that he and his tribe were being made the “innocent” and “passive” victims of an unscrupulous and blood-thirsty “raid” upon his country, and people,—got up by a “filibustering” Enemy, with the special design of dispossessing him of his country; that he had as

yet not fought; that the Burghers were guilty of kidnapping his women and children, of burning down churches, and of other heinous offences. But these charges were for the most part trumped up and false. Moshesh's letters, as a rule, belied his actions, and although he “personally” did not appear in the battle field, his Captains and people “showed up” in great numbers, at Cathcart's Drift, Morija, and other places, and did their level best to overwhelm the small “burgher army”; as to the kidnapping of women and children, and the burning down of churches, these charges were pure “inventions” and untrue, and could not be sustained. A church had, it is true, been damaged (partially burnt), and some other damage was unfortunately done to some “French Mission property,” at Morija, this was however not intentional, but probably unavoidable, amidst the horrors and accidents of War. At Morija a little more damage may have possibly been done, than at other places, as some of the burghers had become excited, and somewhat turbulent, and unmanageable, on finding the mutilated remains of their slaughtered comrades; and excitement was intensified too by the rumour that the Rev. Mr. Arbousset,—one of the French Missionaries,—had been seen amongst the “belligerents,” though this was subsequently contradicted. The State Government had all along, during the progress of hostilities, issued “*strict orders*” to the leaders of the Commandos, to respect Missionaries, their families, and churches, and Mission property.

Moshesh's tactics were still, as they had always been during British occupancy, plausible, and in the highest degree illusory,—he was ever living in a “fool's paradise,” and it was his good fortune always to have at his beck and call some very subserviant creature to act the part of, if not the correct and truthful “letter writer,” at any rate, the obsequious and specious “letter writer.”

The causes of the war with the Basuto Nation were, as will be clearly shown on referring to the State President's “letter” to Moshesh, and his “Proclamation,”—owing to the uninterrupted thefts, for a long period, by the Basutos, the

invasion of the State “in times of peace,” by large numbers of armed and mounted Basutos, in violation of the “pass” and “vagrant” laws of 1855, to which Moshesh was a party under the pretext of hunting game, and then the killing and maiming of game in large numbers, on private farms, and leaving their carcasses to rot on the open veld; the forcible ejection of lawful owners off their own cultivated farms, the destruction of their farms with their houses, orchards, and gardens, for which compensation was refused by the Basutos, and the non-fulfilment of the many and oft-repeated promises to compensate for the stolen stock. For those, and other reasons, not here specified, war had become unavoidable, and could no longer be staved off.

Nehemiah Moshesh, a son of Moshesh, was, it was thought, the only member of the Moshesh household who tried in some measure to check thieving, but he was continually thwarted in these his laudable efforts, to preserve peace, by the other Basuto Chiefs, and their people.

As regards the “boundary line” said to have been in dispute, i.e., Major Warden’s line, this was a mere subterfuge, and could afford no real cause for contention since that line had been fully recognized by Moshesh, as will be seen on referring to a letter written by him to Major Warden, the British Resident, dated 1st October, 1849, and confirmed by the High Commissioner on the 18th December, 1849.

President Boshof had a meeting with Mr. W. M. Pretorius, the Transvaal President, at Winburg, as arranged, on the 24th day of May, 1858, who had arrived there with his Commandant, Mr. S. Paul Kruger (the veritable, present day, Mr. Paul Kruger, President of the South African Republic), when a discussion took place between these gentlemen, in reference to the assistance to be rendered by the “Transvaal” to the “Free State,” in the event of resumption of hostilities with the Basutos,—which the former had led the latter to believe would be given.

It was remarked on the side of the Transvaal President that “volunteer assistance” could only be rendered on their

part, as none of their people could be *compelled* to help the Free State, and that under these circumstances a *Union* of the States seemed desirable.

This was another artful “dodge” for again attempting to bring about the long wished for “amalgamation” of the two States, to which President Boshof, who soon probed the trick, replied that the only course of procedure in the matter of the wished for “amalgamation” was by memorial to the Volksraad. In this new attempt at “Vereeniging” by a “side wind,” becoming known in the State generally, —especially in the Towns,—it was violently opposed as heretofore, by all the most intelligent burghers, and the chief authors of the movement slunk away crestfallen. On this ever-recurrent, and to most persons very repellent clamour, reaching the ears of the British High Commissioner, Sir George Grey, he wrote to the State President under date 3rd June, intimating that the Union of the two States would nullify the existing two “Conventions” of 16th January, 1852 (Transvaal), and 23rd February, 1854 (Free State), concluded with the British Government. This intimation caused the Volksraad to pause, and they resolved to appoint two Commissioners, one for each State, to enquire from the High Commissioner whether in the event of a Union of the two Republics the British Government would be willing to enter into another Convention with the United States.

Even before the High Commissioner’s visit to mediate in the quarrel between the Orange Free State and the Basuto people, a feeling had arisen, was fast widening, and had found much favour with the more enlightened members of the “States Household,” that a well devised “System of Federation” between the Orange Free State on the one side, and the Cape Colony and Natal on the other side, whereby the State would virtually retain its independent existence, would prove advantageous to all concerned, in many ways; it was likewise agreed that the Free State would, by the adoption of Federation, be materially strengthened against its numerous coloured Enemies, and that its Revenue would be legitimately augmented, by

obtaining its fair share of the “Custom” or “Import duties,” which was now being vexatiously and very unjustly withheld from it, by the maritime Colonies, in spite of the “Convention” of 1854, which favoured the claim.

At a meeting held in the “Mission Church” at Beersheba, on the 16th October, 1858, at which were present Sir George Grey, the State President (Mr. Boshof), the Nine “Free State Commissioners,” appointed by the Free State Volksraad, to represent the Government in the Basuto difficulty, several members of the Volksraad, and some three hundred or more burghers, and at which the writer’s father acted as interpreter. His Excellency, without the least reserve, and with his wonted courtesy and gentlemanly demeanour, introduced the important and interesting topic of “*Federation*,” by inviting all those present freely to express their views, and ask him any questions they chose regarding same, offering to give any answers or elucidation as might be in his power.

Many persons at the meeting knew that Sir George Grey was personally very much interested in “Federation Schemes,” and that the vast experience he had acquired as a politician, and the marked ability he had displayed in difficult “State questions,” and his circumspection, rendered his opinion very valuable. It was understood that the main points mentioned by the Governor, and regarding which he promised to furnish a written statement, if desired, were as follows, to wit:—

1st.—That the present Free State “Constitution” and “Governmental System” would remain unaltered.

2nd.—That a general “Federal Council” (or “Assembly”) should be formed to represent the interests of the Colony, Natal, and the Free State, and as many other States as should compose the “Federal Union,”—to assemble “periodically” at some “Central point,” and consult, and decide upon some half a dozen matters, on which the “General Federal Assembly” *alone* might legislate,—a certain number of members being deputed for each State, probably from the “local Legislatures.”

3rd.—That the business for legislation of “internal

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matters” in the Orange Free State, and all provinces of the “Union,” should continue as at present, and that, at an early meeting of the Volksraad, a Resolution should be passed whereby that body resolves to abstain from legislature on the following matters of “general interest,” which would be reserved for the “exclusive” decision and management of the “General Assembly,” to wit:—

- A.—The Import duties, and duties at the Sea ports.
- B.—Postal communication.
- C.—The establishment of a “Universal Marriage Law.”
- D.—The Law of Inheritance.
- E.—A uniform and consistent Insolvent Law.
- F.—Defence against the “Common Enemy,” and the formal declaration of war.

His Excellency very courteously, and at some length, explained his reasons for reserving the above “six” subjects to be dealt with by a “General Federal Legislature,” and replied fully to all questions put to him by Raad members and others, interested in the matter of “Federation.”

The Volksraad resolved on the 7th December, 1858, that in compliance with the wishes of a considerable number of burghers, who had memorialised the Raad, “That it “feels convinced that a ‘Treaty alliance’ with the Cape “Colony, on the basis of a ‘Federal Union,’ or otherwise, “is desirable, and requests His Honour, the State President, to correspond with His Excellency the Governor, “on the subject, in order to ascertain, through him, whether “the Cape Parliament feels inclined to enter into such an “‘alliance,’ and also whether the Government of the Cape “Colony is willing to receive a Commission from this State “to meet, if possible, in one of the Towns of the ‘Eastern “Province,’ to arrange with the Government, or with the “said Commission, on the preliminary terms of such an “‘alliance,’ and afterwards to submit same for approval, “to this Government.”

The State President, Mr. Boshof, who had hitherto abstained, for political reasons, from openly giving expression to his sentiments on the principle of “Federation,” was now “specially” invited thereto by the Volksraad, “in

Committee,” on the 6th December, 1858, and on being questioned, gave his opinion in favour of Federation with the Cape Colony, upon the following and other grounds, viz. :—

1st.—That the Free State being a young State, and sparsely inhabited, and still weak, circumstances may arise when she may urgently require assistance from outside.

2nd.—The great extent of the “border line,” which being occupied by numerous Native tribes, who are all restless, hostile, and thievish, and rapidly becoming more skilful in the use of weapons, and able to provide themselves with horses,—is difficult to defend, or protect, in times of war.

3rd.—That for adequate defence and protection, many people and much money is required, of both of which there is a shortcoming in this State; another reason being that the Free State, though independent, is not always in a position to act independently, by reason of the influences brought to bear on its people, and on matters connected with its “State Policy,” by the Cape Colony, as well as by the “South African Republic,” which influences are calculated to cause trouble to the Government; the President on being further questioned, referred to the “Basuto War,” and said that though it had been commenced under *favourable circumstances*, with a sum of £2,000 in the “Public Treasury,” and was pretty well supplied with ammunition, the time of year being likewise favourable, and the Enemy had given us both time and opportunity to mass our burgher forces from all parts of the State; a large quantity of “booty” too having been taken early in the War, for helping to defray “War Expenses,” and the number of men got together were as many as could possibly be collected,—the object was, notwithstanding these advantages, not attained; the burghers had moreover themselves acknowledged their need of support, by many of them seeking help from the “South African Republic,” without troubling themselves about the conditions upon which such help could be obtained; the President likewise referred to the want of proper organization amongst the burghers, and what could only be

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the natural consequences of disorganization,—a want of confidence by the burghers in their Officers, and *vice versa*, and further, the want of a more genuine patriotism.

The above contains the “gist” of President Boshof’s views on Federation with the Cape Colony, and the causes which inspired those views.

All this time, however, there was a pretty strong party in the State,—of what is known as the “Dopper Party,”—those belonged to the “Conservative” and unenlightened element, who were doing all in their power to counteract Federation, and these men very pertinaciously clung to the visionary idea of a Transvaal Union.

The Volksraad agreed with a laudably liberal spirit, to meet again in “special session,” *without expense to the country*, when called upon to do so, in order to receive and consider the decision of the Colonial Government on the subject of Federation.

Sir George Grey in his speech to the Cape Parliament on the 16th March, 1858, made mention of the “Federation Movement” in the following terms, to wit:—

“ You would, I believe, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain, and upon the inhabitants of the country generally if you could succeed in devising a form of ‘Federal Union,’ under which the several provinces comprising it, should have full and free scope of action left to them, through their own *local* Government and Legislatures, upon all subjects relating to their individual prosperity and happiness; whilst they should act under a ‘General Federal Government’ in relation to all points which concerned the general safety and weal.

“ Under such a form of Government, a number of inhabitants, in each province, would be trained to take *general views* upon the highest subjects relating to the *general welfare*; no war could be entered upon, but with the consent of the *General Government*, representing all the provinces; if any dispute arose between any of the provinces and a Native Chief, the demand made upon such Chief would be more probably just ones, for they would be considered by a large and ‘impartial’ body, and

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“they would from this cause learn to know and fear the power of the Federation, and which they would have to respect. Under such a system it may, I think, be reasonably supposed that additional security would be obtained throughout all South Africa, for life, and property,—that the greatest confidence would be reposed in the Courts of Justice constituted by the General Government, that an additional stimulus and encouragement would be given to talent by the openings offered to it in the Senate, on the Judicial bench, and at the bar; that increased facilities would be given to ‘trade’ and ‘commerce’ by the uniformity of ‘Insolvent Laws,’ and laws regulating Bills of Exchange, as also of Judgment decisions, relating to Mercantile cases; prosperity and contentment would also follow, from a fair and proportionate application throughout the whole of South Africa, of the general Customs revenue, to which all alike contribute, whilst a great increase in the revenue would follow from the stimulus given to trade and industry, by peace and prosperity; so that the province, or provinces, which might abandon a share of the whole revenues which they now enjoy, might reasonably hope to gain more than they gave up.”

“At present South Africa, broken up into various European and Native States, some of which are almost without revenue and without firm Governments, and are involved in intestine and foreign disputes, appear to be drifting into an uncertain and gloomy future, to provide against the exigencies of which it is in a great degree powerless; whilst under a good system of Federation the inhabitants of the Southern part of the continent would be able to unite for their common interests and defence, and to provide year by year for the exigencies of the country as they may arise.”

On the 16th day of October, 1858, Sir George Grey, President Boshof, and a Commission of “nine” members, appointed by the Volksraad, met together at Beersheba in the “Mission Church” there, to confer upon the “Basuto trouble.” Moshesh did not appear, under the pretext of ill health (his usual evasion), but sent as his representative,

a young son, aged about seventeen years, who was known to the Governor as a “scapegrace,” and who he (the Governor) refused to receive, and one of M.’s Councillors called “*Maquai*.” The Governor was vexed at M.’s failing to meet him and the President, and delegates, at the appointed place and time, and His Excellency (who was longing to bring about a speedy settlement of the strained relations between the State and the Basutos) resolved to proceed himself to “Thaba Bosigo” and ascertain the cause of M.’s non-appearance, and whilst on the road thither he received a message from M. to meet him at “Moriya,”—Letsea’s Town. Here he met the Governor, with a large following of relatives, Chiefs, and others, amongst whom were his sons Nehemiah, Letsea, and Molappo, his brother Paulus Mopeli, Job, and others. On opening the meeting the Governor, it was stated, demanded from M. an explanation for having broken the pledge he had given, to meet him at Beersheba. Moshesh in reply, expressed his regret at having done so, asked for forgiveness, and at the same time, in his usual plausible way, tried to make the Governor believe that he was, after all, not so very guilty; some of his soothsayers having, it was alleged, worked upon his superstitious fancies, by making him believe that they had dreamt “dreams” which foreboded evil to him, should he venture to go to Beersheba; besides this, M. further tried to make the Governor believe that he did not wish by his presence to “hamper” the Free State from bringing before His Excellency all they could adduce in support of their case, without any interruption from him. The Governor delayed three and a-half days at Moriya, discussing matters with M., who then deputed his brother Job to represent him at Aliwal North,—where they arrived on the 25th September, 1858,—and there met President Boshof, and the Free State delegates, awaiting their arrival.

On the 29th September, 1858, a “Treaty of Peace” was concluded—through the mediation of Sir George Grey—between the Commissioners appointed by the Volksraad, and the Counsellors of Moshesh, the latter acting for the Basuto Nation,—which was regarded as somewhat favour-

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ing the Basutos, since the State lost some “land,” through an alteration of the old established boundary line, and whereby

First,—“Major Warden’s boundary line,” which was described as far as “Jammersberg Drift,” was confirmed, and from there some deviations were made.

Second,—The new “boundary line” to be marked out by the High Commissioner, or by one or more Commissioners to be appointed by him, their decision on the subject to be final.

Third,—The Basutos to withdraw from the Free State side of the line, *without compensation*, and *vice versa*; ample time being allowed to remove growing crops and buildings (huts).

Fourth,—The Beersheba “Mission Station” lands were ceded to the State, as compensation for the land lost in the alteration of the line; under the stipulation, however, that 6,000 acres of land surrounding the said station (the boundaries of which were to be defined by the Commission appointed by the High Commissioner) were to be retained by the French Protestant Missionaries,—in trust,—for “Mission” work, with full power, should they think proper, to dispose of same; the funds realized therefrom to be applied in the establishment of “New Missions,” for the benefit of the Basutos who may wish to remove from Beersheba.

Fifth,—A “public road,” with convenient outspan, was reserved from Hebron to Aliwal North,—for public use,—under the laws and jurisdiction of the Free State.

Sixth,—“Basuto criminals” flying to the Free State shall, on demand, be delivered to Moshesh, and all criminals flying from the Free State shall, on demand, be delivered to Free State authorities.

Seventh,—Stolen cattle or horses (if discovered within the Territory of any Chief, under Moshesh), such Chief should restore same to the owner, and shall do his best to capture, and deliver over, the thief, or thieves, and compel them to pay compensation equal in value to the stolen stock.

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Eighth,—Cattle or horse thieves shall be dealt with, according to the laws of the country in which they shall be tried.

Ninth,— Whenever the “spoor” (traces) of stolen cattle, or horses, is traced to the Territory of any Chief, owing allegiance to Moshesh, such Chief shall be bound to cause his people to aid in the discovery of such cattle, and horses, or until the “spoor” is lost, or traced into the Territory of some other Chief, who shall also cause his people, in like manner, to aid in following the “spoor,” until the stolen cattle and horses are traced, and discovered, in the Territory of another Chief; if the people of any Chief into whose Territory “spoor” of stolen cattle or horses can be traced, cannot follow the “spoor” out of his Territory,— then such Chief shall be bound to pay, within one month, compensation equal to the number of stolen cattle, or horses, to the owner thereof .

Tenth,—Moshesh binds himself to adopt strict and decisive measures for carrying out the above regulations, for the prevention and punishment of thefts, and for the recovery and restitution of stolen cattle and horses.

Eleventh,—If robberies be committed by any Chiefs, or their people, under the paramountcy of Moshesh, and if, after notice, given thereof, to Moshesh, together with the necessary proofs, complete compensation be not given within two months from the date of such notice, or if repeated robberies be committed by the people of such Chief, and the necessary proofs of such be given to Moshesh, or if any of his Chiefs, with their people, make incursions with armed bands into the Free State, then Moshesh shall himself inflict a just and sufficient punishment upon the said Chief and people; should he, however, be unable to do so, then,—in that case,—the authorities of the Free State shall be at liberty to attack and punish such delinquent Chief, or Chiefs, without Moshesh's interference,— either personally, or by others, or without resort to general War with the Basuto Nation, being the consequence of such acts, on the part of the authorities of the Free State.

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Twelfth,— Whenever hunting parties of Moshesh's people desire to kill game in the Orange Free State, they must previously obtain permission to do so, through the medium of their Chiefs, from the Landdrost, who possesses jurisdiction over that part of the State in which they propose to hunt, and such hunting parties shall submit to the regulations which the Government of the Free State may, from time to time, frame for the guidance of hunting parties, a copy of which regulations, together with any alterations made therein, shall be furnished to the Chief Moshesh, for his information; should such hunting parties go into the Free State without the permission of the Landdrost being previously obtained, or should they transgress the regulations framed for their guidance, and duly notified as aforesaid, to the Chief Moshesh, they may, in any such case, be treated as enemies, and driven away by force.

Thirteenth,—The Captain, Jan Latelle, and his people, and any other coloured persons, or Native tribes, not belonging to the Basutos, or not subjects of the Chief Moshesh, but who during the late War, between the Basuto Nation and the Free State Government, may have assisted that Government in any way, shall not be allowed, by the Chief Moshesh, to suffer any damage, or molestation, either in their person, or their properties, and the lands they occupy, upon the ground or by reason of anything they may have done in this respect: but it is to be understood that if the persons alluded to in this clause remain within the Territory of the Chief Moshesh, they must return to place themselves under the allegiance of that Chief.

The above Treaty was signed at Aliwal North, by the contracting parties, in the presence of Sir George Grey, and attested by Messrs. John Burnet, at that time Resident Magistrate of Aliwal North; Hampden Willis, and Jos. Rivers, of the Governor's Staff, and one other.

Sir George Grey proved the sincerity of his friendship towards the State, by personally accompanying the members of the Commission, who were deputed to plant the beacons, of which there were *thirteen*, on a fatiguing journey, in this arduous and humane self-imposed task; he

won the esteem, and gratitude, of all honest and honourable Free Staters. The line was, after having been beacons off, fully described, the definitions signed by all parties, and proclaimed.

As during the period of the armistice on 1st June, and the signing of the Treaty at Aliwal, the frontier districts of the State were being overrun by marauding bands of Basutos, especially followers of *Bushulie*, and *Molitzane*, who had carried off large numbers of “live stock,” damaged several farms, and driven off their owners, and a great portion of the State had become unsafe, so that even the chief Town—Bloemfontein—was not considered quite free from their ravages, and consequently guards had to be permanently posted, night and day, on the Fort, and patrols kept at night on the outskirts of the Town, fearing an attack on the Town at any moment.

The following “addenda” was, for above reasons, added to the Treaty, viz. :—

“The Government of the Orange Free State thinking “itself entitled to compensation for property stolen, and “damage done by the Basutos, since the conclusion of the “armistice on 1st June, 1858, and the Chief Moshesh “having notified the readiness of his people to prove the “losses sustained by them, for robberies committed by the “‘Native allies’ of the State, since the conclusion of the “armistice,—reserves to itself the right of appointing a “Commission, to confer with the Chief Moshesh on these “points, and to endeavour to come to some ‘mutual amicable arrangement,’ in respect of these losses.”

After the signing of the “Treaty” the “Committee” representing the Free State Government, at Aliwal North, presented an address of thanks to Sir George Grey for having accepted the important office of “Mediator,” to which he replied in his usual genial manner.

The “Treaty of Peace” was confirmed by the Volksraad, on the 30th day of November, 1858, votes of thanks being passed to the Governor, the President, the Government Commission, and the writer’s father, for the valuable assistance they all had rendered the Government.

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The Volskraad resolved on the 3rd day of December, 1858, on the advice of the acting State Attorney — Mr. Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg—that the so-called British subjects, J. Blake, J. Allington, J. Smit, J. Pickard, R. Hamlton, and J. Pullinger, who had all complained to the Governor that they had sustained damages by the acts of the Free State Commando, in Bastuoland—during the War—were not entitled to compensation.

The Raad awarded the “French Missionary Society” the sum of £100 for damages sustained by them, though they did not acknowledge their liability to do so, as they were of opinion, relying on the evidence, carefully adduced, that had ordinary precautions been taken by them at the time, they would probably not have suffered any damage.

To the French Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Meader, the Raad awarded the sum of £3 for damage done to a waggon sail.

With regard to the Rev. Mr. Rollands’ claim for compensation, the Raad decided that all that was possible had been done by the Officers of the Commandos at Beersheba to return to him all the live stock claimed by him; except a few horses, which it was alleged, were still with certain burghers, and if these could be traced, or identified by, or for him, orders had been issued to return them to him.

With regard to the Rev. Mr. Arbousset’s claim, the Raad decided that he was himself to blame for any losses he may have sustained, and therefore refused compensation.

It was found that the alteration in the “Basuto boundary line” cut off *thirteen* farms, which were in occupation by burghers, at the time of the abandonment in 1854, and *thirty-seven* unoccupied ones, for which compensation was demanded by the owners, from the Raad, by memorial.

This body resolved on the 1st December, 1858, that though the Government could not legally be held responsible for compensation, seeing that the alleged owners were not in possession of “title deeds” for same, yet considering that they (the alleged owners) would probably have been placed in legal possession of the land were it not that, owing to the *continuous* “hostile acts” of the Basutos, and owing

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furthermore to circumstances which rendered it impossible for the Government to place them in such legal possession : the Raad acknowledged it both just, and equitable, that compensation should be awarded, as far as possible—that is to say, as far as the means at their disposal may allow—from the land, which had come into the possession of the State, by the “Treaty of Peace,” and especially from the lands which formerly belonged to the “Beersheba Mission Station,” but which lands were altogether insufficient to afford commensation in each individual case, and there was therefore no other course open for the Raad, than in the first place to provide for the most urgent claims, and to leave the remaining ones *in abeyance* until further funds are forthcoming. A “Commission” consisting of *three* members, amongst them being the Landdrost of Smithfield—Mr. J. H. Sauer—and two others, was therefore appointed to *investigate*, and *classify* the different “*claims*” under their respective heads as follows, viz. :—

A.—Farms which were occupied at the taking over of the Country from the British Government in 1854.

B.—Farms which were occupied before the taking over of the Country in 1854, but which were afterwards abandoned, and for which the *original* occupiers have received no compensation in “land grants,” in any other portion of the State, and who did not alienate such land and themselves remained residents of the State.

C.—Farms occupied before the taking over of the Country, but which were subsequently abandoned, and for which the occupiers had already received some compensation and had left the State, or who have sold their *alleged* claims, and finally farms which have been occupied by the claimants “without authority,” and can only be regarded as ordinary “land grants.”

The Commission was empowered to receive applications to the 1st February, 1859, and to forward their report to the Government Secretary *immediately* after the expiration of their last Session.

The Raad likewise resolved that the *Beersheba* lands awarded by the Treaty of Aliwal North, to the Free State,

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be inspected, and beacons off in small *farms* or *lots* of not less than 500 morgen, and not more than 1,500 morgen in extent, and that a “general plan” of same, with the valuation of each *lot* attached thereto, be made, and that the *lots* so inspected, and valued, be granted as *partial* compensation to the applicants falling under section A; whilst those falling under section B will be allowed to choose their compensation in land, where “*open Government land*” may be found, or otherwise receive compensation out of such “*fund*” as may at any future time be set aside for that purpose; and all farms falling under section C shall be regarded as venturesome, or “haphazard speculations,” for which no compensation could legally be demanded.

Applicants whose claims to land may be acknowledged shall be permitted to choose; the largest sufferers in value, having the preference; if, however, two or more persons shall appear on the list whose claims are identical in value, they shall draw lots for the preference.

Should any of the inspected *Lots* remain over from “Section A,” the Raad shall dispose of same to satisfy the most urgent claims under “Section B.”

The Raad finally decided that the above Resolution would only be “*provisional*,” and they reserved the right of making alterations therein at the ensuing “Annual Session,” should there be valid reasons for doing so.

On the completion of the inspection of the Beersheba lands, it was found that there were 43 farms on the North bank of the Caledon River, and 15 on the South bank—in all 58 farms; out of this number *Seven* were allotted by the Commission to persons coming under section A, and 16 under section B, the remaining 35 farms falling under section C were to be regarded as venturesome or haphazard speculations, for which no compensation could legally be demanded.

President Boshof, who very much required rest and change from his long continued and harassing Official duties, obtained Six months leave of absence from the Raad to recuperate in Natal, and Mr. E. R. Snyman, Chairman of the Raad, was appointed acting President in his stead.

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An address, and farewell banquet, was presented and given to Mr. Boshof, in the Old Government School Room, on 23rd February, 1859, by Bloemfontein Residents, Officials, and others, which were to him a satisfactory proof of his popularity.

A great many charges were made during the War, by “irresponsible” Newspaper proprietors, correspondents, and others, in the Cape Colony,—and elsewhere,—against the burghers for alleged improper treatment of Missionaries and Mission property; and some white men who were living with the Basutos, and claimed to be British subjects, had lodged complaints with, and appealed to, the Governor—Sir George Grey—“for redress,” whereupon the President, and “Executive Council,” wishing to find out the truth, caused “circulars” to be sent to the different Landdrosts, charging them to take evidence of the Officers, who had served on the Commando. The declaration under Oath thus obtained served to show that Mr. Arbousset’s house at “*Morijah*” had been burnt down, and some, or all, of his furniture carried off, and sold by *auction*; and a church or two at “*Morijah*” and “*Beersheba*” were damaged, but these offences were, by no means, connived at by the Officers of the “Free State Army,” to whom, as already stated, the Government had given *strict* injunctions to respect Missionaries and Mission property,—and these gentlemen appear to have done all in their power to prevent such misdeeds. The damage was,—according to the evidence,—done by a few reckless and disreputable characters, whilst in a state of frenzy, and under the mistaken idea, that *one* or *more* of the Missionaries had taken an active part with the Basutos in the War; one white man, it is true, was killed at *Morija*, but it was *positively* affirmed that he had been fighting with the Basutos; if any white man had claimed the protection of the Commando Officers, same would, at once, have been given him.

CHAPTER NINE.

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There was another Native trouble in store for the unfortunate State,—this time, on the "North West border," not far from the village of Boshof.

A mixed lot of Natives (rabble) composed of Kaffirs, Bushmen, and Korannas, from beyond the Vaal River,

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under four Native leaders, or headmen,—named respectively Kousop, Scheel Cobus, David Danzer, and Goliad Ijzerbek; and others,—had for some time past, been in the habit of crossing the Vaal River, into the Free State, on “raiding expeditions,” and carrying off considerable numbers of live stock, belonging to Burghers.

On the 21st day of May, 1858, these marauders murdered a young white man, and wounded two others,—carrying off some live stock, four waggons, and one cart; and on the 30th day of May they murdered two more adult burghers—Hendrik van Aswegen and Andries Lombaard,—and three children, and another burgher was murdered soon after, by these desperadoes, called Johannes Coetzee.

It was therefore necessary to send out a Commando at once, for the protection of the burghers in these remote parts, and “four hundred” armed and mounted men, consisting of two hundred and forty burghers, the remainder being loyal Korannas and Fingoes, under the command of Mr. James M. Howell, Landdrost of Winburg, crossed the Vaal River in the direction of Kuruman, on the 5th day of July, 1858, in pursuit of these Natives, with one Cannon, and at daybreak surrounded the Kraals of Kousop, and Scheel Cobus, which were both well fortified.

The Natives fired first, and after an engagement lasting three hours, the fight ended in the killing of Kousop, and his brother Klass, and about 110 more of the Enemy; forty-one male prisoners, and *fifty* women and children were captured; likewise three ox waggons, one cart, one tent, and a number of horses, cattle, and sheep, which *Kousop* had carried off at the time of the murders, belonging to burghers; four burghers were severely wounded, one of these—Joseph Tyler—died soon after, of wounds received; the remaining wounded men were Albert van der Westhuizen, Willem Serfontein, and Field-Cornet Nicolaas Muller. Albert van der Westhuizen was being conveyed in a waggon to Boshof, by a patrol consisting of *fifteen* men, when the patrol was surprised by a strong body of *Gasibona’s* Kaffirs, and Korannas, and compelled to retreat,

leaving the unfortunate man behind, who was cruelly murdered.

Mr. Howell left the Commando for Bloemfontein, on the 13th day of July, to secure further supplies of ammunition and provisions; when he returned the next day, news reached the Government, that the Commando had unexpectedly broken up on the 15th July, all the burghers having returned home, *except one Field-Cornet—Mr. Naude and his men.*

A letter was received by the Government from Mr. D. P. Fourie, a Justice of the Peace, intimating that the “Provisional Commandant,” Mr. H. Venter, had retired to Vet River, and required reinforcements.

The Bushman and Koranna prisoners, who were captured on the 5th July, were handed over to Mr. St. P. O’Brien (who was at the head of the “loyal Government fingoos”), for conveyance to Bloemfontein; they reached Boshof on the 12th July, and were detained there a short time, as large bodies of hostile Kaffirs had been seen in the neighbourhood of the Town, which if then attacked would have been defenceless. On the 14th July, when Mr. O’Brien was about leaving Boshof, for Bloemfontein, with the prisoners, he was told that a large body of burghers had banded together to kill the prisoners, under his charge, as they were supposed to have been the “*actual murderers*” of their friends, and relatives. This information was at once communicated to the Commandant-General, who, on being asked by Mr. O’Brien for instructions, told him to offer no resistance, but to remain quite passive. When about three miles out of Boshof, “en route” to Bloemfontein, Mr. O’Brien and his fingoos were overtaken by about *thirty burghers*, who had evidently come with the determination of applying “lynch law” by shooting the prisoners, who on hearing this fled in terror, and were pursued and shot down by these men. This being immediately reported to the Government, the matter was handed over to the State Attorney—Mr. A. B. Roberts—for investigation and report. The President, in his address to the Volksraad, on 2d November, 1858, made mention of this *cold-blooded*

and cowardly deed, the intended perpetration of which was kept quiet, and not even suspected by the Civil authorities, until the Natives had actually been shot.

The investigation led to no definite results, owing to violent opposition, and the great excitement against the Native murderers, as they were styled, and also by reason of the exigencies of the War, which was still proceeding.

On the 15th day of July, 1858, the Residents of Bloemfontein presented to Mr. Field-Cornet Nicolaas P. Muller, of the Bloemfontein District, a handsome revolver (pistol), with appurtenances, for his chivalrous behaviour during the recent Basuto Campaign, and also during the present Native disturbances; Mr. Muller was very popular, and much respected as a valiant and conscientious Field-Cornet.

On the 28th August, 1858, the “Provisional Commandant General,” Mr. H. Venter, reported to the Landdrost of Boshof, that he had on the 17th day of August, with his small body of men, numbering about sixty-four, “joined hands” with the Transvaal Forces (who had likewise sent out a “Commando” against these Kaffir and Koranna marauders), under Paul Kruger (the present Transvaal State President), as Commandant; that they had crossed the Harts River, where they encountered a “Kaffir Commando,” that a fight had taken place, and that they had killed a number of the Enemy, and had captured 1,700 cattle, and 1,500 sheep and goats; further that their Commando had advanced on the 10th August, towards *Mahura’s Kraal*, and when about half-an-hour’s distance from the *Kraal*, another fight had taken place with his (M.’s) Kaffirs, which lasted from 10 a.m. until the evening, when the Kaffirs were defeated, with heavy loss; the burghers here took 1,500 head of cattle, and some sheep; and on the side of the State, one loyal Koranna was killed, and four wounded.

On the 12th and 14th August there were other encounters with the Enemy; on the latter day the Chief “*Gasibona*,” and a few other Kaffirs, were killed; on the Chief “*Mahura*” hearing that *Gasibona* had been killed, he sued for Peace, which was readily granted,—on condition that he restored, within *three months*, all the stolen cattle,

and paid the expenses of the *War*; a “written convention” was entered into to that effect, at Harts River, dated 18th August, 1858, and signed by the Prov. Commandant H. Venter and others, for the Free State, and Mr. S. P. J. Kruger (i.e., Mr. Paul Kruger) and others, for the Transvaal, and by Mahura and others. Although fortunately for the two States, the Commando ended more satisfactorily than the “Basuto War” had done (more however by “good luck,” than “good management”), but it might have been otherwise, for it too had broken up in an abrupt and irregular manner without the permission of the “Executive Government,” doubtless instigated thereto by some of the same men who had been the authors of the disastrous and disgraceful “break up” in Basutoland.

The President received a communication from the late hostile Chief “Mahura,” dated 1st September, 1858, in which he expressed his inability to comply with the terms of his *convention* with Commandants Venter and Kruger, of 18th August, unless some 115 Kaffir children, which he alleged were carried off by the “Transvaal Commando,” under Mr. Kruger, were restored. The President sent a copy of “Mahura’s” letter to the Government Secretary of the Transvaal, and further ordered an Enquiry to be instituted as to whether such children were brought into the Free State,—if so, they were to be *immediately* released, and the guilty persons were to be prosecuted.

In March, 1859, it was reported, on the authority of several well informed persons, that Mahura had paid about 800, out of the 2,000 head of cattle, demanded of him by the Transvaal President, Mr. Pretorius, as a “War fine,” and that not one of the “Kaffir children,” captured during the War, had then been restored.

The Commission appointed by the Free State Volksraad on the 12th day of June, 1858, to interview the High Commissioner—Sir George Grey—on the subject of the projected Union of the two States, met His Excellency at Aliwal North, on the 29th September, and sent in their “report” to the Volksraad on 18th October, from which it appeared that Sir George Grey had only been empowered

by his Government to intimate to the Free State authorities, that an amalgamation of the two States would render the “Convention” with the British Government inoperative, his own private opinion as regards the other queries put to him being, that the British Government would most probably decline to enter into a new “Convention” or “Treaty,” with the “United States,” for the following, among other reasons, to wit:—

1st.—That when the *Conventions* of 16th January, 1852 (Transvaal) and 23rd February, 1854 (Free State), were entered into, there was no Parliament in the Cape Colony, and no Volksraad in the Free State, and that before entering into a new “Convention” with the “Joint States,” the British Government would probably want to know what good object would be attained by a *New Convention*, and what was the trend of popular political feeling in *both States*.

2nd.—That whereas, by the Convention of the 16th January, 1852,—“All Treaties with the Native tribes to the north of the Vaal River, were cancelled, and in the “Convention of 23rd February, 1854, it was stipulated that “the British Government will not enter into any Treaties “with the ‘Native Tribes,’ derogatory to the interests of “the Orange Free State;”—these stipulations he thought, would not be taken up in a “New Convention,” as being too binding, and humiliating to Great Britain, and indeed not necessary, as there already existed a Policy of Co-operation in South Africa, between the several “White States,” and because in such a case, *Treaties*, as are referred to, which might be injurious to either of the States, would not be entered into,—even if the British Government had not bound itself, by Convention, not to enter into same.

3rd.—It could not be expected that the British Government would agree to stipulate in a *New Convention*, conditions similar to those laid down in the *Conventions* of 16th January, 1852, and 23rd February, 1854,—whereby trade in ammunition with the Native tribes is prohibited; such stipulations would be regarded as humiliating to England, and would prevent such Natives from defending

their rights,—when those rights are assailed;—at present the Cape Colony is obliged to refuse any application for ammunition from a Native Chief, and all they can do is to refer such Chief to the Government of the Orange Free State, which possesses power which they themselves have not got.

The unlimited powers which the “South African Republic,” and the “Orange Free State” possess,—by virtue of their Conventions,—“limited stipulations”—would be introduced, and the British Government would reserve to itself the power,—when considered necessary,—of curtailing, or entirely prohibiting the sale of ammunition to the Burghers or to the Government of the “United States,” in South Africa.

The above contains the “private” views of the High Commissioner, relative to a proposed “New Convention,” and to the amalgamation of the two States.

The value of House property in Bloemfontein,—for Municipal taxation purposes was, exclusive of Church property, estimated in May, 1859, at £42,902,—the total value of House property inclusive of Church property, being £45,000: these sums were however regarded as a very low valuation;—the total value of the said property was probably nearer £50,000.

A farm belonging to a Mr. J. van der Walt, situate about thirty miles to the South of Bloemfontein, was purchased in June, 1857, for £1,500,—for the founding of a village called “Reddersburg,” which was to become the rallying point of the primitive Boer religious “sect” known vernacularly as “Doppers,” of whom there were very many in the neighbourhood, and many more were steadily coming from Burghers Dorp, one of the chief Colonial centres, along with Middelburg, and parts of Cradock, Richmond, and other Colonial Districts; these people soon after commenced building their own church, a barn-like edifice, the foundation stone of which was laid by one of their own influential co-religionists, Mr. J. J. Venter, on the 25th day of May, 1857.

They secured from Holland, a Minister after their own

heart,—the Reverend Postmà; several of the new comers having sold their farms in the Cape Colony for large sums of money,—paid fictitiously high prices for land near Reddersburg, *angtici* “Salvation Town,”—or burg, a significant enough name to accord with their exclusive religious ideas, — though the locality is by no means “Edenlike,” or attractive, the Town being “laid out” on a treeless and unsheltered “flat,” void of wood of any kind, and with a scanty water supply.

A tender sent in by a Mr. “P. L.,” to build the Reddersburg church, exclusive of its pulpit, was accepted for £4,500,—the church to be completed in twelve months, from January, 1862.

The “Doppers,”—so called,—are a very peculiar “sect,” extremely conservative, and claimish towards their own fellow worshippers, or creedsmen, but exclusive, and suspicious, to a degree, as regards the adherents, or religious doctrines of other churches; they have seceded from what is known in South Africa, as the “Dutch Reformed Church,” from whose religious tenets they differ somewhat widely,—claiming, as they are understood to do, to be the *genuine* Reformers of the Dutch Church; the Old Testament—good old book—seemingly finding more favour with them, than the “New,”—though the writer does not, by any means, intend to imply that they discard the latter; David’s Psalms—and not Hymns—forming the chief metrical portion of their religious services: these they sing in a kind of “monotone,” and are as a rule against the use of musical instruments, in their churches.

Jehovah’s wonderful manifestation to his ancient people, and his interpositions on their behalf, in Old Testament times, and his specially raising up men, and endowing them with supernatural wisdom, as his instruments for doing his work amongst their brethren, has evidently laid great hold on their imagination, so much so, indeed, that they seem to be possessed with the idea that they too are a specially Divinely favoured people, in the same sense that Israel was, and have been signally endowed by the Almighty, with sufficient intuitive knowledge and

understanding to undertake, and acquit themselves satisfactorily, of any mental, or other duties, without the necessary secular training for the efficient performance of same, which other ordinary mortals regard as essential; this idea appears to be inherent, and has come down from Father to Son,—from generation to generation,—and is not calculated to raise them much above their present level, their manner of dress too is unique—they wear large hats, short jackets, rather wide trousers pinched up at the back, with an opening at the side, in which they carry a kind of bowie knife, for use in several ways, chiefly to cut their food,—though the writer wishes to add here, that he has from time to time known many intelligent and thoughtful men among the Doppers, who, if their minds had been developed by a liberal, secular, and religious educational training, would have surely left their mark, and have been a blessing to their friends, and neighbours; however, there is reason to hope that education, which is in our day becoming so general—by being brought to every man’s door—will soon enlighten the minds of the younger generation, and make the Doppers no longer a byword.

Jacobsdal, another Free State village, lying to the West of Bloemfontein, on the lower Riet River, distant about 70 or 80 miles, was likewise now laid out; the situation of this village before the founding of Kimberley (as lying between the Cape Colony and the far interior), was considered excellent as a means for the expansion of both commerce and civilization.

To the great regret of the intelligent and progressive inhabitants of the State—both Dutch and English,—news was unexpectedly received in Bloemfontein from Natal, whither Mr. Boshof had gone for rest, and change, that he (Mr. B.) had sent in his resignation to the Government, and would not return.

This, though it caused an excitement at the time, was hardly to be wondered at, as Mr. Boshof was very much opposed, and checkmated, by the ignorant and narrow-minded section of the community, as being far too progressive in his views, to suit their retrograde notions,—

especially of those who sided with the Transvaal, and were continually clamouring for “Union” with that State, a policy which Mr. Boshof vigorously opposed. Mr. B.’s resignation was regarded as nothing short of a “public calamity”; the late President, though somewhat taciturn and retiring in his manner, and regarded by some as stern and unyielding in his demeanour, and tardy in making new friends,—was nevertheless a thoroughly conscientious, straight, and honourable gentleman, far sighted, well read and well versed in both the Dutch and English languages,—was, moreover, studious in his habits, and the very best type of a progressive Afrikaner (as that name is applied to one born in South Africa, from European descent), largely pervaded with a sincere desire to raise and benefit his countrymen, and to advance the best interests of his Native land.

Since his arrival in Bloemfontein, he inaugurated many beneficial reforms, and much needed improvements in the Governmental System, commenced a more methodical Official course of discipline, amended and interpreted the shortcomings in the “State’s constitution,” and introduced several essential laws, all of which did him great credit as a sagacious politician and wise ruler; many of the laws introduced by him are still found in the “Statute book” of the State, a standing record of his perspicuity; the best friends of the State felt that in President Boshof they possessed a strong man, and a true friend of the State, and one who aimed at being “just” and “fair” in his decisions, whether as State President, or President of the Executive Council. Mr. Boshof served the State for a paltry stipend of Six Hundred Pounds per annum; he had before accepting the Office of State President been a high Official in Natal, where his services were appreciated, and his friends there regretted his departure; on his retirement from here, he returned to Natal, where he was in April, 1862, elected a member of the “Legislative Council,” and died there about twenty-five years ago or more.

The Volksraad accepted Mr. Boshof’s resignation on

the 5th September, 1859, thanking him for the important services he had rendered the State.

Mr. E. R. Snyman now retired as acting President, and the Raad re-elected him in that capacity by a majority of votes, until the election of a new President; five candidates were proposed for the Presidential vacancy. Mr. J. J. Venter having obtained the majority of votes as Volksraad candidate, was proposed to the Electors by the Volksraad by whom a requisition was sent to him, which he accepted, and the Election day for President was fixed by the Raad for 15th December, 1859, and it was notified by Proclamation that, though only one Candidate had been proposed, Twenty-five competent Voters were entitled to requisition other Candidates.

There were now, on 18th November, 1859, five gentlemen in the field as Candidates for the Presidential vacancy, viz. :—Messrs. J. J. Venter, commonly called “King Cobus”—an uncrowned King amongst the “Dopper” party (who, rumour said, had already been anointed “with oil by anticipation,” as President, by one or more of his admirers, — under the open canopy of Heaven); E. R. Snyman, Acting President; D. J. Cloete, Landdrost of Harrismith; F. J. van der Riet, Civil Commissioner; Swellendam, Cape Colony; and M. W. Pretorius, Transvaal President;—the last named received several numerously signed Requisitions, and it was at once clearly seen that he had the best chance of “running the show,” seeing that ever since the Transvaal disturbance, in which he took so prominent a part, there was still a considerable party of malcontents,—disaffected and seditious souls,—who were continually crying out for *Union* with the Transvaal, hoping doubtless that such Union would, by adding to their numerical strength, enable them *easily* to overpower their Basuto foe;—this was a fallacious hope, for the Transvaal people were not even able to successfully cope with their own difficulties—Native and otherwise.

The Scrutineers appointed to examine the Election lists, proclaimed on the 5th January, 1860, that Mr. Pretorius had been elected President by a considerable

“FREE STATIA.”

majority; the state of the poll having been declared, the votes were as follows, viz. :—

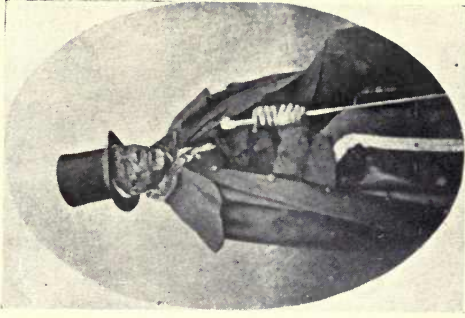
For Mr. Pretorius	1282	votes.
„ Snyman	191	„
„ Cloete	82	„
„ Venter	29	„
„ van der Riet ...	8	„
—		
Total votes...		1592

Very many people abstained from voting altogether.

The most able of the above four gentlemen, and the best suited to fill the important Office of President, was doubtless the one who obtained the fewest votes—Mr. van der Riet,—but unfortunately he came into the field too late.

Mr. Pretorius was now President of *both* States (though his “status” as such, in the Transvaal, seemed questionable) and he was consequently very often absent from Bloemfontein; he appeared to take more interest in the “Transvaal” than in the “Free State,” and was trying to serve two masters at the same time, and ought certainly not to have been sworn in by the Raad as President here, until he had severed all political connection with the Transvaal; his trying to be all things to all men was highly detrimental to the best interests of the Free State, but our Legislators could, or would not see it; he at last resigned as President of the Transvaal, after stirring up a nest of infuriated hornets there,—in July, 1861.

The Philippolis Griquas, under the Chief Adam Kok, had become restless, and were preparing to leave Griqualand West, as they were being “hemmed in” too much by their White neighbours, and having at the time of the abandonment in 1854 been released by the Special Commissioner, Sir George Clerk, from the restrictions of the “*Maitland Treaty*,” which, for a time, had prevented them from selling a portion of their lands to “White Settlers,” i.e., in a certain tract of Country designated the “Inalienable Territory”; they had therefore since then sold, and



THE BASUTO CHIEF—
"MOSHESH."



COMMANDANT WEPENER
AND HIS SON.

were still, in 1859, rapidly selling their remaining farms with the consent of their Chief, Adam Kok,—in and around Philippolis, at high prices, to Free State residents, with the intention of founding for themselves a new Settlement in the Territory known as “Nomansland,” lying between the Cape Colony and Natal, near St. John’s River,—where they could with the knowledge and consent of the British Government—Sir George Grey being the Governor—obtain land “gratis”; this Territory is now known as “Griqualand East.”

Adam Kok with many of his “Griqua subjects,” had already left Philippolis, and on leaving had appointed Mr. Henry Harvey as his Agent there, to sell any small plots of “Griqua Government” land still remaining unsold,—which he subsequently did to the Free State Government; Philippolis itself, and indeed all the country known as Griqualand West, was now rapidly passing “by purchase” out of the hands of Grikvas to Free State burghers; the last of the Grikvas left early in 1862, and on the 15th day of August, Henry Harvey, as acting for Adam Kok under *full* authority, sold to President Pretorius, as acting for the State, for £4,000 the balance of vacant land he still possessed, as well as the Griqua “Public Offices,” and Prison at Philippolis, *together with all his (Adam Kok’s) rights* as heir to his Uncle, Comelis Kok, of the latter’s rights to the “Campbell” and other lands in Griqualand; Philippolis was now proclaimed a Free State Town, and got a Landdrost and other Officials.

A Proclamation was promulgated on the 14th July, 1859, by the acting President, E. R. Snyman, notifying that the “French Mission Station” Bethulie, had by a written “*Convention*” concluded with the Chief “Lephui,” on the 4th June, 1859, been incorporated into the State, that a District had been formed there, a Landdrost appointed, and that “Lephui,” his followers, and Missionary—Mr. Pellissier—had become subjects of the State; 10,000 morgen of land was however reserved as a “Mission Station,”—for “Lephui” and his people,—the Buildings, Church, and gardens, likewise remaining the property of the Native

Mission; a Landdrost was subsequently appointed as State Representative, at a salary of £200 per annum.

Information having reached Bloemfontein that Governor Sir George Grey had been recalled by the “Imperial Government,” a public meeting of the Inhabitants was at once called, at the Government Offices, Market Square, at the end of September, 1857,—under the Chairmanship of the Landdrost of Bloemfontein,—when the following Resolution, amongst others, was proposed by the writer, seconded, and carried unanimously:—“That this meeting
 “having heard with unfeigned regret that Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape Colony, has been suddenly recalled
 “by the British Government, deems it both becoming and
 “incumbent on the Inhabitants of Boemfontein, and of
 “the Orange Free State *generally*, to lose no time in expressing their deep sense of the valuable and distinguished
 “services performed by Sir George Grey for the whole of
 “South Africa, but more particularly their appreciation of
 “the substantial benefits he has in various ways been
 “instrumental in conferring upon this State, etc.” Besides the above “Resolution,” a farewell address was sent to Sir George, thanking him for all he had done for the State, which was signed by upwards of One Hundred of the leading citizens,—to this address Sir George Grey replied from Cape Town, in writing, in appreciative terms, and sent a reply too, to the boarders of his “bantling,” the “Grey College,”—who had likewise forwarded to him an address,—which was full of good, practical, and Christian advice, and humane sentiments, from a sincere friend; these replies from a genuine friend conduced more than ever, to evoke admiration for this good man; as a proof of whose popularity, and the esteem in which he was held in the Cape Colony, it was stated that on the embarkation of His Excellency and Lady Grey, for England, his departure was witnessed by some 25,000 persons, who had assembled on the beach to bid him farewell,—many with sorrowful hearts.

It was however fully expected that Sir George would return to the Colony at no distant date; this was what really did happen, for the Duke of Newcastle wisely, soon after

assuming the duties of “Colonial Minister,” decided upon *not* carrying out his contemplated immediate removal from the Cape; he wrote this to Sir George Grey, but the dispatch did not reach the Colony until the latter had actually left; Sir George accordingly returned to Cape Town on the 5th July, 1860.

The Revd. Andrew Murray announced to his Congregation, from the pulpit, in November, 1859, that he had received a call from Worcester, in the Cape Colony, which he was taking into consideration; this *call*, it was generally believed, Mr. Murray would accept.

Mr. Andrew Hudson Bain who was a very old resident of the late Sovereignty, and the owner of the farm “Bainsvley,” and many other “broad-acres” of land besides, near Bloemfontein,—kept an interesting cage of *Lions*, known as “Bain’s Lion preserve,”—in which it was rumoured that, at one time, there were confined some *thirty* specimens of these noble beasts; the writer can himself bear witness to having seen “in confinement,”—in this cage,—at least four or five lions. Mr. Bain died at Boshof, in much reduced circumstances, some ten years ago.

In the month of January, 1860, a Meeting was held at the Court House, to decide upon the presentation of an address to Mr. Pretorius as President “Elect,” when a “Committee” of *five gentlemen* was chosen to draft and present an address to him, all of whom—except the writer who was one of the Committee)—have departed this life; the “orthodox” address was presented on the 6th February, 1860, the day of his arrival in Bloemfontein, to which he sent a reply on the 8th February. Mr. P. likewise addressed a crowd of people, who had assembled on the occasion, verbally,—and suggested to the Volksraad at its Session on 9th February, that steps should be taken to obtain the people’s vote, or “plebiscite,” on his day dream,—“the Union of the two States,” by the *15th day of April*, when, if the majority favoured “*Union*,” the British Government could be approached to give sanction thereto,—and the framing of a “New Convention” with the “United States”

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could be proceeded with;—a Proclamation was issued by the Volksraad, embodying these "fallacious views," on 12th February, 1860.

CHAPTER TEN.

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An extraordinary and well-planned theft took place from an "open shed," adjoining the old Presidency, in the month of February, 1859,—of one of the two small brass cannon,—"field pieces,"—which were procured for the State, through Sir George Grey,—the Governor of the Cape Colony,—some ten months before the theft:—one a "Howitzer," and the other a light "Field piece," which were both temporarily stored in the above shed.

The stolen gun, a six-pounder brass field piece, was carried off by a man called Woodward, living in Basutoland, who had come to Bloemfontein, as was alleged, on a trading expedition,—aided by a Free State Constable called Galpin,

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and another white man called Southey : both the latter formerly deserters from the 85th Regiment, and who after a carousing bout together, had concocted the daring plan of carrying off the Gun, conveying it to Basutoland, and selling it there for a considerable sum in Money or Cattle.

These men were on their way from Bloemfontein to Basutoland, with the Gun, when by mere accident it was missed from the shed, the alarm was at once given, and they were overtaken and captured a few miles from Bloemfontein, and brought back by a party of men sent after them from the Town.

The thieves were subsequently,—in May, 1860,—tried by the “Court of combined Landdrosts,” at Bloemfontein, found guilty, and sentenced :—*Galpin* was sentenced to Twelve years’ imprisonment, with hard labour ; *Woodward* to Six years ; and *Southey* to One year.

The first Municipal Regulations for Bloemfontein were, at last, on 29th March, 1859, confirmed by the “Executive Council,” after a delay of many months, and published, and being approved by the Householders, the following five (5) gentlemen were on the 15th April, 1859, elected the first “Municipal Commissioners,” under the Municipal Ordinance No. 8, 1856, viz. :— Messrs. James Dick, C. E. Fichardt, Dr. C. J. G. Krause, Thomas White, and the Writer, who is now the only surviving “Municipal Commissioner” of those far off days ; the latter acted as Secretary “pro tem” until a Town Clerk could be appointed.

The first “Municipal Meeting” was held on the 18th day of April, 1859,—when applications were invited for a “Town Clerk,” Market Master, Street Keeper, and Water Bailiff, all these Officials being shortly afterwards appointed, and since then a regular Market has been held in Bloemfontein.

All the English preaching Clergymen and Ministers having left Bloemfontein,—the need of an English Church, and regular religious services, was being much felt, by the English speaking residents,—so much so, that in March, 1859, a Meeting was held in Bloemfontein to take into consideration the necessity of procuring a “pastor” who should

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devote himself to the Spiritual needs of the *English community*, and having heard that the Revd. W. J. Thompson, of Graham's Town, Cape Colony, might possibly be induced to come to Bloemfontein, the Meeting, *at once*, started a subscription list, as the “*basis*” of a “*guarantee fund*,” for which the sum of £130 was *then and there* got together, i.e., in the room, from about *fifteen* gentlemen, being the *representatives* of about *seven* different denominations, and it was hoped that not less than £200 would be subscribed before the Colonial Mail left, as the nucleus of a “Clergy Fund.”

An invitation was sent to Mr. Thompson, which he declined, on the score of ill health, and as he had resolved, on Medical advice, to proceed to Europe; and another Meeting of English Residents was held in the middle of April following, at which a Committee of *five* gentlemen was appointed, viz. :—Messrs. Wm. Collins, G. Page, James Dick, Thos. White, and the Writer, to apply to the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Society, in South Africa, for a Minister, and having done so,—they received from the gentleman addressed a very courteous reply, stating that he would supply the want, but as they had at the time no Minister in the country at their disposal,—he would refer the matter to the Mission House in London.

Mr. Impey, the “General Superintendent,” again wrote from Graham's Town, on the 21st October, 1859, to the Committee, notifying that a Minister had been appointed in England, to labour here, and would leave for Africa during the current month (October), and about the middle of February, 1860, the Revd. T. Cresswell, a young Wesleyan Minister, arrived in Bloemfontein, with Mrs. Cresswell and family, and very soon after his arrival, he—Mr. C.—was struck down by a severe attack of Typhoid fever; his life being, for some time, despaired of, but happily he recovered after a long illness.

The Volksraad on a petition from the “Committee,” granted the sum of £100 per annum towards the support of the Minister, which was accepted with thanks.

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Some excitement was occasioned in Bloemfontein, by the proposed sale on account of the Government, of certain lands adjoining the Town, which were heretofore considered by the Municipality and the old residents, as being an *inalienable* portion of the *Town Commonage*, and which the Raad now refused to regard as such, and had advertised for “*Public Sale*,” on 2nd April, 1859; against this proposed sale a strongly worded petition, or protest, was sent to the President, requesting the sale to be delayed for one year,—by reason of the prevailing severe drought and the threatened great scarcity of grass and water,—and providing that, should the Town Commonage be curtailed of its land as contemplated—a “*Vigilance Committee*” of five Members be likewise appointed to be on the alert in order to take further steps for protecting the interests of the Town, in the event of the Raad’s reply, on an appeal from the Municipal Commissioners, being unfavourable; but the matter ended *after a heated contest*, by the Volksraad *ultimately*, to the great disappointment of the Townspeople, resolving that, out of the *four* lots of land claimed for the Commonage, and cut off by the Government, and to which it was thought the Town had a legal claim, Lots Nos. 1 and 2, which included the suburb known as Kaffirfontein, be awarded to the Town, and the remaining Lots Nos. 3 and 4, be sold by Public Auction;—this was a sad blow for the Town,—for those able to judge of the requirements of the *chief Town* in the State, in future years,—felt very *keenly* that the Town was being seriously crippled and despoiled of its rights by a short-sighted policy; the Raad on the other hand seemed to be led away by a chimerical idea that the “*Town Commonage*” should not exceed 8,000 morgen of land, and there was no appeal from this suicidal measure.

The two pieces of land,—Lots Nos. 3 and 4,—which were claimed by the Townspeople,—known as “*Brandkop*” and “*Slypsteenberg*,”—were in defiance of protests, petitions, etc., submitted to “*Public competition*” on 26th November, 1863, and sold; the former in extent say 2,568 morgen and 172 square roods, for £1,020, and the latter in extent say 1,855 morgen and 480 square roods, for £801.

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In February, 1859, the want was already being felt of a “Chief Justice” for the State, or rather of a gentleman well trained in “Jurisprudence,” who could act as President of the “highest Court of Appeal,”—so as to relieve the State President, as *Chairman* of the “Executive Council,” from that anomalous duty, and for which but few gentlemen filling the Office of President could be expected to be fully qualified, or had the time to devote to the work; for this appointment the handsome sum of £450 per annum was voted by the Raad, *now sitting*; needless to say here that no trained and otherwise competent Jurist could be obtained for so small a *stipend*, and this important matter was consequently relegated to the indefinite future.

An Ordinance was likewise passed for amending the Constitution, by the establishment of a “Supreme Court,” consisting of “three” Judges, one of these Judges was to reside in Bloemfontein, the *second* in Fauresmith, and the *third* in Smithfield, or Winburg,—each Judge to preside at a “Court of Appeal” to be quarterly held in Bloemfontein; this Court was, in a great measure, to supersede the Court of “Combined Landdrosts”;—this Ordinance remained a dead letter too.

In January, 1863, a “draft Ordinance” was published for creating a “*High Court of Appeal*,” with a view of entirely relieving the “Executive Council” from its present duties, as the highest Court of Appeal,—to this draft Ordinance certain regulations were attached for the satisfactory working of the said Court, and ampler salaries were provided than in 1859,—for instance, the “Judge President” was to receive a salary of £1,200, with a retiring allowance, or pension, after *ten* years’ service, of £900,—and after *twenty* years, a pension equal to *full pay*, etc., etc.; after the establishment of the Court, the Judge was empowered during the recess to frame such further regulations as were deemed necessary; these regulations to be confirmed by the President and Executive Council,—and to be printed for *general information*;—this Ordinance, though drafted, could not, in terms of the Constitution, become Law, unless voted by

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three-fourths of the Members, at *three* consecutive Raad meetings, and consequently lapsed.

A Stamp and Tariff Law was passed, as Ordinance No. 3, 1859, which revoked an earlier Law, on the same subject, i.e., Ordinance No. 7, 1856.

A new village called Bethlehem, situate between Winburg and Harrismith, about 50 miles from the latter,—was laid out on 3rd March, 1860, on a farm well situated in the “Hill Country,” not far from the Natal border,—the first forty-four Erven sold here averaged from £10 to £21 each.

A public “Tea Meeting” was given by the residents of Bloemfontein, early in April, 1860, to the Revd. Andrew Murray, who, after a residence in Bloemfontein of Eleven years, or more, was now leaving for Worcester, Cape Colony, to which Town he had received a call, as already stated.

A purse of money, the proceeds of a “bazaar,” and of the “Tea Meeting,” was presented to Mr. Murray, at whose departure great regret was expressed by the old residents. Mr. M., in one of his earlier visits to the country beyond the Vaal River, is said to have baptised 1,500 children, besides marrying many couples—probably as many as the children he had baptised,—for these two important domestic events often run each other very closely, in South Africa; Mr. M. is now residing in Wellington, Cape Colony, where he has for several years been doing, and is still doing, a great deal of good work in “Evangelical” and “Educational” matters.

The Revd. George Brown, of Alice, Cape Colony, a Presbyterian Minister, succeeded Mr. M. as Principal of Grey College; Mr. M.’s successor as Dutch Reformed Minister in Bloemfontein, was the Revd. G. van de Wall, who having accepted the call of the Church Wardens, arrived in Bloemfontein from America, and was formally inducted as “Resident Minister,” on the 25th May, 1862, and on the same day preached his *first* sermon on the words, “For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ,”—his exposition of the text gave the hearers a good impression of the ability and earnestness of the preacher, who had come here from the United States of America, and was well

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versed in both the English and Dutch languages, and on several occasions conducted services for English residents in the former language.

Information having reached the Government from Sir George Grey, in August, 1860, that Prince Alfred, the second son of Queen Victoria, later the Duke of Edinburgh, still later the Duke of “Saxe Coburg-Gotha,” intended to visit Bloemfontein, in company of Sir George himself, who had just returned to the Cape of Good Hope; a Meeting of Inhabitants, consisting of Officials and Townspeople, was held in the old “Council Chamber,” Market Square, on the 10th August, 1860, at which a Committee of *four* gentlemen was chosen to make arrangements for the Prince’s reception; this meeting was followed on the next evening by another Meeting, numerously attended, when the Committee reported the programme they had agree upon. which was at once adopted; amongst other things there were to be arches, illuminations, transparencies, addresses, etc., etc., a great “Game hunt” at “Bains Vley”; a sum of at least £100 was *at once* subscribed to defray preliminary expenses.

The Prince, Governor, and party crossed the Orange River, at Aliwal North, on Monday morning, the 20th August, and their advent into the Orange Free State was heralded by sundry boomings from the muzzle of a small, but loud-mouthed cannon, which had been expressly brought from Smithfield, and placed on a commanding position near the River drift, or “ford”; the travellers arrived at Smithfield (escorted by a body of *sixteen* smart young men, led by Mr. Kingsley) on the evening of the same day, under triumphal arches, and amidst acclamations of great joy, waving and fluttering of many flags, and other manifestations of hearty and uproarious welcome, whilst at night the streets and houses were sumptuously decorated with transparencies, mottoes, and devices in honour of the Queen, the Prince, and Sir George Grey.

The Prince was lodged in the house of Mr. George Finlay, an old and respected resident of Smithfield, and in the evening the Dutch Reformed Minister, Mr. Roux, the

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Landdrost, and Mr. Finlay, were invited to dine with the Prince and Governor.

An address was presented to the Prince on the 26th August at 7 a.m., by a deputation of *five* gentlemen, to which he read his reply; after this, some of the Smithfield “*fair ones*” were presented to H.R. Highness and Sir George Grey.

The Prince, Sir George Grey, and party left Smithfield for Bloemfontein at 8 a.m. on the same day, amidst the booming of a Royal Salute and the cheers of many spectators, and were again escorted by Mr. Kingsley and his gallant little band, dressed in tan cord suits and black hats, trimmed with ostrich feathers, their bridles and saddle cloths being pricked out in red, white and blue; this escort accompanied the distinguished visitors about twenty miles on the Bloemfontein road; the Prince accepted as a “*Memento*” from the members of this escort a few of the ostrich feathers, which had done duty on their hats, and as a “*Souvenir*” from the Prince,—nothing more suitable being handy, *on the road*,—and a handkerchief being suggested by a member of the Escort, one was handed to them, having the Royal Coat of Arms in the corner, which the Corps enthusiastically fixed to their colours; a piece of this notable handkerchief being given to each member to be pinned to his uniform.

The Government in Bloemfontein, having arranged with the authorities at Smithfield, for the despatch of timely notice of the Prince’s movements, and probable arrival in Bloemfontein,—a message was received on the evening of the 21st August by the acting President, Mr. Spruijt (Mr. Pretorius, the President, being absent in the Transvaal), intimating that the august travellers would pass their first night from Smithfield at Mr. A. Venter’s farm Hex-river, near Reddersburg, and enter Bloemfontein at or about 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 23rd August; this intimation caused a flutter of intense excitement in the community,—horses, waggons, carts, and other vehicles then being in great demand,—were at once secured (much in the same off-hand fashion as a *genuine* Free State Field-Cornet unceremoni-

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ously possesses himself of the commodities belonging to the long-suffering burghers, of which we have lately had so many striking examples), if not by fair means,—then by foul,—no one, be it male or female—putting many questions as to proprietorship, or being at all particular as to shape, size, colour, condition, or motive power of his or her *nag*, or as to the capacity of his or her vehicle, so long as he or she could by some means or other procure a mount, or secure a drive out, to cast eyes upon a real “*live Prince*,” the son of the wonderful Queen Mother, over the great wide sea,—who had condescended to visit this far off discarded Region.

Those who could not ride, or procure horses or vehicles, went out on the means provided for them by good “*Dame Nature*,”—“*Shanks’ nag*.” The most prominent factor in the improvised motly Escort now being formed, to bring the young Prince, the Governor, and their fellow travellers, into Bloemfontein, was that locally known as the “*Dirty Boys’ Corps*,” a mounted *Corps* of young and smart “*fire-brands*,” who had, more than once, during the troublesome times in this Country’s dire experiences, risked their lives for the State, when threatened by its savage Enemy, and were never backward in rendering *voluntary* and *effective* aid to the Government, when called upon. The Writer thinks it right here to explain, in passing, that this seemingly ap-
probrious name “*Dirty Boys*” was applied by one or more unsympathetic and captious persons, residing in Bloemfontein, to certain young and sprightly Bloemfonteiners,—who, in short, composed the *young chivalrous manhood* of the Town;—these young men *occasionally*, owing to an exuberant flow of animal, with probably, now and then, a small admixture of *ardent* “*spirits*,” were by way of change, —from a somewhat monotonous existence, in the habit of enlivening the Town,—at night,—by singing and shouting rather lustily, to the annoyance of nervous persons.

The name was *not* what it implied,—and was therefore a “*misnomer*,”—for these young men did certainly not belong to the “*unwashed*” fraternity,—who studiously avoided soap and water,—nor were they morally corrupt;

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it was simply a name of reproach, or derision, dictated by spite and malevolence, and as it did not injure those for whom it was intended, but rather evoked merriment,—and held their traducers up to public contempt,—the young fellows did not resent being called “*Dirty Boys*,” and they in their turn could find many ways of humiliating their captious “nomenclators.”

And now to return to our august visitors: a Mr. Kloppe of Smithfield, who had accompanied the Prince's train for some distance from Smithfield,—having arrived in Bloemfontein,—*in advance*,—on the 23rd day of August, informed the expectant and impatient Townspeople, that the Prince and Governor would arrive that day, and so at 12 a.m. the Corps of *Dirty Boys*, and large numbers of Town residents, went out along the Smithfield Road, to meet the distinguished *Guests*, and at 1 o'clock p.m. their baggage waggons could be seen in the distance,—from Kaffirberg; and further information was given by an incoming gentleman, that the Prince and Governor, who were enjoying a little shooting, would meet the inhabitants at 3 or 4 p.m., and at about the former hour, they both met the acting President—Mr. Spruijt,—the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, and the Town Field-Cornet—Mr. W. G. Every, later in command of the *Dirty Boys Corps*, carrying a “Union Jack,” when a “*feu-de-joie*” was fired, and many lusty cheers rent the air;—the Prince, and Governor, with their “Cortege,” and the assembled multitude, then moved on to Town.

The Prince, Governor, and Staff were all mounted;—the former being well mounted on a beautiful grey steed, and showed good form; the cavalcade were all soon called upon,—in some measure,—to test their skill in horsemanship, in pursuit,—“pell mell,”—of an ill-fated hare, that was started near the roadside, and was being chased by sundry dogs,—of the “cur”-yelping sort,—the poor non-plussed hare afforded the procession of great men, their escort, and attendants no little amusement by dodging about, between the horses' heels, and by performing sundry other antics, until its exciting career was brought to an

ignominious close by its running into the jaws of one of its “doggie” pursuers.

On reaching the Boemfontein Fort, the Cannon mounted there belched forth a hearty welcome of *twenty-one* “volleys”; the “cortege,” which had now gained considerably in length, and numbers, passed under several “triumphal arches,” erected in St. George and Douglas Streets,—the “*Main arch*” spanning Upper Church Street and the South corner of Market Square, near the house where the Prince and Governor were to be lodged (Mr. Julius Jordan’s); here the Royal Standard was hoisted, and another salute of Seventeen guns fired from the Fort,—the Royal party’s travelling equipage, consisting of Eight waggons, a Cart, and several horses, had meanwhile been outspanned on the Market Square, and strange to say, just after the entry of these distinguished visitors into Bloemfontein, a number of wild buck (blesbucks) entered the Town from the opposite side, some of which were captured on the Market Square.

In the evening an address was presented to the Prince, by a deputation of Six gentlemen, appointed for that purpose, to which he read his reply; an address was likewise presented to Sir George Grey to which he sent a reply later on; both addresses were numerously signed. At night the Town was brilliantly “lit up” with Chinese lanterns, coloured glasses, and fairy lamps, tastefully arranged, and rockets, illuminations, transparencies, mottoes, devices, and numerous fireworks; on the Bloemfontein Mountain, and on other elevated points, *huge bon-fires* were set ablaze, flags of all Nations and banners of divers colours and descriptions were floating in and over every available spot, and the Town was Holiday-keeping in real earnest, and almost mad with excitement, the jollifications lasting into far beyond midnight.

A *Public luncheon*, on a large scale, was given to the Prince and Governor and their Suite, at which many residents of both sexes took part.

The following day a *great* “Game hunt” took place, which had previously been arranged for the Prince,

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Governor, and party, by Mr. Andrew Hudson Bain, on his farm Bains-vley (at which many Townspeople and others were present), extending over an immense flat some Eight or Nine miles from Bloemfontein, for which a start was made from Bloemfontein at 10 a.m.,—the Prince being specially escorted to this grand *Meet* by our friends, the gallant *Dirty Boys' Corps*, followed by a considerable number of Ladies and Gentlemen in Waggon, Carts, and other vehicles, and on horseback, and it is indeed doubtful whether a *hunt* exceeding or even equalling in proportions (i.e. in quantity of game collected together on one spot, number of hunters assembled, and slaughter of animals) ever took place in the present century (the Nineteenth) as this *gigantic "Chase"* at Bains-vley, for besides a great many people,—both white and black,—about One thousand Baralong Kaffirs from “Thaba Nchu” (Morokka's), mostly mounted, and provided with guns, and pack-oxen, were *specially* engaged to beat and drive up the game from distant parts, and having done so, to surround the vast herds of game of several kinds,—of which the State was then full,—such as Wildebeest (Gnu), Blesbuck, Springbuck, Steenbuck, Quagga, Ostriches, etc., etc.; all these were easily shot down by the different hunters; the Prince, and Sir George Grey, and Staff doing justice to their part in the carnage.

Mr. Bain, with his usual generous hospitality, entertained not only the Prince, Governor, and their party, but also a large number of the other visitors.

At 2 o'clock p.m. the starting of the yelling Kaffirs, and the dense clouds of dust raised, showed that the Game in thousands were approaching the homestead in large numbers,—the Prince, the Governor, and their fellow travellers who were watching at the Bains-vley homestead, could by climbing on an outhouse loft distinctly see the vast herds of Game advancing with the Kaffirs in full pursuit; the horses were quickly saddled and mounted, and firing commenced upon the huge mass of moving Game, out of which many hundreds fell dead and wounded,—the hunt lasted about an hour, and during that time it was estimated

that the Prince alone accounted for some Twenty-five head of Game, and the Kaffirs who benefited from, and were jubilant over, the flesh, reported that about One thousand head of Game of different kinds were destroyed.

Some Kaffir horses got mixed up with the terrified and maddened Game, and were killed in the general confusion, the Kaffirs continued their terrible slaughter after the hunt had ended. It was estimated that *Twenty* or *Thirty* thousand head of Game had been surrounded by the Kaffirs and that as the result of this great “battue,” the number of Game was reduced by about *five thousand head*; some portion of the “hunt” could be seen from Bloemfontein.

“The “hunt” being now ended, Mr. Bain was heartily thanked by the Prince, and Governor, for his great hospitality as Host, and for his gigantic and successful efforts in “getting up” this exciting and interesting hunt.

The dead Game proved a God-send to the Kaffirs, who conveyed the carcasses away on pack oxen, waggons, etc., and had a supply of flesh to satisfy their voracious appetites for many months.

A grotesque “War dance,” in which Zulus, Baralong, Fingoes, and their women took part, was got up after the hunt was over, which greatly amused the young Prince; after this, the illustrious guest left Bloemfontein for Natal, via Winburg,—under a farewell salute from the Fort, carrying with them the good wishes and affectionate regards of the community.

The visitors who accompanied the Prince and Governor were Sir Water Currie, Commandant of the “Colonial Mounted Police”; Colonel Bissett, Major Cowell, Mr. Rivers, Dr. Morton, Mr. York (Photographer), and Mr. Jocelyn, A.D.C. to the Prince, and an escort of Cape Mounted Rifles.

The Prince presented his travelling waggon to the State President,—as a gift to the Free State,—to serve as a “memento” of his visit, but by some misunderstanding the waggon was claimed by Mr. Pretorius, who seemed to think that the gift had been made to him personally.

The travellers met Mr. Pretorius about fifteen miles

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on the Bloemfontein side of Winburg, on his return from the Transvaal; he accompanied them back to Winburg, where they were received with great enthusiasm, and sundry addresses of welcome; these were repeated at Sandriver, Harrismith, and other places he passed through, “en route” to Natal.

The following is the Prince’s reply to the Bloemfontein addresses, viz. :—

To the gentlemen presenting the address from the Inhabitants of Bloemfontein,—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your address, and for your wishes for my future prosperity, and usefulness, but especially that the valuable life of the Queen may long be preserved to her subjects and to her family. I will not fail to let Her Majesty know of the warm reception which you have given me, and the terms in which you have expressed yourselves regarding her, and I feel sure that Her Majesty will derive much pleasure in hearing this,—as also of your present state of tranquility and welfare.

ALFRED.

The following is Sir George Grey’s reply to the Bloemfontein address :—

To George Home, Esq., and the other Inhabitants of Bloemfontein, signing the address,—

Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to receive, once more, an address from the Inhabitants of Bloemfontein, and its vicinity; my satisfaction is upon this occasion heightened by my having visited you in attendance upon a Prince of the Royal family of England, whose visit to this Colony will, I feel sure, be long remembered by its Inhabitants.

As you state I have always felt it my duty, by every means in my power, to promote the interests of the “Orange Free State,” feeling that in doing this I should be fulfilling the anxious wishes of the Queen. If at any future time I can serve you, you may rely upon my striving to do so.

G. GREY.

Bloemfontein, 23rd August, 1860.

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The Writer's father was the author of the following poetic effusions on the occasion of the distinguished Visitors' arrival; the first an "acrostic," as follows, viz. :—

Afric's remotest confines ring with joy,—
Loud are its exultations,—and sincere,
For Ocean's mighty Queen sends us her boy,
Relying on the countless hearts and hands;
E'en in remotest nooks, and coldest lands;
Devoted to herself, and all that she holds dear.

And again on the event of the visit of Prince and Governor :—

“From where far west the Cape the Antarctic surge defies,
“To where high o'er Natal's fair vales Quathlamba's crags arise,
“Why fills the ear that choral swell of glad unbroken song
“O'er Afric's dells and woods, and wilds triumphant borne along?
“A boy, whose cheek with youth's first dawn is still but scantily grac'd,
“Borne hither o'er yon deep—his foot on our far shores has plac'd;
“Yet marvel not at such wild joy;—that slender stripling form,
“Whether it tread Earth's solitudes, or ride through Ocean's storm,
“Bears with it,—where it stands or moves, no mean or trifling part
“Of all the hope and joy that throbs in Albion's mighty heart.
“But can it be, that not alone the gay and wealthy streets
“Of Cities proud, and Bays, where ride his parents' gallant fleets,
“The radiance of a Royal smile shall feel,—but shall e'en we,
“Last of mankind,—on these wild steppes, in mockery called the “Free?”
“Yes, lo! he comes Victoria's type,—his Queenly mother's joy:
“Doubtless she loves the Prince, but ah, she must adore the boy,
“And Royal youth, at thy right hand, we hail the placid mien *
“Of that true Knight, not first to-day in these far regions seen,
“Who, love impelled, despising toil, our confines thrice hath cross'd.
“His sole desire: the weak to aid, and seek and save the lost,—
“Mid Afric's rulers, out he shines, illustrious and alone.
“No Garter'd Earl more glorious, stands near thy blest Mother's throne
“Roused by such advent, e'en my soul, long torpid, starts awake.
“A harp for thirty Winters mute, those trembling fingers take,
“The Georgian era lives again, as memory backward flies,
“To Britain's cliffs, that never more may greet these exiled eyes.
“But wherefore should my soul revert to the less glorious past?
“To coming days of brighter hue, the muse her glance shall cast,—
“Fair youth,—my aged fancy would a few short years o'erleap
“To gaze upon thy pennon bright, straining across the deep:

* NOTE.—Sir George Grey: this was his third visit during his administration of the Government of the Cape Colony.

“ FREE STATIA.”

“ Let Gallia † then in might arise, with all her warrior hosts,
 “ Assail Britannia’s floating towers, or penetrate her coasts.
 “ The muse foresees the day, when from her well-stocked quiver,
 “ Victoria shall her twain shafts draw, by Foreign threats unawed.
 “ Thine be it then, great Nelson’s fame, on Ocean to recall,
 “ With flag unstained to win and live, or with thy country fall.
 “ Meanwhile thy noble brothers’ Crest, in battle’s van shall shine,
 “ And lead against Gaul’s audacious bands: the unwavering rifted line.
 “ The glory theirs,—not spoil,—to win, by land or on the deep ;
 “ But their dear and fair homes inviolate to keep.
 “ Lov’d pair, farewell,—to brighter scenes ye speed, and us forgot,
 “ To dull obscurity ye leave,— and to our lowly lot.

Bloemfontein, Orange Free State,
24th August, 1860.

It was clearly ascertained in November, 1860,—from certain reliable “Commercial returns,” which had been compiled by order of the Government,—that Goods, Merchandize, etc., consumed in the State, upon which Customs dues were being levied in the Cape Colony and Natal, were approximately as follows, viz. :—

1st.—In Bloemfontein and District, to the tune of	£70,000
2nd.—In Smithfield and District	50,000
3rd.—In Fauresmith and District	80,000
4th.—In Winburg and District	30,000
5th.—In Harrismith, Boshof, and Kroonstad,	
etc.	20,000
Together	£250,000

On this sum, the Free State was justly entitled to its fair share of Customs duty, say to not less, at a low computation, than £2,000,—probably a good deal more,—this was besides the goods got through Natal.

Besides the above,—the duty on 6,000 pounds of Gunpowder, annually consumed in the State, which reckoned at “Sixpence” per pound, alone comes to £1,500: all this duty “plus-minus” the Colonial and Natal Governments

† NOTE.—At the time when this poem was written France was trying to “stir up” a European war.

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regularly received, less the cost of collecting same and a few other small “debts,” without—*up to the present time*—“1860”—allowing this struggling small State a “single penny” of what in a “competent Court of Law” would be regarded as a legal claim; the question naturally occurs here to the dispassionate reader, would it not have been better, and more honourable, in this enlightened age, for our big overgrown neighbour to have dealt fairly towards us, by handing over to the young and struggling State, her “legitimate” share of those duties,—by so doing, to help us in our attempt to establish a more stable administration, attend better to public roads, and more fully to develop her “trade relations” generally, with a country yearly growing in importance?

The Free State, though, in many respects, a suitable country for Horses, Cattle, and Sheep breeding, for Wool growing, and for Agriculture, Arboriculture, Horticulture, etc., is in some other ways rather disappointing;—for instance, long droughts sometimes visit it, and at such times the Crops, which might still be saved notwithstanding the lack of moisture, become a prey to the ravages of insect pests, and the severity of untimely frosts and hailstorms.

The country passed through a severe visitation of drought in 1860, when up to the end of November of that year the much needed rain had not come, and as is often the case,—after long continued droughts,—early in December heavy cold rains, and severe hail storms fell, inflicting great damage in different parts of the country, especially in the Northern Districts.

In the Districts of Winburg and Cronstadt (Kroonstad) the farmers lost nearly *half* their stock of horses, cattle, and sheep; one man in the Winburg District, lost 900 sheep, and goats, 23 head of cattle, and several horses; Native herd boys perished from exposure to the inclemency of the weather; the total deaths in sheep in the Winburg District was estimated at “40,000”; heavy rains likewise fell in the Harrismith District, where much stock perished, but of which no statistics were collected.

In “1862” the country was again visited by one of

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these calamitous droughts, and many Horses, Cattle, and Sheep perished from hunger, and thousands of pounds were lost to the country, in failure of grain, and other crops, etc., etc.; the weather was variable,—hot and cold alternately,—sickness was rife, casualties from lightning were numerous, and hailstorms devastated what remained over from the drought; it took *three* months for loads of Merchandize to reach Bloemfontein, from Port Elizabeth, per Ox waggon,—each waggon requiring about *fifty* draught animals for the journey,—this being then the only means of locomotion.

The rains began to fall early in *December*, in great abundance (“superabundance”) throughout the State, when they should have come in *September* or *October*, but the recent droughts had greatly increased the cost of breadstuffs, etc., some good quality boer meal from the Transvaal,—whence the chief and best supplies were then obtained,—sold at from £9 to £10 per sack of 200 pounds weight,—and boer tobacco realized 3s. 6d. per pound.

It was stated by some observers that after the severe drought of “1862,” several species of new grasses,—not known in the country before,—had made their appearance here; the solution of this mystery being that probably the heavy winds from the interior, which prevailed during the greater time of the drought, had blown the grass seeds here.

The ruling market rates were now,—for good boer meal 60s. to 94s., Kaffir Corn 50s. to 67s., Mealies 45s. to 51s. per sack of 200 lbs., Peas 8s. to 9s. per bucket, Natal Sugar 60s. to 60s. 6d. per 100 lbs., Horse Forage 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d. per bundle (small), Tobacco 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d. per pound, Potatoes 10s. to 11s. per bucket.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

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A party of young men (amateur sportsmen), started from Bloemfontein in 1862 for Kaffirberg,—about twelve miles distant,—wolf-hunting, and bagged three full grown wolves, in the open country; these animals were so numerous even then, that they could be continually seen roaming the flats, at their own sweet will.

Young calves, foals, and sheep could not, in those days, with safety be left out in the “Veldt,” unless the precaution was taken, of binding a tinkling bell,—or attaching a “white stick,”—to the necks of those animals—lest they should be devoured by these voracious, though cowardly, brutes;—these appendages served to scare our “South African Wolf,” alias “Hyena,”—and preserved the young stock,—but without them the young animal would undoubtedly be devoured.

As a proof that the State was in 1861 not quite free from Lions, it may interest the reader to know that a “Lion hunt” was got up in Harrismith, by a party of white men, and a few Kaffirs, as recently as February of that year, for hunting *three* Lions, which had killed two Horses, on a farm of Mr. P. Uys, when *two* out of the *three* Lions were killed.

In 1860 good farms in the State were rapidly increasing in value; to show this the writer may here cite, as an instance,—the farm “*Quaggafontein*,” situate about Eight miles to the west of Bloemfontein, in extent about 8,300 morgen, purchased by Mr. A. H. Bain in 1857 for £300, with very few improvements on it, and sold by Mr. Bain to Mr. Chapman, in March, 1861, for £3,500;—another farm called “*Zuurfontein*,” midway between Bloemfontein and Fauresmith, was sold in July, 1861, by the proprietor, a Mr. Furstenburg, for £4,650: this farm was purchased by the seller, a few years before, for £1,100; the buildings and other improvements on the farm were of an inferior class;—a farm called “*Spitskop*,” near the Mission Station Bethany, was purchased in March, 1848, for £63 5s., on 24th November, 1851, for £157 10s., on 9th June, 1856, for £1,350, and was sold in November, 1857, for £2,000, and was in 1861 probably worth not less than £3,000; this farm is only 2,400 morgen in extent;—a farm called “*Terlapsfontein*,” in the Smithfield District, with a fairly good house, kraals, and sundry improvements, was sold in October, 1861, for £2,525,—the seller purchased it a few years ago for £375;—another farm near the Sand River, Winburg, was purchased, in September, 1861, by a Mr. Pretorius

for £2,000, and sold in December of the same year, to a Mr. van Rooyen, for £4,000;—a farm called “*Koranna-fontein*,” District Smithfield, in extent 3,064 morgen, the property of Mr. T. W. Vowe, Magistrate of Smithfield, was sold early in 1862, for £6,000 (there is a big dam on this farm); and finally two-thirds of a farm called “*Prospect*,” same District,—and same owner,—was sold for £2,225 10s., this farm was purchased in 1849 for £40.

The writer might enlarge on the rapid rise in the value of land in the State since 1849, but the above will suffice to give the reader a pretty good and correct idea of the upward tendency in the value of real property.

The Wesleyan Minister, Mr. Cresswell, referred to in former pages, left Bloemfontein in March, 1861,—for the “Mission Station,” “Platberg,” in Basutoland,—where he was to be stationed, and was succeeded in Bloemfontein by the Revd. John G. Morrow; Mr. Morrow was an earnest and eloquent young preacher, and after a few years residence, returned to England, and settled at Bridgewater, where the writer again met him in 1878.

Our little go-ahead neighbour, Natal, was now making rapid progress in “Sugar growing.” Twenty bags of “Natal sugar” were sold on the Bloemfontein Market, early in April, 1861, at *Fifty-eight shillings* the 100 lbs., equal to at least 6¾d. per lb., and this was then regarded as a moderate price,—though it must have paid the Manufacturers well enough.

That dreadful scourge, Horse sickness, which was almost unknown in these parts for some years, committed great ravages among these useful animals in May, 1861; the late Commandant N. P. Muller, residing near the Modder River, lost Eighteen horses within a few days from this fearful malady, for which up to the present, no *reliable* cure seems to have been discovered.

On the Vaal River, and in many parts of the Transvaal, horses cannot be kept, with safety, unless confined in stables, during the early months of the year,—January, February, March, and April,—otherwise *nine* out of *ten* would probably fall victims to the scourge.

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In these days of cheap postage, it is interesting to glance back, and note, that in 1861,—and for several years later,—the ruling rate of postage on a “half ounce letter” to England was “*One shilling and ten pence*,” made up as follows: Free State postage 6d., Colonial 4d., Ocean 1s.

A rumour gained currency in July, 1862, that steps were being taken in England, for the appointment of an Episcopalian Bishop, for the Orange Free State, with a staff of Clergy, and that the “Society” for the “Propagation of the Gospel,” had promised to grant £500 towards the Clergy fund. This news gave general satisfaction to the English Church community.

The Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town,—Bishop Grey,—in a communication dated 2nd July, 1862, stated that “the foremost object of deep importance, which he “hoped by his presence in England to promote, was the “appointment of a Bishop for the Orange Free State,” he further said, “that in all the villages there was an “English population, and further that there were some “20,000 Native heathen in those Territories”;—some months later,—in February, 1863,—information came to hand from England, that the Revd. Edward Twells, of St. John’s, Hammersmith, London, had been nominated the first Bishop, for this State, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Cape Town.

To give the reader an idea of the financial progress of the State,—the writer appends a statement of Government “*Revenue*” and “*Expenditure*,” from the year 1860 to the year 1889 inclusive, as follows, to wit:—

For the year 1860—	Revenue	£20,919,	Expenditure	£21,156
„	1861	„ 32,169	„	32,368
„	1862	„ 44,555	„	41,698
„	1863	„ 42,215	„	42,693
„	1864	„ 41,651	„	41,627
„	1865	„ 66,076	„	64,663
„	1866	„ 57,838	„	86,322
„	1867	„ 45,262	„	95,786
„	1868	„ 48,910	„	57,372
„	1869	„ 56,453	„	44,288
„	1870	„ 64,110	„	53,000

For the year 1871—	Revenue	£70,011,	Expenditure	£59,831
„	1872	„ 92,486	„	70,302
„	1873	„ 94,781	„	69,547
„	1874	„ 100,859	„	85,682
„	1875	„ 100,501	„	99,695
„	1876	„ 87,978	„	96,240
„	1877	„ 105,146	„	108,700
„	1878	„ 108,581	„	99,695
„	1879	„ 131,968	„	116,671
„	1880	„ 165,486	„	154,715
„	1881	„ 195,741	„	187,707
„	1882	„ 175,354	„	200,492
„	1883	„ 180,281	„	268,672
„	1884	„ 168,787	„	243,999
„	1885	„ 196,494	„	183,581
„	1886	„ 163,364	„	142,369
„	1887	„ 210,074	„	140,788
„	1888	„ 202,270	„	157,488
„	1889	„ 272,328	„	200,090

From the above *statement* it will be seen that the *Revenue* made rapid advances, and although for a few years, — owing to the unparalleled drain upon the *Exchequer*,—caused by the long continued and costly “Basuto War,” and the outlay for Public Works,—the *Revenue* seemed to slacken, and the *Expenditure* to increase, at the same ratio,—still, on the whole, both remained pretty well on a par, and for several years there was an increase of *Revenue* :—for instance in 1870 the *Revenue* was £64,110 and the *Expenditure* £53,000, in 1871 the *Revenue* was £70,011 and the *Expenditure* £59,831, in 1872 the *Revenue* was £92,486 and the *Expenditure* £70,302, in 1874 the *Revenue* was £100,859 and the *Expenditure* was £85,682, in 1875 the *Revenue* was £100,501 and the *Expenditure* £99,695; the most marked difference, however, on the “*Credit Side*” was in 1887, when the *Revenue* was £210,074 and the *Expenditure* £140,788, and in 1889 when the *Revenue* was £272,328 and the *Expenditure* £200,090; and here it must be noted that the State was all those years entirely free from “*foreign*” creditors, and its only *National debt* was a couple of issues of *Government legal tender Notes*,—commonly denominated “*Bluebacks*,”

which although,—when first issued,—were much depreciated in value and caused great alarm and some loss,—were by being faithfully redeemed at their face value in terms of the *solemn obligation*, to which the Government was pledged,—as expressed on the face of each Note,—out of the *current Revenue*,—became before long the legitimate currency. After the introduction of Railways the Revenue was considerably augmented by Customs, etc.

On the 15th day of August, 1861, the foundation stone of a “new Presidency” was laid by President Pretorius, in the presence of the Officials, Municipal Commissioners, and the general public; the Free State flag was “run up,” a few shots were fired from the Six pounder gun at the Fort, the usual speeches made, and the stone laid in due form; the buiding was to cost about £2,500, not much could be expected in “brick and mortar” in this far inland Town, from so meagre a grant, but as we were still in our crawling infancy, and withal a humble minded folk who did not want to put on too much side, and we were contented with this lowly beginning.

Late in October, 1861, the Wesleyan District Meeting, “Northern section,”—held their *second* Session in Bloemfontein,—the first of these Meetings having been held about *ten* years ago; the meeting lasted about a week, and interesting religious services were held *daily*,—different Ministers occupied the pulpit in turn. The Preachers were the Revds. R. Giddy, James Scott, A. Briggs, W. R. Longdon, John Ayliff, J. D. M. Ludolph, T. Cresswell, and the resident Minister J. G. Morrow. These Meetings were a gain to the Town, in a Religious and Social point of view.

Mr. J. T. Daniel was, on this occasion,—after a probation of some thirteen years, in mission work, among the Natives,—ordained a Minister of the Gospel; the Ordination service was impressively conducted by Mr. Ayliff, one of the oldest and most esteemed of the “Wesleyan Missionaries,”—and was largely attended; Mr. Daniel was afterwards removed to Thaba Nchu, where he died some years ago.

State aid was granted by the Volksraad, to the Wesleyan Mission, as follows, viz. :—

For Bloemfontein—£100 per annum.

For Smithfield—£100 per annum.

For Fauresmith—£75 per annum.

Mr. Ayliff, above referred to, died at Fauresmith, on the 1st May, 1862; he had been for many years a Missionary, —labouring amongst the Colonial Kaal Kaffirs;—Mr. R. Giddy, who had been for some time Chairman of the District, died at Colesberg many years ago.

On the 29th day of October, 1861, the Writer and his Father,—who was then still hale and hearty,—proceeded together on a tour to the Colony of Natal;—he having obtained a few weeks leave of absence for much needed rest from his arduous Official duties as Registrar of Deeds, etc., etc.

We journeyed comfortably in a well-equipped and roomy travelling cart,—drawn by four strong horses,—had an experienced Whip as driver, and an assistant for the road, and visited many places of interest in this blooming garden Colony, — amongst these were “Maritzburg,” “Durban,” “Ladysmith,” “Greytown,” “Colenso,” “Howick,” “Estcourt,” “Weenen,” “Pinetown,” and some of the Sugar plantations and sugar mills on the Coast, —and last, though not least, the celebrated Blaauwkrantz Valley, where the terrible bloody encounters took place between some of the early “Voortrekkers” (after the massacre of “Retief” and his men) and large numbers of Zulus under the cruel and crafty Dingaan;—here, during this life and death struggle, the stream running through the valley was changed into blood, and the dead and dying Zulus lay strewn about in large numbers in the bed of this deep and gloomy valley; here the women gallantly stood by the few men in the “laager” to help beat off their bloodthirsty and savage assailants, and here bones may still be found of the vanquished Zulus.

As our horses had become jaded, and needed rest, we unharnessed them, and spent a night in this deep and historical valley, and were regaled, during the “night

watches,” with the incessant croaking of numerous frogs, whose hideous and dolorous guttural noises seemed forcibly to call to mind the agonies and moans of those dying there from their wounds,—black and white,—on this very spot, not many years ago.

At Weenen the Writer’s Father met an old friend, named “Gregory,” with whom he had been associated many years ago, in Educational matters, in Cape Town, and who had become Speaker of the “Natal Parliament”; these two old friends spent an agreeable time together in waking up “old memories” of days long gone by.

We were impressed with what we saw of Natal,—a country in parts abounding in high mountains, hills, and valleys, very undulating and varied in its scenery, for the greater part well watered and fertile,—the view of the Drakensberg was grand and impressive, especially when seen in the wild throes of a thunder storm, as we saw it.

Natal, though very much younger than some other settled portions of South Africa, was already, in 1861, in the “van” as regards material progress, and was becoming an “object lesson” to its older neighbour,—the Cape Coony,—in the enterprise and “go” manifested by its people; for instance, in the employment of Steam power, and cultivation, for even in this year (1861) it could show a short line of Railway, running from the Town of Durban to the “Point,” and on this line it was a pleasure for us to travel; it had also made a good beginning in Tea and Sugar production.

The streets of Durban,—if so they could be called,—were then composed of deep loose sea sand, difficult for pedestrians to wade through, which made walking a weariness to the flesh,—the Ladies of the Town, who would, however, not be foiled in their shopping, etc., finding it next to impossible to get along the sand, laid the chivalrous duty of carrying them thro’ it upon the meek and docile Natal ponies; the hardening of these streets, a truly herculean task, was, however, successfully completed a few years later; — “Bravo, brave little Natal; go on and flourish!”

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The country as a whole, and especially the larger Towns, was at the time of our visit showing signs of rapid advancement,—some thought the people a little too go-a-head.

Natal was in 1861 an unknown region to many persons residing in this State,—especially to those living in the Southern and Western Districts, i.e., Bloemfontein, Fauresmith, Boshof, Philippolis, Bethulie, Rouxville, etc.,—except perhaps to a few of the children of the Natal “Voor-trekkers,” still being in these Districts,—and to some of the inhabitants of Winburg, Harrismith, Bethlehem, and Cronstadt (Kroonstad), whose traders had already established mercantile relations with Durban Merchants.

Amongst our exploits in Natal, was the crossing of the mouth of the Bay in a two-oared Boat, and the climbing of the “Bluff,” a woody “promontory,” said to be about 300 feet above “sea level,” probably more,—which we ascended after a stiff climb of what we regarded as far exceeding 300 feet,—through a dense undergrowth of stunted brushwood, and having done this, we were fully repaid, by an enchanting view (we were favoured to look upon—from the top of the “Bluff” lighthouse) of the Town of Durban, its “Bay,” and the “Berea” with the “Umgeni river mouth” in the distance, on the one side, and the “Indian Ocean” on the other side.

The lighthouse keeper, an old garrulous “sea dog,” entertained us for some minutes with a few of his droll and thrilling maritime experiences, during a long seafaring life.

Natal,—then a Crown Colony,—now has its own Legislature, and is forging ahead.

Early in November, 1861, a brutal murder was committed in the Ward “Lower Wittebergen,” District of Winburg, by one or more natives supposed to have been followers of the Basuto Chief “Molappo”

A Mr. Philip Venter, an old and respected Free State burgher, and a man of means, at whose hospitable dwelling the Writer and his Father were kindly entertained only a few days before, on our journey to Natal, where Mr.

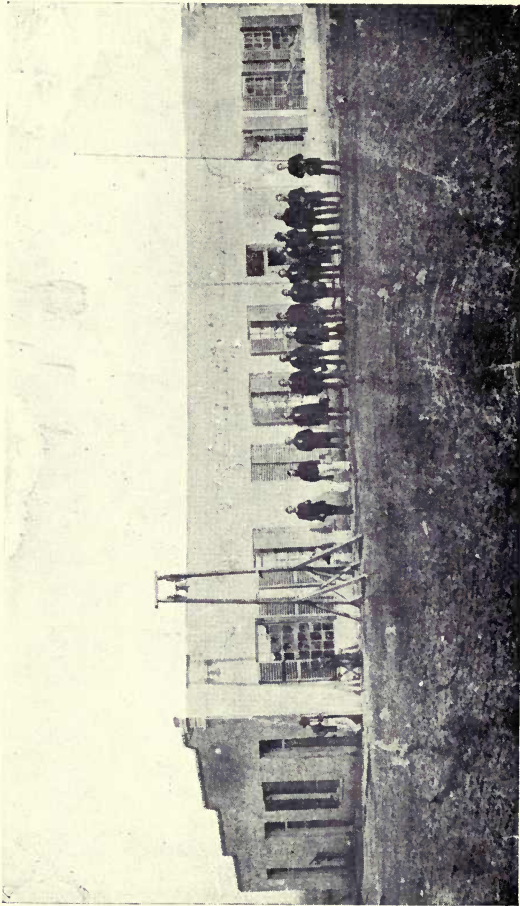
Venter had formerly resided,—having himself been an early “Voortrekker,”—had survived the *Blaauwkranz* massacre, and had assisted in humbling the arrogant and ruthless Dingaans, rode out a short distance,—about a mile,—from his homestead, with a Kaffir servant, when from some unexplained cause he and his servant separated; the servant on returning to the House, some time after, reported to Mrs. Venter, that on his going back to the spot where he had left his Master (“Baas”) he saw two Kaffirs hurrying away from there in the direction of Molappo’s K^raal, and found his Master lying on the ground quite “speechless”; when the sad tidings reached Mrs. Venter and family, Mr. Frederick Senekal,—the Field Cornet (late Commandant) of that Ward, who happened to be at Mr. Venter’s house just then,—proceeded to the place where Venter’s body was left lying, and conveyed it to the homestead, where he died, after a couple of hours.

Mr. Senekal found,—it was reported,—distinct evidence, from the appearance of the ground where the body was found, that a desperate struggle had taken place between Venter and his murderers, and pieces of broken “knob-kerries” were found lying about; on examining the body, it was found that deceased’s skull had been smashed, by severe blows, and his jaw bone broken.

The Doctor who examined Deceased’s body was of opinion that some of the injuries were inflicted with a Kaffir “battle axe,”—a formidable iron weapon, often carried by Kaffirs, as part of their war accoutrements.

The murderers were supposed to have been Basutos, and no motive could be assigned for the perpetration of the crime, except that the Basuto Nation was again becoming troublesome, especially, by forcibly driving burghers off their farms, by stealing cattle and horses, and indeed any thing they could get hold of,—and in other ways manifesting a decidedly hostile attitude towards the State and its burghers.

Two gentlemen, Messrs. J. Heyermans and C. von Brandis, both Government Officials, were sent from Bloemfontein, by President Pretorius,—on the 10th December,



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THE OLD "RAADZAAL" (COUNCIL CHAMBER), WITH GROUP OF RAADSLIEDEN.

murderers, who had been traced to his kraal,—but these gentlemen returned, after a few days, and reported to the Government that, though well received by *Molappo*, and his Basutos, they had failed in attaining the object of their mission.

Moshesh, as Paramount Chief, declined to surrender the murderers,—who were well known,—until, as he said, he had held a meeting of his Chiefs, Headmen, and Councillors, which he proposed doing on the 16th January, 1862.

It was rumoured that the murderers had asserted that Venter had fired at them before they attacked him, but this statement lacked confirmation.

Mr. von Brandis was again sent, at the request of Moshesh, by the Government, to Thaba Bosigo (Moshesh's Mountain), to be present at the meeting in January; on his return he *again* reported the non-success of this his *second* mission.

Mr. J. J. Venter, a member of the Executive Council, who had, likewise, later on, been sent as a *third* “deputation,” with a couple of others, to Moshesh, returned to Boemfontein, towards the end of March, 1862, and though he likewise expressed himself as pleased with the friendly reception given him by Moshesh,—reported that the latter could not be prevailed upon to give up Venter's murderers; he (Moshesh) stated that as a pretext for not doing so he had heard that President Pretorius had gone to Zululand for the purpose of bringing down Zulus upon the Basutos; the men implicated, Moshesh further said, went by his order as “spies,” but unfortunately got into some disagreement with Venter, which led to a row, and they then killed him.

Moshesh offered to make compensation for the murder, by a payment of Cattle, according to Basuto custom, which Mr. Venter said he could not receive,—and so the matter ended, *without the Free State receiving any satisfaction whatever for the deliberate cold-blooded murder of its subject by the Basutos.*

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As an instance of the “strained relations” between the Free State and the Basutos, the Writer may here add that a “Commission of Enquiry” having been appointed by Mr. Pretorius, in December, 1862, to investigate the losses sustained by the burghers in the Winburg District alone,—by Basuto depredations,—of which the “Police Commandant,” Mr. William George Every, was the Chairman. It was reported as follows, viz. :—

“That from the time of the suspension of hostilities,—
“1st June, 1858,—up to the time of concluding the ‘Treaty
“of Peace,’—29th September same year,—known as Sir
“George Grey’s ‘Treaty,’ 105 horses, and 445 head of cattle,
“amounting in value to £4,212, had been stolen, and traced
“in the direction of Basutoland; and from the 29th Sep-
“tember, 1858, to the 31st August, 1862, 278 horses and
“200 head of cattle, and 1 mule, were stolen, the estimated
“value of these being £5,966, making together £10,178 in
“value; no compensation was ever made for these thefts.”

At a “Public Meeting” held in Bloemfontein, on 5th December, 1861 it was unanimously decided to establish a “Joint Stock Bank,” in Bloemfontein, with a working Capital of £30,000, in £5 shares.

A provisional Committee of Seven members was chosen, for drawing up a “Prospectus,” and arranging preliminaries; the Prospectus was published on 31st December, 1861, the Writer acted as Secretary “*pro tem*,” until a Cashier could be appointed; before the 15th April, all these £5 shares were allotted, and on the 19th June, 1862, a “general meeting” of shareholders assembled, when the “Trust deed” was passed, and Seven Directors were chosen,—these were Messrs. A. H. Bain, M. Steyn, Isaac Baumann, Charles E. Fichardt, G. Page, Frederick Daniel, and James Dick (none of these gentlemen are now living); Mr. Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg and the Writer were elected “Joint Trustees,” and Mr. S. W. Green was appointed Cashier “*pro tem*,” and on 1st November, 1862, Mr. J. J. de Villiers, for several years Cashier of the “Paarl Bank,” Cape Colony, was permanently appointed Cashier, and commenced his duties “at once.” All these have passed away, except the Writer.

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The report of the Directors, dated 20th January, 1864, stated that the receipts during the first year amounted to £4,543 14s. 4d.,—equal to 34 per cent. on the paid up Capital, and after deducting all charges the actual *net* profit for the year ending 31st December, 1863, was £3,129 13s.; £825 was paid to shareholders by way of “dividends,” and the balance of £2,304 13s. was placed to the credit of “Profit and Loss” account,—and this was during a year of exceptional depression, owing to drought,—and according to the “*Second*” *quarterly Statement* for the year 1864,—the profits made during the “*half year*,” in discounts, interest, etc., were £2,575 15s. 9d. on a paid up “Capital” of £17,094; this was *then* the only “Bank” in the country, and Banking was even then a profitable business—as these figures fully testify.

News reached Bloemfontein on the 14th February, 1862, of the premature decease in the prime of life of His Royal Highness Prince *Albert*,—the Consort of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria; much sympathy was felt for the Queen, by English and other residents, in this her great and inconsolable bereavement,—Her Majesty being left a Widow at the comparatively early age of 42 years.

The recent visit to this State, of Her Majesty’s second son, Prince *Alfred*, having endeared the Queen and her Royal House, more than ever, to the English speaking portion of the community.

The country continuing in a very disturbed and unsatisfactory state,—owing to continued depredations by the Basutos,—it was *at last* decided, by the Authorities, to form a “Police force,”—to consist of 114 white men, including Officers, and 60 coloured men,—to be allocated in *four* different stations, on the “border Districts.”

The white men were to receive *five shillings* per diem, and two suits of Uniform every twelve months; gun, horse, saddle, and bridle to be found by each man,—or to be supplied by the Government,—in the latter case to be paid for by the men, in instalments, out of their monthly stipends.

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The men were expected to enlist for “*three years*”; there was to be a Commandant, and four Inspectors, at the head; the Commandant was to receive £400 per annum; the Inspectors 11s. 6d., the Sergeants 7s. 6d., and the Corporals 6s. per diem.

Mr. William George Every, an old resident of the State—and one who had done “*Commando duty*,” both in the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State,—was appointed “*Commandant*” on the 10th day of March, 1862, and on the following day he advertised for “*Recruits*,” for which there were numerous applications.

The regulations were framed in March, 1862,—but unfortunately the number of men, constituting the force, was too limited for real efficiency, considering the very extended “*frontier lines*,” which required constant patrolling, and guarding, to effect any tangible good.

The movement in raising the *Corps*, small as it was,—was a popular one, and it was hoped that the Government, having now at last taken the initiative in a much needed,—indeed an indispensable “*protection policy*”; the establishment of this *Corps* would prove the nucleus for larger developments.

This small force, however, which had during its existence done excellent service, notwithstanding the fewness of the men, and was very much appreciated,—especially by Frontier residents,—was after a life of about “*two years*” duration, unexpectedly disbanded, on a Resolution of the Volksraad,—taken in March, 1863,—to the great disappointment of a large majority of the burghers, although the Officers and men had been engaged for *three years*; on the pretext that the country could no longer afford the expense of keeping it up.

This was an unwise and short-sighted step, and fraught with much danger to the State; only the Commandant and about 24 men were retained,—until further notice,—to guard the “*Koesberg line*” in the District of Caledon River.

The village of “*Edenburg*,” District of Fauresmith,—not far from the German Mission Station “*Bethany*,” and the village “*Reddersburg*,”—was “*laid out*,” and the *first*

sale of Erven took place there on the 24th day of February, 1862, when a brisk competition took place, the proceeds of one day's sale,—in this seemingly uninviting locality,—being £3,776; the Water Erven realizing from £75 to £112, and Dry Erven from £37 10s. to £52 10s.

That beautiful animal, the *Eland*,—one of the largest and most prized amongst the South African antelope,—now almost extinct—was still to be found in the State, in March, 1862, and somewhat later; at *Nelsonskop*, in the Harrismith District, a troop of 40 head was seen, and a hunt “got up,” when one was shot; it is much to be regretted that no attempt whatever has been made in this State to preserve this truly “royal game” from extinction.

A meeting was held at the end of April, 1862, for the election of “Municipal Commissioners” for Bloemfontein, in lieu of the time-expired members, when the old Commissioners were re-elected; of these the Writer is the only survivor.

Another great hunt and slaughter of game was got up at “*Bains Vley*,” in *June*, 1862, by about 500 Baralong Kaffirs, on a large flat, lying between “*Bains Vley*” and the *Modder River*,—these Kaffirs having obtained Mr. A. H. Bain's special consent to hunt,—which lasted for several days, and it was computed that no less than 4,800 head of game, comprising Wildebeest (Gnu), Quaggas, Blesbuck, Springbuck, and Ostriches were killed,—as also thirty Wolves, and eleven Wild Dogs; Mr. Bain must have regretted allowing those natives to commit so much havoc among his game.

A long train of Kaffir waggons passed through Bloemfontein after the hunt, laden with dead game for another great Kaffir feast; one Kaffir was trampled to death by “Quaggas,” another dangerously gored by an infuriated Wildebeest, and a third slightly hurt.

A requisition was received by the Writer, on the 14th July, 1862, from Bloemfontein Electors, requesting him to allow himself to be nominated as Member for the Town for a Seat in the “*Volksraad*,”—to which having assented, he was unanimously elected on the 15th day of August, 1862,

and took his seat, for the “Chief Town,” amongst the “Sapient Senators” of this rapidly rising Republic, on the 29th September, 1862, and remained a member of the Raad for Eighteen years.

The matter of the Free State’s claim to a share of the Custom duty,—from the Cape Colony,—on goods consumed in the State, having again “cropped up,”—the State President,—Mr. Pretorius,—accompanied by the Government Secretary,—Mr. Joseph Allison,—and the President’s Private Secretary,—proceeded to Cape Town, to interview the Cape Parliament,—now in Session,—hoping that the claim would be fairly discussed, and honourably dealt with; the President and party arrived in Cape Town on the 16th June, 1862,—and though ostensibly outwardly well received by the Authorities, with whom there were a good many specious talks, and handshakes, Masonic invitations, etc., to flatter and almost turn the head of our Chief Magistrate, but alas! the Governor,—Sir Philip Woodehouse,—to whom the President addressed a written communication on the subject of his visit, when in Cape Town, and whose mind had evidently been biased, or perhaps failed to realize the justice of the claim,—appeared at once to regard the application with *disfavour*, and consequently the object of the mission *again* proved abortive,—the unsympathetic big brother was not ashamed another time to reject or ignore the righteous claim of the younger brother upon some flimsy pretext.

The amount of “Custom duty,” to which the State considered itself entitled, put down at a very low figure, amounted as already stated to about £3,000, but most probably would come to £5,000 per annum, and this money,—though only a small sum,—would in those days of “*small things*” have materially helped in the subsidising of a more efficient “Police force,” or would have ensured more safety—in better roads—for the conveyance of produce and merchandise to and from the sea coast, in which Colonial Merchants were in common with the Free State Mercantile men so deeply interested; besides the demand made by the Free State was based upon right and justice.

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In August, 1862, a Board of Examiners for regulating the admission of Advocates, Attorneys, Notaries, and Agents, to practise in the several “Law Courts” of the State, was appointed; the Members were the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, Mr. Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg, Mr. Advocate E. van Olden, and the Writer,—of these the Writer is the sole survivor.

The building of a new “Dutch Reformed Church Parsonage” at Bloemfontein, having now (1862) been resolved upon, the tender for erecting same was given to Mr. R. Douthwaite, for which he was to receive £2,400; the Contractor was expected to find out of this sum all labour, material, etc.; this Parsonage was, until recently, still being used as such, and has now made way for a new street,—“President Brand Street.”

An Express from Winburg brought intimation to the Government, on the 4th November, 1862, that a Dutch farmer named Fouchée, residing in the Ward Wittebergen, District of Winburg, had shot a Basuto Kaffir named “Mittiling,” a follower of “Paulus Mopeli,” and that the Basutos were in a great state of excitement in consequence; no particulars had reached the authorities as to the cause of the shooting of this native.

It was soon after, however, ascertained, from private information, that on the 31st October, 1862, a quarrel had arisen between Fouchée and the Basuto, in connection with a horse, which the latter had lost during a “hunt for game,” on Fouchée’s farm, the latter seeming to suspect that F. knew where the horse was,—charged him (F.) with concealing him; high words ensued,—whereupon the Kaffir was ordered to leave Fouchée’s house, which so incensed him that he made a stab at Fouchée with an assagai: two gun shots were thereupon fired at the Kaffir, either in the House, or towards the door step,—to prevent him (the Kaffir) from entering the house.

The Kaffir was wounded, but got about 1,200 yards from the house, when he was overtaken by young Fouchée, —a son of the man who was assaulted by the Kaffir,—and who it was said fired two more shots, further maiming the

man; both father and son then, it was alleged, made an end to the Kaffir.

This meagre piece of information was obtained from a young Kaffir “herd boy,” who said that he was watching close by, and saw the murder committed,—and then fled, and gave information to a son of “Paulus Mopeli,” who with a number of men,—about 100,—proceeded to F.’s farm, and on their reaching it, F. and his family had left the farm (leaving their furniture, waggons, live stock, etc., behind); next morning the Kaffirs took away the waggons and proceeded to a neighbouring farm,—Mr. F. Petersen’s,—in search of Fouchee; on the road they found in the veld another son of Fouchee,—aged about twelve years,—who was herding his father’s sheep,—this young lad, report said, they cruelly murdered,—under the eyes of his distracted mother.

The waggon and sheep were restored by the Basutos, but “Paulus Mopeli” refused to give up the murderers of the young lad,—alleging that he had been killed in expiation of the Kaffir M.’s death.

The details of this occurrence were shrouded in deep mystery, all through,—and the above statement, got chiefly from the “herd boy,” may possibly, not in all respects, have been quite reliable.

The Fouchee’s Father and Son were arrested by the “State authorities,” and indicted before the “Court of combined Landdrosts,” at Winburg, on the 16th March, 1863,—for the murder of the Basuto M. The defence set up, was that they were attacked by the man, who tried to force his way into their house, with the intention of stabbing them to death; that in “self-defence” they fired at, and wounded him (but it was not proved which of the Fouchee’s hit him), that M. then left the house, was followed by both Fouchee’s, and was afterwards found dead,—but there was no evidence to show that he had been *done to death* by the accused, the presumption being that he had died from the gun shot wound, received at the house.

The young “herd boy,” who it was reported, saw young Fouchee, at a distance, fire at, and kill, the man in the

“Veld,” did not appear at the trial,—and the accused were discharged, there being no definite evidence to convict them.

The President,—Mr. Pretorius,—on 5th March, 1863, sent in his resignation to the Raad, who on the following day, resolved by a majority,—to answer him, that they could not accept his resignation, as the State could not spare him, and that they,—in preference to losing his services,—were willing to grant him leave of absence from time to time, to arrange his private matters, in the Transvaal,—on “full salary”; this “temporising policy” naturally led Mr. P. to withdraw his resignation, and he again proceeded to the Transvaal on “leave” and “full pay,”—but finding that he could not well serve both States, he finally sent in his resignation on 15th April, 1863,—which was accepted by the Volksraad on 20th June, 1863, and Mr. J. J. Venter, Member of the “Executive Council,” was appointed acting President, until a new election could take place.

Mr. Advocate J. H. Brand, of Cape Town, son of the Speaker of the Cape Colonial Parliament (House of Assembly), a gentleman in good practice, and Law lecturer to the “South African College,” Cape Town, was now proposed by the Raad,—to the Electors,—as a Candidate for the vacancy.

Mr. Pretorius had *at last finally* retired from the high position to which he had so long aspired, and this was a relief to the Country, for he was rarely at his post of duty,—continually oscillating between the two States; and besides it put an end, at any rate for a time, to the incessant clamour of shallow minded people,—for a *Union* between the Transvaal and the Free State, and the latter had moreover now learnt the “wholesome” lesson that President Pretorius took far more interest in his own “homeland,” beyond the Vaal, than in this State,—the Presidency of which, judging from appearances, he had accepted merely to serve his own private ends.

To many of the lower class Dutch burghers there was a “witchery” in the name “Pretorius,”—for was he not a son of the great “Voortrekker,” liberator, and Commandant, *Andries Pretorius*,—who had led his followers to the good

and wide land over the Vaal, the “embryo” of a future great “Afrikander Republic”; had he not with, and as one of them, endured much fatigue, hardship, and privation? had he not fought and won many battles with Native hords, and had he not made for himself a great name as patriot, leader, adviser, and administrator?—but alas! the son did unfortunately not inherit,—beyond the mere name,—much of his sire’s ability, tact, and resolution.

During Mr. P.’s sojourn in Bloemfontein, the Transvaal was in an unsettled state,—the hot-bed of plots, seditions, and stratagems, innumerable,—party pitted against party,—clique against clique,—all turmoil, hatred, envy, jealousy; it was thought by many that the late Free State President was really the only person who could establish peace and order in that distracted country, amongst those conflicting elements, Mr. P. died at Potchefstroom, Transvaal, at a ripe old age, in 1901.

The State was, during the regime of President Pretorius, showing palpable signs of *decline*; our relations with the neighbouring Native tribes,—especially with the Basutos,—giving cause for *great* and *immediate* alarm; many of the thoughtful inhabitants fearing lest the country, in its present state of isolation and weakness, might, if attacked, become an easy prey to our numerous black Enemies,—held meetings in different Districts,—appointed Committees, etc., with a view of getting up Memorials to the Volksraad, praying for what,—in the absence of a better word,—the writer will call a “qualified annexation,”—or rather “Federation,”—under certain well-defined conditions,—with the “British Empire,”—based upon the scheme proposed a few months ago, by Sir George Grey; the outcome of this movement being that, at the Raad Session of 23rd June, 1863, the following petitions, besides numerous “minutes of meetings,” on the same subject, were read, namely:—

For “Annexation,” or rather “Federation,”—Memorials bearing 1,550 signatures.

Against Annexation or Federation, Memorials bearing “1014” signatures, being a majority for Federation of “536.”

Mr. acting President Venter somewhat rashly ventured to remark, when these petitions were being discussed, that a great many of the signatures for Federation were not those of burghers of the State, but he said nothing whatever regarding those who signed against it,—towards whom his uncalled for remarks would doubtless more pertinently have applied, as it was well known that the anti-federation party had not scrupled to obtain signatures from even women and children.

It was not from mere caprice, or from a captious desire for a change of Government, that the present movement was being initiated, but rather from a *well* grounded and sincere desire to benefit the country and people, who were then minus vital cohesion and sound public opinion on State questions,—very often at variance with each other on political and social matters, — without Seaports, Railways, Bridges, and even good Roads,—no standing army,—save an insignificant handful of a so-called “Frontier Police force” which might at any moment be disbanded,—according to the “whim” of the Volksraad, and utterly without the means for providing these essentials, and in a great measure dependent on the generosity of our White neighbours for many of the necessaries of life, for which they “bled” us pretty severely, and had more than once given us the cold-shoulder by a “marked” want of sympathy and a grasping disposition; it was therefore no wonder that the thinking portion of the community sought for some “safety valve” in federation.

But doubtless our greatest trouble and anxiety was in being begirt, as we were, by a powerful and wily black Enemy, who was yearly increasing numerically at an astounding rate,—and was a continual menace to us, and with whom we must inevitably,—sooner or later,—probably *very soon*, expect to be engaged in a life and death struggle of great magnitude; with the disadvantage too of having a long “Frontier line,” extending over several hundred miles, to guard against their murderous inroads.

The Volksraad replied to the petitions for Federation, intimating regret “that the said petitions had been signed by a

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“ number of persons, amongst whom there appeared the
“ names of several loyal burghers,—in which petitions it
“ was requested to propose to the British Government the
“ surrender of the State under British Rule,—the Raad was
“ however glad to see that many burghers whilst declaring
“ that they were independent, and wished to remain so,
“ protested against any steps being taken whereby the
“ independence of the State, or its honour, might be en-
“ dangered;—they likewise felt that, irrespectively of the
“ Oath, which they had all sworn: to maintain the
“ independence of the State and the personal liberty of its
“ inhabitants,—there likewise rested upon them as the
“ representatives of the people a solemn duty to do all that
“ lay in their power to maintain and uphold that independ-
“ ence and dare not, without infringing the solemn trust
“ committed to them, treat with any ‘Foreign Power’ with
“ a view of bringing the State under Foreign control;—
“ can the Raad assist a portion of the inhabitants in form-
“ ing plans for the destruction of the Republic?—for this
“ there is less reason because the Raad is convinced that the
“ large majority of burghers are totally averse to the de-
“ struction (effacement) of our ‘Republic,’ and would in
“ proof thereof have brought before the Raad (if they had
“ had sufficient notice of the attempts now being made
“ through the Raad) many protests and counter petitions
“ against such annexation (Federation).”

“ This Raad therefore feels itself compelled to decide
“ adversely to the petitions, but acknowledges that the
“ grievances as to the insecurity, along a portion of the
“ border, are well founded, and solemnly assures the peti-
“ tioners, who for that reason have been induced to come
“ with their requests for Annexation (Federation) to the
“ British Empire that they will not rest until these
“ grievances are removed, and the wished for protection on
“ the border is established.”

The above “Resolution” was voted by fifteen members,
—seven members voted for a “Proposition,” empowering
the public to hold “Meetings” *throughout the State, under
the Chairmanship of Raad members, or other duly author-*

ized Officials,—to record the votes “for” and “against” Annexation (Federation), and to lay same before the Raad at its first sitting, when a definite “Resolution” could be taken by the Raad on this important question.

It was thought hardly fair of the Raad,—towards those petitioning for *Federation*,—to interpret the matter in the sense as if the petitioners had prayed for annexation to the “British Empire,” pure and simple,—whereas they had petitioned for a “bond of Federation,”—based upon the wise and cautious scheme proposed by Sir George Grey,—whereby the State would in all “essentials” retain its independence.

The salary of the State President was fixed from the beginning of February, 1864, at £1,200 per annum, in the hope of getting a suitable gentleman to fill the position.

Four gentlemen were, on the 20th day of June, 1863, proposed by different Raad Members, for the vacant Office of President, namely :—

Mr. J. N. Boshof, late President, Natal.

Mr. F. Ziervogel, *Graaff Reinet*, Cape Colony.

Mr. F. W. Reitz, senior, *Swellendam*, Cape Colony.

Mr. Advocate J. H. Brand, *Cape Town*, Cape Colony.

The Volksraad resolved to propose to the Electors only one of the above-named gentlemen (i.e. Mr. J. H. Brand); to whom a requisition was sent, and from whom a reply was received, dated 16th July, 1863,—intimating that he was willing to allow himself to be nominated; the day of election being fixed for *5th November*, 1863.

The following gentlemen were requisitioned by the *public*, to stand as Candidates, viz. :—

J. H. Brand, *Cape Town*.

J. J. Venter, *Orange Free State*.

Joseph Allison, *Orange Free State*.

M. Bowker, *Cape Colony*.

O. J. Truter, *Orange Free State*.

Mr. F. Reitz, senior (father of the late President), in a letter to the Writer (who had proposed him in the Raad), dated 25th July, 1863,—declined the proffered honour, as he considered that to be really useful

to the country, in so responsible a position,—the Candidate should be backed by an overwhelming majority of votes, preferring under the circumstances to retire in favour of Mr. Brand.

Mr. Brand answered the requisition sent to him, in a suitable and businesslike manner; he did not specially mention his Political views, or pledge himself to any particular line of policy; it seemed clear, from the beginning,—that the popular choice would fall upon him,—and he was returned at the head of the Poll on the 5th November, and declared duly elected on 20th November,—the voting being as follows, viz. :—

Mr. Brand	2,301	votes.
Mr. Venter	1,002	„
Mr. Bowker... ..	233	„
Mr. Allison	26	„
Mr. Truter		withdrawn

The President elect, Mr. Brand, arrived in Bloemfontein on the 29th day of March, 1864, and was received with great eclat.

A large company of Bloemfontein, and other burghers, left the Town at 4 p.m. on horse-back, in carts, waggons, and other vehicles, to meet him,—he and his family were met at Kaffir Kop; a few miles out of Town,—the whole party being drawn up “in line” to receive him;—he was escorted by the Smithfield “Volunteer Corps,” under Mr. Kingsley, and some Reddersburg burghers, and a “*feu-de-joie*” of small arms was fired by way of Salute, after which the President took his seat in the Government Secretary’s carriage, and reached Bloemfontein in the afternoon at 3 p.m., when an address was presented to him by the Municipal Commissioners,—he replied orally, and the next day sent a written reply, which was regarded as an auspicious sign of Mr. Brand’s desire to devote himself fully to his new duties.

A Salute of big guns from the Fort heralded the President’s entrance into Town, where many burghers from Winburg, Cronstadt (Kroonstad), Boshof, and other Towns were awaiting his arrival, and all seemed much

elated at the Country's good luck in having at last secured as head of the State a gentleman so suitable by birth, and Education, and to which he had moreover been elected by a large majority of votes, and who had abandoned good "future prospects" in the Cape Colony in response to the Country's urgent call.

A public banquet was given to Mr. Brand, on Saturday the 30th March, at which about 70 gentlemen sat down, Mr. H. A. L. Hamelberg acting as Chairman, and the Writer as Croupier; the speeches were hearty and suitable to the interesting occasion, decorum was fully maintained, and the vinous and other liquors were not too hot and "sulphurous" to mar the dignity of the meeting.

His Honor was sworn in on the 2nd day of April, 1864; the Volksraad met in the Council Chamber at 9 a.m., and from there proceeded "in procession," pursuant to a pre-arranged programme,—to the Dutch Reformed Church, where Mrs. Brand and her two sisters, the Misses Zastrons, were received at 9.45, the President "Elect" and the acting State President being received at the Church door, under an escort of two Raad members, and a considerable number of burghers, as a "guard of honour,"—when prayers were offered and an address made by the Revd. van de Wall, after which addresses were delivered by the Chairman of the Raad, the acting President, and the President "Elect." and the Oath of Office taken by the latter.

The ceremony was impressive, and was witnessed by the Officials, the Clergy of all denominations, and many other persons.

After the "Swearing in," a volley of "twenty-one" guns was fired from the Fort; at least One thousand visitors visited the Town to attend the festivities; in the evening Boemfontein was ablaze with illuminations, transparencies, mottoes, blazing tar-barrels, fire-balls, Chinese lanterns, etc., etc.

The Town devoted *four* or *five* days to holiday making, and every one seemed in high spirits and good humour.

On the 10th day of July, 1863, a thunder storm, accompanied by much lightning, passed over a farm called

“Schraalfontein,” in the Bethuie District, the lightning killed in one of the sheep kraals, on this farm, “140 sheep,” and more or less injuring a similar number,—many of the latter dying subsequently; very few only of the sheep were reported to have survived;—fortunately for the herds of these sheep, their huts,—only a few yards distant,—escaped the storm.

CHAPTER TWELVE.

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Information was received on the 28th day of August, 1863, that the Bishop "Elect," the Revd. Edward Twells, had landed in Cape Town from England, by the steamer "Cambrian" on the 14th day of August, accompanied by a Staff of "three" Clergymen; he arrived in Bloemfontein, with his travelling companion, the Revd. Field, early in October, 1863, and preached his first Sermon on the Sunday after his arrival in the Wesleyan Chapel, which was very

courteously placed at his disposal by the Resident Wesleyan Minister,—the Revd. John G. Morrow,—on the words taken from the 13th and 14th verses of the 102 Psalm :—
 “Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion : for the time
 “ to favour her, yea, the set time, is come. For thy servants
 “ take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.”
 His first Sermon made a good impression upon his numerous hearers, who had “shown up” from all directions, for the occasion, to hear the Bishop preach,—a “real live” Bishop being in those days a “rara avis.”

The Bishop referred in a pathetic manner to the ruinous condition of the unfinished English Church in Bloemfontein, the foundation stone of which had been laid about thirteen years previously by Mrs. Grey, the wife of Bishop Grey ; he (the Bishop), who appeared to be a zealous churchman, a fluent speaker, and an impressive reader (the latter qualification being alas ! too often a rare quality) appealed earnestly to his large audience for help in building up the Church, and ministering to the spiritual necessities of its scattered members.

There appeared to be, since the arrival of Bishop Twells in Bloemfontein, an increase of religious zeal among Church people ; the dry bones of the past were showing signs of life and vitality, several gentlemen now vieing, with commendable zeal, in assisting the Bishop, in real earnest, with the work of building up the long neglected Church ; large subscriptions were given and others promised.

The old Government School Room was kindly offered by the Government, and thankfully accepted by the Bishop, as a temporary “place of worship,” and School Room ; a few days after his arrival in Bloemfontein, Bishop Twells left for Cape Town, to be present, and take part in, the celebrated Theological “Colenso” trial, instituted at the instance of Bishop Grey.

Two more of the Bishop’s Staff, the Revd. Oldfield and G. Clegg, latter a School-master, arrived in Bloemfontein in November, 1863, and Mr. Shapcot arrived in July, 1864 ; Mr. Clegg died in Bloemfontein not very long after his arrival, from Consumption.

In September, 1863, the Standard Bank of South Africa opened a branch in Bloemfontein, in Upper Church Street, not far from the Dutch Reformed Church, under the management of Mr. Gilbert Fairie, a gentleman who had spent several years of his life in Ceylon (India), but who was still in the prime of life, though in very weak health, suffering from a severe chest complaint, which seemed to be rapidly hurrying him to the grave; but thanks to the climate, and Mr. F.'s wisdom in taking every precaution with a view to checking the disease, he recovered his health marvellously in a comparatively short period, and was able to attend to his work.

Mr. Fairie soon succeeded in establishing a flourishing business for the Bank in the State, and opened a branch at Fauresmith.

The village called “*Rouxville*,” near Aliwal North, between the Orange and Caledon Rivers, was founded in November, 1863, by the “Committee” of the Dutch Reformed Church; it was named after the Dutch resident Minister, Mr Roux of Smithfield, who had lived many years at the latter place.

Mr. Richard Wocke, a Bloemfontein Architect and Builder, got the contract for the erection of the “Bloemfontein Cathedral,”—if such it can be called,—and commenced early in November, 1865, by pulling down the old foundation, walls, etc., which had decayed, these having been commenced during British occupancy, the Stone having been laid, as stated, by Mrs. Grey.

Mr. W. was to receive £540 for the completion of the work,—labour only,—material being found by the Building Committee.

A very sad accident happened on the “tenth” anniversary of the State's independence,—23rd February, 1864,—whilst a Salute of twenty-one guns was being fired from the Fort, when through some unexplained mistake an old discharged Military gunner, called David Ross, got his right hand shattered, which had to be amputated, and received some other severe wounds and bruises.

The President, Mr. Brand, evinced great sympathy towards the wounded man, and put off a “social gathering,” which he had intended to give at the Presidency that same day; the sufferer was conveyed to the *Free State Hotel*, and provided for there, at the cost of the Government, and the Volksraad passed a vote of sympathy and decided that he be provided for during his lifetime out of the State finances; he was subsequently, when healed, appointed as a kind of Official Messenger at a rate of pay adequate to his wants. “Old Davy,” as he was familiarly called, was widely known, and enlisted popular sympathy.

These were still the cheap days of butchers’ meat, the price of which was in Bloemfontein, in March, 1864, *four pence* per pound, Mutton being *five pence half-pence*—just about half the present selling rates.

Mr. Charles E. Fichardt, an old and respected resident of the State, one of the first Municipal Commissioners, a former Member of the “Volksraad” and “Executive Council,” a Bank director, etc., and a successful Store-keeper, left Bloemfontein in March, 1864, for his Native land,—Germany,—where he intended to take up his permanent abode; Mr. F. was quite an institution in Bloemfontein; he died some years ago in Germany, and left Bloemfontein a little money in his “Will.”

Some loads of good Oranges were occasionally offered and disposed of, on the Bloemfontein Market, from Magaliesberg, Transvaal, and sold at Ten shillings per hundred; Transvaal Oranges were always welcome.

A Tanning industry, which promised to become a success, was started in June, 1864, by Mr. Joseph Allison, ex-Government Secretary, on his farm “*Tempe*,” near Bloemfontein; this gentleman used as “tanning matter” the bruised root of the “*Elands-bean*,” which grew in large quantities in the neighbourhood.

An entire “blesbuck skin,” and other tanned leather, prepared from this valuable bark,—exhibited by Mr. Allison,—was found to be in every respect, especially as regards colour, velvety softness, etc., a model of the Tanner and Currier’s art,—for Mr. A. did both.

It was generally hoped that Mr. Allison's enterprise would be crowned with the handsome and well merited pecuniary return, which it deserved, but he died before these hopes could be realized.

The Masonic fraternity in Bloemfontein, “Dutch” and “English,” were both, in October, 1864, making strenuous efforts to establish “Temples” of their own in the State; the former had already, with the aid of Sir C. Brand,—father to our respected State President,—and “Deputy Grand Master of the Netherlands,” in Cape Town, opened a Temple in a building adjoining the Grey College and now forming part of the same, called the “Unie,” which was worked in the Dutch language, into which many Government Officials, high and subordinate, and others, had already been initiated, and others were seeking admission.

Mr. J. A. Smellekamp, a Hollander, and former Landdrost of Bloemfontein, was the first Worshipful Master of this Lodge; this gentleman died at Bloemfontein, on the 25th May, 1866.

The foundation Stone of the *Temple “Unie”* was laid by President Brand, himself an enthusiastic Mason, in presence of the Members of both Lodges, His Honor using for the purpose a Silver trowel, presented to him by his father, and used by the latter in laying the Stone of the Masonic Temple “Good Hope” in Cape Town.

The Masonic Lodge “Rising Star” No. 1022, working under the English constitution, soon followed in the wake of the “Unie,” and was opened, or rather founded, under a Constitution from the “Grand Lodge” of England, on or about the 4th day of January, 1865; the first Meetings were held in a small room off Gordon Street (i.e. Fitcher's old Hotel premises). The first Worshipful Master of the “Rising Star” was B. George Prince, a Colonial Free Mason, and Land Surveyor in the State; after the installation of the first Officers the B.B. attended Divine Service in the temporary English Church, when Bishop Twells delivered a short but interesting address from Eccles. 4:9 on the words, “Two are better than one.” The Writer, who was one of the original founders, was for many years

a Member of the Lodge “Rising Star,” and resigned membership after the B.B. had built their own Temple, on his removing for a few years to Grahamstown owing to failing health,—he had the honour of acting as Secretary, and assisting in other Offices, and lastly of filling for some time, the Chair; most if not all the first founders of the “Rising Star” have passed away to their long home: we trust to meet again in the “Temple” not made with hands: may these B.B. all rest in peace; the Writer may here specially name with feelings of Masonic tenderness and brotherly love B.B. George Home, George Prince, Thomas White, William Best, J. de Villiers, and others.

The President,—Mr. Brand,—in his speech to the Volksraad on 6th February, 1865, again referred to the matter of “Custom duty” from the Cape Colony and Natal; to Telegraphic communication generally, and indicated the most eligible site for a bridge across the Orange River, besides remarking on Wool markets and other important matters.

It having been vaguely rumoured that the “Standard Bank” of South Africa, which had opened in Bloemfontein in September, 1863, and had a branch in Fauresmith, had overcharged its Customers for Interest and Commissions upon “renewals,” and had refused to cash their own Notes at “par” issued at other places than those of presentation;—that the Bank would ultimately prove the ruin of the people and the country, and that the dividends went to “foreign shareholders” oversea, etc., etc., several members being worked up by these and other stirring appeals of a similar nature by sundry alarmists to so great a pitch of excitement that the Volksraad, on the 6th day of November, 1865, hastily passed the following Résolution, viz. :—

“The Volksraad having taken into consideration that
 “the branches of this ‘Foreign Institution,’ which has
 “established itself in the Orange Free State, exists here
 “without the sanction of Law, and that there is no security
 “for the ‘Bank Notes’ issued by them,—that so far as
 “regards our Stâte, they have no responsibility whatever,
 “and that the large profits they make are sent out of the

“country; and further taking into consideration that unless
 “similar ‘Foreign Banking Institutions’ are henceforth
 “forbidden here, the entire people will by degrees fall under
 “the power and become dependent upon foreign Capitalists,
 “Resolves,—‘That from and after the first day of January,
 “1866, no foreign Bank, or branch thereof, shall be per-
 “mitted to exist in this State, and that, from that date, no
 “Bank shall conduct business in his State under a penalty
 “of £100 for each offence; the branch Banks, however, at
 “present established here, shall be permitted, after the
 “first day of January, 1866, to realize and bring to a con-
 “clusion all transactions entered into prior to that date,
 “and from that time no ‘Foreign Bank’ shall be allowed
 “to establish itself in this State,—unless permission there-
 “to shall first have been obtained from the Volksraad.’”

The above Resolution was voted by “28” Members, out of a House consisting of 38 Members, *five* voted against it, and five abstained from voting; the Members voting against it were Messrs. J. S. Marais, J. A. Smellekamp, J. Fraser of Jacobsdal, J. Schickerling, and the Writer.

This Resolution tended greatly to jar the feelings of the Members opposing same as being crude, unjust, and dishonourable, and this feeling they openly enunciated.

The “Standard Bank” was not so black as it was painted by its opponents; they were allowed without opposition of any kind—from the Government—to do business in this State, and if they were overstepping the usual legitimate observances of a well regulated “Banking Institution,” or were imposing on the public, it was now the time for the Raad as being “in Session,” to frame such laws and regulations as would serve to bring all “Foreign Banks” under the proper supervision and control of the Government Authorities; instead of doing so, however, the Raad decided, on the 10th day of March, under the pretext of the present scarcity of money, and in order to aid the “local Institution,” the Bloemfontein Bank, to pay off its debt to the “Standard Bank,” to empower the President, at the suggestion of the “local Bank,” to issue Government “legal tender” Notes, commonly known as bluebacks, of £1 each,

amounting to £30,000, under the following conditions, to wit :—

“ That these Notes shall be signed by the President
“ and Treasurer-General.”

“ That these Notes shall have an enforced circulation
“ for *ten* years, and shall after that period be cancelled at
“ the rate of £6,000 annually.”

“ That these Notes shall be placed, as a fixed deposit,
“ in the ‘Bloemfontein Bank’ at 6 per cent. interest.”

“ That as security for the liquidation of these Notes,
“ Government lands and other Government properties be
“ mortgaged, and that if any of the mortgaged properties
“ be sold, the proceeds shall be deposited in the ‘Bloemfon-
“ tein Bank.’ ”

“ That the State President shall hand to the Directors
“ of the Bank, a full list, containing the names and values
“ of the mortgaged properties.”

A loud outcry was at first made at the issue of this
“paper currency,” and many evils foreboded as the result,—
it was feared that the Notes would soon depreciate in value
and entail heavy losses upon the general community, especi-
ally if more were circulated, which it was feared might be
the case; but though they did, for a time, fall in value to
“fifteen shillings” in the pound, yet before very long,—as
the public became more confiding,—they freely passed from
hand to hand at their full face value.

To the credit of the Government, the Writer is bound
to add, that the conditions upon which these legal tender
Notes were issued were faithfully observed *to the very letter*.

An “Association” was formed at Bloemfontein, on the
11th December, 1867, styled “The anti-blueback Associa-
tion,” which pledged itself to do all in its power *constitu-
tionally* to oppose the *further* issue of Government legal
tender Notes,—the “entrance fee” for each one joining the
“Association” was 7s. 6d.; it was thought by many business
men that it would have been easy enough for the Govern-
ment to raise a “Loan,” on favourable terms, in order to
meet its wants,—even if they entirely discarded the idea of
issuing “Government paper money,”—many “Associations”

of the same kind were formed in other parts of the State too,—and a prize of £15 was offered for the best “Essay” on the injurious effect of the issue of “Govt. legal tender Notes” and the great danger of further issues; the “Essay” was to be in “pamphlet form,” and not to exceed 20 pages.

The Standard Bank was closed on the 5th day of April, 1868, and the Manager, Mr. G. Fairie, was transferred to the Grahamstown branch, as General Manager there.

Since the banishing of the “Standard Bank,” the only Foreign Bank permitted to do business in the State is the “Bank of Africa,” which has several branches in the country.

In April, 1865, two enterprising young men,—Messrs. Nicol and Bowie, who had hired a portion of the farm *Spytfontein*, in the Winburg District, from a Mr. du Plooy, commenced the growth and manufacture of Cavendish tobacco, and succeeded in producing an article which appeared to be a very good imitation of the American product, done up in packets of six sticks to the pound; it was the general wish that these men would succeed “financially” in their laudable efforts of establishing a “local industry.”

A new Township called “*Brandfort*,” named after President Brand, was laid out in April, 1865, on a pretty farm known as “*Keerom*,” belonging to a Mr. Jacobus van Zyl, distant about 30 miles from Bloemfontein, on the high-road to Winburg, Cronstadt, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, etc.; a sale of Erven was fixed there for the 15th April, and was a great success; the locality is doubtless well suited for the establishment of a thriving Town.

A Commando to punish a petty Basuto headman called “*Letsoane*,” son-in-law to the Chief Moshesh, a freebooter and robber, who had given the State much trouble, was in May, 1865, being “massed,” and burghers from Fauresmith, Philippolis, Boshof, and the Bloemfontein Districts were passing through the Town for the front; the Commando was “laagered” at Leeuwkop, a few miles on this side of Bethlehem.

The State President,—Mr. Brand,—left Bloemfontein “for the front,” and so did the Dutch Reformed Minister,

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—the Revd. G. van de Wall,—and the Revd. C. Clulie of the English Church,—the latter being stationed at Fauresmith.

There was no room left for doubting that the Chief Moshesh and his people, though pretending to preserve peace with the State, had clandestinely resolved upon backing up “*Letsoane*” in his evil deeds,—and with him fighting the State, especially as it was ascertained that *Molappo* had given shelter to L., his people, and cattle, and that “*Paulus Mopeli*,” with about 100 armed Basutos had forcibly seized and carried off as a prisoner, in May, 1865, a burgher named Muller, from Mr. Frederick Pietersen’s farm in the Wittebergen, whilst engaged reaping his crops, and had kept him in captivity for four or five days, besides insulting and in other ways maltreating him.

Matters having now come to a “climax,” the President issued a “Proclamation,” addressed to the burghers, dated 9th June, 1865, which read as follows, viz. :—

“To the burghers of the Orange Free State, and all “who by ties of blood and friendship are led to sympathise “with us, and to take an interest in our welfare,”—

“The hour has arrived when it has become necessary, “and even unavoidable, whilst placing our trust in God, “to take up arms for the vindication of our sovereign rights “against the Basutos.

“During a course of years the Basutos have been “guilty of innumerable thefts from our fellow burghers on “the frontier; they have driven them off their lawful pro- “perty (farms), and amongst other deeds of violence they “have made themselves guilty of the murders of *Venter* “and young *Fouchee*; all this happened under the pretext “that there were disputes about the ‘boundary line’ between “the Orange Free State and Basutoland; with too great “an amount of forbearance has all this been borne by the “inhabitants of the State; at length we have succeeded in “getting this pretended uncertainty about the ‘boundary “line’ finally set at rest, and our rights clearly established, “through the intervention of a highly esteemed arbitrator, “—His Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony,—on

“the 26th October, 1864,—His Excellency gave his *award*,
 “which was altogether in favour of the Orange Free State;
 “and what has now happened in the month of November,
 “1864,—and this after the decision of His Excellency?

“Several Houses belonging to our burghers near
 “Bethlehem have been plundered and destroyed by
 “‘*Letsoane*,’ son-in-law to the Chief Moshesh,—and a
 “large number of cattle and horses stolen.

“When this was communicated to Moshesh, he made
 “the best promises,—promises which have, however, up
 “to the present, remained unfulfilled; shortly after these
 “acts of violence an attack was made upon our burghers,
 “within the Territory of the State, by the said ‘*Letsoane*’;
 “upon receiving promises from Moshesh that he would
 “himself punish ‘*Letsoane*’ for these acts of aggression, the
 “Government of this State abstained from taking those
 “steps which it would have been justified in doing, and
 “after a lengthy correspondence on this subject, and after
 “the greatest display of patience on our part in giving
 “Moshesh ample opportunity to comply with the reasonable
 “demands of the State in regard to L.,—the Landdrost of
 “Caledon River having often, at the request of Moshesh,
 “been sent to negotiate with him respecting the punish-
 “ment to be awarded to ‘L.’—all the promises made by
 “Moshesh have still remained unfulfilled up to the month
 “of March; in order however to leave nothing untried that
 “could lead to an ‘amicable arrangement,’ an ‘ultimatum’
 “was sent to Moshesh by the State Government, which
 “contained a demand that ‘L.’ be immediately removed
 “from Free State Territory, and that a fine of ‘Seventy
 “head of cattle’ be paid by him before the 8th April; that
 “the cattle stolen by ‘L.’ and his people be restored before
 “the end of April, and that ‘L.’ be punished by Moshesh
 “for firing upon our burghers within Free State Territory,
 “and sufficient compensation be made for wounding *two* of
 “our burghers on Free State soil, in default whereof ‘L.’
 “would be dealt with by the Free State Government,
 “according to Sec. 11 of the ‘Aliwal North Treaty’; not-
 “withstanding all Moshesh’s oft-repeated promises, no

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“satisfaction was given; instead of the imposed fine of
“Seventy head of cattle to be paid on 8th April, for the
“damage and destruction of the Homesteads of our burghers
“near Bethlehem, Moshesh sent, on 28th April, 58 head of
“*small, miserable looking cattle*, the greater portion being
“young calves, and *Nine* lean horses; whilst L. still con-
“tinued to live on Free State land, and no mention whatever
“was made by him,—Moshesh,—as to the other demands
“made by the State; no other course was therefore open
“to us than to punish ‘L.’ in terms of the Treaty of ‘Aliwal
“North,’—more especially as he had moreover stolen
“within Free State Territory, in the beginning of May, 35
“more horses belonging to the Widow Uys; with God’s
“blessing ‘L.’ was put to flight, and several of his people
“killed and wounded, whilst on our side no one was
“injured,—and how did Moshesh now act? When the
“State informed him that as our demands were not com-
“plied with, they would deal with ‘L.’ according to the
“‘Treaty,’ what did he do? As to the enquiry whether he
“was willing to respect the ‘Treaty’ and act up to it, he
“did not even condescend an answer; and moreover there
“is every reason to believe that ‘L.’ with his cattle found
“a safe retreat in Basutoland; and that too after Moshesh
“had been warned that any help or encouragement render-
“ed to ‘L.’ either directly or indirectly, by him or his
“Captains,—would be regarded as a ‘declaration of War’
“from him.”

“In the month of January, 1865, ‘Sekelo,’ a son of
“Moshesh, was sent as a deputy to Bloemfontein with an
“Official letter,—on his return ‘Sekelo’ stole a large number
“of horses from several of our burghers; this was likewise
“notified to Moshesh, and what action did he take? or what
“compensation did he give?—the Chief ‘Paulus Mopeli,’
“it’s true, restored some of the stolen horses, but by far
“the greater number are still in Basutoland, and amongst
“these are some horses stolen from a Widow; despite all
“his fair promises Moshesh gives no satisfaction, and on
“the intimation to him by the Government that they now
“found themselves compelled to deal with ‘Sekelo’ accord-

“ing to the Treaty, Moshesh did not even deem it worth his while to send a reply.”

“The people of ‘*Bushulie*,’ the brother of Moshesh, have also repeatedly committed thefts,—complaints have been made to Moshesh without obtaining redress, and on intimating that the State Government would now deal with ‘*Bushulie*’ according to the ‘Treaty,’ no notice has been taken of the intimation, but what has happened?—about the end of April, two burghers, *van Rooyen* and *Pelser*, were both taken prisoners in Free State Territory by an armed band of Basutos, belonging to ‘Paulus Mopeli’s’ tribe, and beaten; satisfaction was demanded from ‘Mopeli,’ but he did not even reply.

“The letter to ‘Mopeli’ on the subject likewise remains unanswered, and after writing respecting these,—another ‘act of violence’ has been brought to the notice of the Government; ‘Michael Muller’ was conveyed away as a prisoner from Free State Territory, by a band of armed Basutos, belonging to Paulus Mopeli, and kept for five days in confinement,—on the demand that the author of this ‘act of violence’ be handed over to the Landdrost of Winburg, to be dealt with according to ‘Free State Law,’ and that compensation of fifty—50—head of cattle be made before sun-set on Thursday, the 8th June, nothing was done,—and to the letter addressed to Moshesh notifying him that unless the demand be complied with before sun-set on the 8th June, such non-compliance would be regarded as a ‘declaration of War’ on his part,—no answer was received; whilst robberies and ‘deeds of violence’ by the Basutos on Free State land are continually being committed.”

“Under these circumstances, no other course remains open to us, than to maintain our rights against the Basutos with the sword.”

“Rise then burghers of the Orange Free State,—gird your armour on for the defence of your rights, for the protection of your property, homesteads, and families,—for the suppression of the arrogance and violence of the Bastutos, trusting in God; be courageous, be strong, and

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“put your trust in the Righteous Judge, who hears the
“prayer of faith.”

“And you fellow-countrymen, who are allied to us by
“ties of blood and friendship, flock under our standard,
“and fight on our side.”

“Dated at Bloemfontein, on the 9th day of June,
“1865.”

The *full text* of the above Proclamation is here reproduced to give the reader an idea of what the State had to endure since the “Basuto War” of 1858 and the final settling of the “boundary line” by Sir George Grey, which the Basutos had definitely promised to respect, and how long-suffering the State had ever been towards a savage and crafty “foe,”—dishonest, deceitful, implacable, and unreliable in the extreme. War, the bane of Nations, had now been declared, and the Basutos had the much “longed for” opportunity of “raiding” and over-running the country, for they out-numbered the State burghers by at least *nine*, perhaps ten, of the former to one of the latter,—and were fat, well armed, and well mounted; and then there was *besides* the long “boundary line,” extending over 150 miles or more of open country, which it was not possible to guard fully; as an inevitable consequence raiding parties of the Enemy, and their spies, entered the State to within a few miles of Bloemfontein, murdering men and women, burning and ransacking homesteads, destroying and carrying off personal belongings, driving off large numbers of horses, cattle and sheep, and the “outlook” was for some time a dreary one, but the President and his advisers were vigilant and untiring in their duties, ever encouraging the burghers by his presence in their “laagers,” animating them to fresh ardour, and continually procuring fresh drafts of relief men.

On the North-Eastern border of the State some 950 men were “massed” under “Commandant-General” J. J. Fick and Assistant Commandant-General C. J. de Villiers, and on the 13th June, about 650 armed burghers under Seven Commandants and Field Cornets, with two field-pieces, latter under Captain Goodman, were encamped near

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Paulus Mopelie's Kraal, where the first fight took place, when 70 or 80 of the enemy were killed, and on the Free State side, only one burgher,—P. Wessels, jr.

Large numbers of Basutos took part in the fight, which included the contingents of “Mopeli,” “Molappo,” and “Masupa's” men; an Official report was received from the General, stating that 250 burghers had encountered and beaten off a large body of Basutos estimated at 2,500, 120 of the latter having been killed at the fight, and 40 more later on same day; further that 30 horses were killed, and 50 horses and 2,500 head of cattle captured;—and Commandant Wessels' column, it was further reported, had also captured 70,000 sheep and 4 waggons.

Information came to hand on 17th July, 1856, that on the 27th June, five Transvaal burghers, names respectively, Pieter, Albertus, Jan, and Kobus Pretorius, and Andries Smit, were brutally murdered with their three Kaffir and one Coolie servant, by Basutos, on the Free State side of the Drakensberg, near the Natal “boundary line.”

These men,—quite ignorant of the fact that “War” had been declared,—were returning from Natal to their homes, in the Transvaal, with *four* tent and one buck waggon; the Kaffirs carried off their waggons and all their draft animals.

The graves of these men, with head-stones, are to be seen on the spot where they were murdered.

The following is Moshesh's reply to President Brand's Proclamation of 9th June, in the shape of a counter Proclamation, dated 20th June, somewhat lengthy, supposed to emanate from him, though it did not bear the “impress” of the “Seal” he generally used, in which he said: “I wish “to let know (verbatim) to all the Nations around me that “I have done my utmost to keep peace, and even now was “trying in all ways to secure it, but that all I had done “seemed of no effect, and I do not know how I can avoid a “War with my Free State neighbours, for I can see that “the Free State's earnest desire is that hostilities should “begin, although they have no serious reason to commence “a War, while they exaggerate every small misunderstand- “ing that arises between the burghers and my people, in

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“order to justify themselves before the public if they attack me.”

“Every one knows that for peace sake I consented to the Governor’s arbitration between me and the Free State about the line, and though the decision of His Excellency was wholly in favour of the Boers, yet I submitted to it entirely, on account of the respect I have for the Queen of England.”

“The consequence of this decision,—and though His Excellency advised the Free State to give proper time to my people to evacuate the contested Territory, the President not minding this advice, ordered my people to leave in less than a month, but in spite of this harshness, I caused them to quit, which was an exceedingly hard thing for them, as hundreds of families had to abandon their homes, etc., during the rainy season, and it is impossible to describe all their sufferings, as they had no shelter whatever, and it was a succession of hailstorms and rain all the time they were moving.”

“The Governor had also desired the Free State to allow my people to reap their Corn, or to give them compensation for the crops they were obliged to leave, but all this was again refused, so the Free State Government has cruelly deprived thousands of my people of their daily bread.”

“Lastly, one of the petty Chiefs of my Tribe, of the name of ‘*Letsoane*,’ who had partly put himself under the Boers, committed some depredation in the Free State and was *fin*ed, but as he refused to pay the *fine*, I paid it myself,—for fear War should break out; this *fine* was received by the Boers, but they sent it back, the President thinking he was justified in punishing ‘*Letsoane*,’ according to the 11th Article of the ‘Treaty of Aliwal North,’ and though all my Tribe wished to assist their countryman I prevented them, as I felt bound in some degree by the said ‘Treaty’; the President seeing that the attack on ‘*Letsoane*’ had not caused a War with me, he made most unreasonable demands to my brother *Paulus Mopeli*; I was informed of these demands by a letter from the

“ President, and though I immediately answered through
“ his own Messenger, begging of him to consent to our
“ settling the affair in a friendly way, the only answer I
“ received to my communication was a large ‘Commando’
“ marching into my Country, consequently the only course
“ left to me is to protect myself, and in doing so, to prevent
“ my people from being destroyed ; I am sure all impartial
“ persons will see that although I am a true lover of Peace,
“ it would be wrong of me to allow the Free State to trample
“ on my people.”

“ It is well known, although all sorts of false reports
“ are circulated, that the Basutos are not a blood-thirsty
“ people, as only two murders can be brought up against
“ me, and one would in all civilized countries be considered
“ as Manslaughter, and the other was a case of retaliation ;
“ for these two murders I can prove that scores of my sub-
“ jects have been murdered by the burghers of the Free
“ State.”

“ I am aware that formerly the Free State belonged
“ to the British Government, and that when it was ‘given
“ up’ many English people remained, and are now living
“ amongst the Boers, that by doing so they did not cease
“ to be the children of the Queen of England ; I therefore
“ let know to the Queen’s subjects that I wish them no
“ harm, although I know that many will be obliged to join
“ the Boer Commandos, but if God gives me the Victory I
“ shall give strict orders that no Englishmen, who remain
“ on their farms, shall be molested, and that their property
“ shall be respected, and in order to effect this they must
“ give me some ‘sign’ by which my people may distinguish
“ them and their residences from the others, for I wish to
“ do all in my power for the safety of the Queen’s subjects,
“ as I am under her protection.”

“ As for the Boers, they surely must know that they
“ must fear the consequences of War.”

“ I make this Proclamation in order to prove that I
“ am not wishing to fight with the Queen, or any of her
“ subjects,—but only to protect my people from the aggres-
“ sions of the Free State Government, and I trust that my

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“English neighbours will act as fairly towards me as I
“sincerely intend to act towards them, and that they will
“not assist the Boers openly, or secretly, to crush me;—for
“all just persons know that my great sin is that I possess
“a good and fertile land.”

The Writer's Father was the author of the following
inspiring lines to rouse the burghers to a sense of their duty,
viz. :—

“Up burghers all, ‘throughout our State from Nu to Ky-Gariep,’
“Rise as one man; with heart and hand, shake off your Seven years’ sleep.
“Be men at last, whate’er your stock; and prove that poet wrong,
“Who called your freedom mockery: once—in his reproachful song.
“Prove that the Lion on your Shield, is not an emblem vain,
“And scorn to wear another hour, the foul Basuto chain;
“Shame not the European blood that in your bosoms flow,
“And rush like men, though few ye be, on your ignoble foe;
“The European blood, which yet scarce dried, their coward fingers stain,
“Wash out, at once, with fluid drawn, from their own meaner veins.
“Can one true man, in manhood’s noon, the field of strife evade?
“Behold!—the newly kindled light in timid woman’s eye,
“Which cries, though in unuttered words, March men, and do or die;
“Fear not your seeming giant foe, a tottering structure built,
“On deeds of fraud, too long endured; and half an age of guilt.
“Strike the gaunt image, in whose shade ye pine, *without delay*,
“Though iron it may seem, your strokes will prove its feet of clay.
“Think of the time when feebler hands, a mightier foeman quelled;
“Ye who then battled—or even ye, whose youthful eye beheld,
“Your Fathers fought to clear the waste, and are their sons less brave?
“Wait not for aye, for promised help, from a cold onlooking world,
“By your own hands the avenging bolt, must now or ne’er be hurled.
“And ye, brave few, whose life drops flow from Britain’s parent heart,
“Need ye my feeble words, to show in this wild strife, your part?
“Full little know the treacherous foe, how his sweet words would turn
“To deadlier hate, and scorn, in hearts where generous passion burn.
“On then, my Countrymen, and strive, with Heaven directed might,
“The ‘God of Armies’ will support your conflict, for the right.”

The Writer ventures to think that to persons who are
novices to the actual “past relations,” which have, for a
long period, subsisted between this State and the Basuto
Nation, Moshesh’s appeal “to the Nations” around him,—
whatever that may mean,—might sound *pathetic*, and start
a tear or two in the eyes of the credulous ones, for it may
seem to them that *right* and *justice* lay entirely on the side

of his sable Basuto Majesty—and wrong and greed on the side of the State,—and that his unoffending people were being made the victims of a *foul* Free State conspiracy of avarice,—the plot being to “rob” him of his country, but to the impartial student of Free State history,—and to the old Free State resident, acquainted with Basuto machinations,—Moshesh’s “summing up” was known to be entirely devoid of truth, and was an audacious fabrication;—the gormandizing Wolf had *again* donned the gentle lamb’s innocence.

The Smithfield “Contingent” of the State Commando, under Commandant “Louw Wepener,” reported to the President on 17th July, 1865, the storming and taking of the stronghold called “*Vecht Kop*,” by 340 Volunteers and 200 “Native allies,” with one gun,—number of the Enemy unknown.

The “Kop” was taken at about 7 a.m.—60 of the Enemy were killed,—on the *State* side *One* Native was killed and *two* burghers, and two Natives wounded,—and 542 head of cattle, 150 horses, and 4,500 sheep were captured.

On the 7th day of August, 1865, Mr. Pretorius, who was now President of the Transvaal, issued a Proclamation that the “murderers” of the “five” Transvaal burghers, and likewise compensation, would be demanded from Moshesh,—and that the people there were required to hold themselves in readiness to take the field against the Basutos,—when called upon.

Advices were received from Smithfield, dated 25th June, that a couple of days previously the Basutos in considerable numbers, under “Letsea,” the oldest son of Moshesh, and “Morosie,” had crossed the boundary line, raided the District, and murdered *nine* burghers; these men sold their lives valiantly, for they,—as was reported,—had killed fifty Kaffirs; the Enemy drove off about 100,000 sheep, and many horses and cattle; they were pursued by a party of Smithfield men, under Mr. Robert Finlay, and some of the stock was re-taken.

About the middle of June the Kaffirs re-entered the State between Reddersburg and Bethulie, and murdered several persons, burnt homesteads, and carried off about 40,000 sheep,—amongst the murdered men was a Mr. Hugo Stegmann, a young man, aged about twenty-two years (brother of Mr. “Surveyor-General” George F. Stegmann of Boemfontein), who was living on his brother’s farm with a Mr. Meyer.

Mr. Stegmann had only recently made his home in the State, had no firearms in his house, and did not expect the Kaffirs; on seeing the Basutos approach the homestead his servant brought him a saddled horse, and besought him to make his escape without delay, which he declined to do, saying that he had never done the Basutos any harm, that he would ride up to them and tell them so, and beg them not to molest him; this alas! he did, and whilst talking to the headman of the party, he was shot dead in “cold blood” by another of the same party.

Mr. Meyer, his companion on the farm, rode away before the Basutos got to the house, and thus saved his life.

In the Bloemfontein District “inroads” were continually being made by the Enemy too; at Rietspruit, a few miles to the North-West of Bloemfontein, in the Winburg direction, *Sixteen* Bastards (half casts), formerly of Platberg, were treacherously and cruelly done to death, after the Basutos had eaten with them, also a trader named “*Lybrand*,” with his two Hottentot servants, and a well known Dutch burgher called “Ryk Jan Bodes,” (i.e. “Rich Jan Bodes”), with his family.

Amongst their other warlike achievements our peace-loving Kaffir friends stripped a White woman naked, and then started her off to the camp of the “surviving” bastard women, at Rietspruit, where they had just before murdered the men and some women.

The Enemy was now only a few miles from Bloemfontein (ten or twelve miles), doing as much mischief as possible; these “raids,” though they caused much loss and consternation in the country “generally,” were in a great measure the means of “uniting” the “Whites,” and of

making them more determined than ever to “join hands” against the blood-thirsty Enemy, and of bringing under arms many more trusty men in Bloemfontein, and other Towns, than would probably otherwise have been the case, for even aged men, and Government Officials, cheerfully volunteered to shoulder arms,—sometimes after a *fashion wholly their own*,—and do fatiguing “guard” and “patrol” duty and sentry go; several volunteers from the Colony and Natal likewise joined the Commandos.

On the evening of the 24th June, the Commando under General Fick encamped under a mountain leading to “Cathcart’s Drift”; the following day, as the Commandos were moving to Masoupa’s Town, a heavy fire was opened by the Enemy,—numbering about 5,000,—from kloofs and rocks, to which our people replied with cannon and “small arm” fire; more than 100 Kaffirs were killed on this occasion, Masoupa’s Town was taken, and many horses and cattle were captured.

The “Bloemfontein Rangers,” a volunteer Corps described in previous pages, took the field, “en route” for Vekeerde Vley, near Winburg, on its being reported to the Government that a strong body of the Enemy were raiding there,—about 2,500 strong,—and had driven off large numbers of live stock; when the “Rangers” got there, it was found that a detachment of burghers, under Commandant Wessels,—250 strong,—had already arrived on the “scene,” pursued the raiders, and killed a great many,—some 150,—whose dead bodies were lying strewn over the “veldt,” and had re-taken much stock.

The Rangers a few hours after returning from “Vekeerde Vley,” proceeded to Basutoland to join the “Main Commando,” under General Fick, and did good service; they were continually scouring the country, and were ever foremost in attacking the Enemy; in a despatch from the “Adjutant-General” to the Government, dated from Masoupa’s Town, 23rd July, 1865, he said,—“The Rangers are ‘vluks,’ ” meaning “the Rangers are ‘smart.’ ”

All the available Bloemfontein burghers, under Field Cornet George Prince, went to the front too; those who did

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not go on “active service” were “told off” for guard and other duty on the Fort,—others patrolled the Town, and immediate neighbourhood, day and night: on the whole it was a lively time, in this our otherwise rather dull Metropolis,—the State now required every man to do his duty.

The Commandos had now got into the heart of the Enemy’s country, often attacking several small Kaffir villages, putting to flight the inmates, burning their huts, destroying much grain, making roads over a few steep and stony hills, much to the astonishment of the remote dwellers (who imagined that they were safely ensconced with their grain and other belongings) in order to get at the caves where much grain was stored,—and to secure a supply of grass for their famished horses and cattle,—the Kaffirs having burnt the grass before us everywhere; the main Commando *at last* encamped about *three* miles from Moshesh’s stronghold,—“Thaba Bosigo,”—with the intention of awaiting the arrival of Commandant Louw Wepener and his Smithfield “braves,” who were marching up from the Smithfield District to join us, but his progress was slow, as he had to clear the country he was passing through, and in doing so, had many sundry encounters with the Enemy, killing many, taking many cattle, and destroying much grain.

Wepener’s Column was accompanied by Commandant Robert Finlay, of Smithfield, several Field Cornets, and two Army Chaplains,—the Revd. A. Roux, Dutch Minister of Smithfield, and the Revd. Wm. A. Robinson, the resident English Church Clergyman at Smithfield.

Meanwhile the men of our Commando, including the “Bloemfontein Rangers,” were not quite inactive whilst waiting for Wepener, but were daily scouring the country, pursuing the Enemy, and making things uncomfortable for them,— and were becoming very impatient at the long delay in attacking M.’s Mountain,—seeing that the Enemy were daily benefiting by the seemingly needless delay in entrenching their already strong position; a call was at last made for volunteers to storm “Thaba Bosigo,” but though there were several men in the camp “dare-devils,” who were prepared to undertake the hazardous task (the Moun-

tain being extremely formidable and steep, could only be climbed *from one side in single file*, along a narrow pathway, or rather groove, which was “walled up” at the top with large boulders); the volunteering party was however not considered strong enough for the work, and the project had, for the time, to be abandoned; at length Commandant Wepner arrived with his men, and on Tuesday, the 8th day of August, 1865, a Commando numbering about 1,000 men, under *four* Commandants, with four field-pieces,—one being a “*Howitzer*,”—was ordered out for the “storming” of the Mountain; Commandant Wepner, who had gained the confidence of the “*Krygsraad*” and of his own men, and was regarded as an expert in mountain storming, was placed in command; the men were placed in position; Wepner moved up a Whitworth gun to the top of a neighbouring hill, only a few hundred yards from M.’s stronghold, known as “*Coegoolie*,” under the charge of several men, from which he opened a heavy fire on the North side of “*Thaba Bosigo*,” to which the Enemy replied with several volleys from two guns, which were soon silenced; the disposition of men previously made had now to be somewhat modified, and Mr. C. Lucas, with his Fingoes, who had been with Wepner on “*Coegoolie*,” was ordered down the hill to join Commandant L. Wessels, and aid his men on the “*Mountain*,” which they did under a heavy fire; Wepner joined them later on, and he and his party soon after commenced the storming of the “stronghold”; the remaining Commandants, with their men, being placed in different positions,—regarded as more or less advantageous; a few intrepid men with Wepner at their head, made good progress in their advance up the Mountain, considering the many difficulties in their way; but on nearing the top were hindered in their course by huge boulders and rocks, up which they had practically to be dragged by their comrades, the result being that a few men were severely wounded by stones thrown down upon them from above, by the Enemy; these men not being sufficiently supported *from below*, had at length to retire; although some of the Field Cornets and men acted bravely enough, there were others however who were timid, and

could not be got to advance, and support Wepener, so that this, the first attempt, at storming Thaba Bosigo, proved a failure, and Commandant Wepener and his men had to return to the “laager.”

On the 15th day of August, at Sunrise, another move was made,—this being the “second” attempt on the mountain, with about 1,500 men (Six hundred men remaining to protect the “Camp”), with *five* field pieces, 500 Baralongs, and 400 Fingoes; this Commando moved on “Thaba Bosigo,” with General Fick in command; the Krygsraad had, on the previous evening, called for volunteers to do the storming, for which about 1,200 men were required, and about 550 only offered; the number required were however made up by a “general order,” Commandant Wepener was to find about 450 men, whilst the remainder were to be got from the men of Commandants Wessels, Joubert, Bester, and Malan, all these men to be under the command of Commandant Wepener, who left the laager with this force.

Wepener and Wessels were ordered to storm “Job’s” house (Job was a Captain of Moshesh’s), with 600 men, and to take possession of some large rocks behind the house, from which the ascent of the Mountain would, it was thought, be easier, and under partial cover of large boulders to within a short distance of the “top”; 400 men under Commandants Bester and Senekal, were to take possession of two deep ravines—one on the right, and the other on the left of the approaches,—so as to cover Wepener and Wessels in their advance, but on Wepener’s reconnoitering the position above the Mission Station, and thinking the ascent from that side easier, and that the storming should take place from there, he suggested this to General Fick, to which the latter acceded, and *immediately* ordered the Gunners with their guns to take up the new position,—except Commandant Robert Finlay, with his Gun,—familarly known as “*old Grietjie*,”—and Commandant Senekal, with a few others, who kept their positions.

General “Camp orders” were then publicly read, with a view of giving the necessary information to the men, and of avoiding mistakes; the General appeared a little later on

the field, with Artillery, and at once commenced a heavy and incessant fusilade of *shot* and *shell* on the face and summit of “*Thaba Bosigo*,” which dislodged the Enemy from several strong positions (and doubtless killed a few, but the number killed was never correctly ascertained).

The entire strength of the “Storming party,” under Wepener and Wessels, numbering about 600 men, now advanced, but many of the men appeared to have lost heart and slunk off secretly, so that what should have been the storming party decreased materially; several men under their respective leaders had been placed in what was thought to be the most commanding positions for attacking the Mountain, and protecting the storming party; the big guns too were still incessantly belching forth *shot* and *shell* on the top of the Mountain; Wepener and Wessels and their men, or rather the men who were still with them, were slowly “creeping up” the difficult and dangerous “Mountain pathway,” covered by Commandant Bester and his men, and the heavy Artillery fire from below still continuing, which latter appeared at the time to be pretty effective,—save that *some* of the “*Shell*,” which had been manufactured by a skilful blacksmith in Bloemfontein, who was materially aided by the Government, and supplied with a skilled assistant,—were more or less *faulty*, and would not always burst at the proper time, some not bursting at all.

When Commandant Wepener found out that some of the men he had relied upon to support him, were “skulking” behind, he sent down to the General for re-inforcements; an attempt was immediately made to supply these, and to find out what had become of the men who had been told off to aid him—W.; little or no success was achieved in the former case, as the men appeared to think (and *probably* they were not far wrong) that, while there was very much risk, which much resembled a “forlorn hope” in following their brave leader, and very little prospect of taking the Mountain, as W. was bravely, though somewhat rashly trying to do; and in the latter case, the men were in hiding and could not be traced amidst the confusion and turmoil of the moment,—and even W., true and intrepid leader

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that he was, must himself have felt that the odds counted many against him, and that he was carrying his life in his hand, at the call of his country.

After several attempts, however, a few of W.'s men were at last prevailed upon to climb the Mountain after him, which they did leisurely, and only at a respectful distance, but it was soon ascertained that the venturesome leader and some of his more faithful followers had fallen, and others were badly wounded; this at once damped the ardour of the survivors, and caused them to abandon any further attempt that day at taking the Mountain “by storm.”

All this time the Enemy were keeping up a steady fire from the Mountain top and from behind large stone boulders on the sides of the Mountain and throwing down stones upon the Storming party, and on others who were posted on the *skirt* of the Mountain, some of the latter being shot down too, others narrowly escaping a similar fate, since they all served as living targets to an invisible foe, to be shot—“ad libitum”—without their being able to return the compliment.

Wepener and Wessels, and some of their most daring followers, had nearly reached the summit of “Thaba Bosigo,” when their further advance was barred by “stone wall” barriers, which the Enemy had hastily “run up”; these would doubtless have been surmounted too, by the gallant little band of assailants, had not Wepener, alas! just then—it being late in the afternoon—been shot dead, with two of his companions; some others too were killed and wounded, some by bullets and others by stones thrown down upon them, as per list, which follows below; the men, seeing their Commandant and companions shot down by their side, got disheartened.

When the Enemy knew that W. was dead, they plucked up fresh courage and set up a hideous “yell,” and shouted and grimaced furiously, after the real Kaffir savage style, and pretended to be rushing down the Mountain after W.'s men, who being few in number, and realizing their critical position,—the more, as the Sun was about setting,—got scared, and hastily descended the Mountain;

the scare unfortunately spread rapidly, and ended in a panic and a hasty general retreat down the Mountain and its sides, to the “Camp,” where the field pieces and the remainder of the men were located, but fortunately the Enemy on the Mountain, estimated at about two thousand, did not pursue the retreating burghers (probably because the firing from the Field pieces was still kept up from below),—had they done so many Whites would have been slaughtered.

The second attempt to take “Thaba Bosigo” by “storm” had again failed,—although several Burghers gave proof of great courage,—and the entire Commando retired to the “Main Laager” at twilight.

The Writer having, from his dangerous “post”, on the side of “Thaba Bosigo,” been an eye-witness of the day’s proceedings, records these facts from personal observation.

The following is a list of killed and wounded in this Second ill-fated attempt to take Thaba Bosigo by “storm.”

Killed on the Mountain :—

Louw Wepener, Commandant, Smithfield.
Adam Raubenheimer, Colonial Volunteer.
John Horsepool, Bethulie.
Sampson Daniel, Bloemfontein.
Jacobus Stolz, Free State.
Wilhelm Hoevells, Bloemfontein.
Gert Joubert, Smithfield.
Doris van Eeden, Bethulie.
Johannes Dry, Bloemfontein.
Jacobus Engelbrecht, Bloemfontein.

Wounded on the Mountain :—

C. Wessels, Commandant, slightly.
Gert Venter, Commandant, severely.
Willem Smit, Commandant, severely.
George Hudson, Commandant, severely.
George Lyon, Commandant (died soon after).
— Basseyton, severely.
J. M. Howell, slightly (face with stones).
Thomas Webster, slightly (finger).

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John T. Collins, slightly (brother of the Writer).

5 Baralongs, slightly.

Some others too, about “twenty,” received wounds on the Mountain, from stones thrown down upon them,—not however severe.

It was estimated that Moshesh had with him on the Mountain at the time of storming same, besides 2,000 men, about 6,000 or 7,000 head of cattle, and many horses.

The death of Commandant Wepener at the comparatively early age of 53 years, was a severe blow to the State, and was deplored alike by the Government Authorities and the burghers *generally*; in him the State had lost a brave and trusty Officer, who had acted a Hero's part during the “War,” and was besides a good and loyal citizen.

The temporary reverses connected with the disastrous storming of Thaba Bosigo had by no means damped the ardour of the State in its determination of prosecuting the War to a successful issue, but any further storming of the Mountain was, *for the present*, abandoned,—as a needless sacrifice of human life,—and the future “Military Programme” was to surround and beleaguer it, and send from time to time from the “Laager” strong Patrol and Scouting parties to capture cattle, destroy cultivated lands, and grain, and harass the Enemy as much as possible.

On its coming to the knowledge of Sir Philip Wodehouse (Governor of the Cape Colony) that the Free State had declared War against the Basuto Nation, he issued a “Neutrality Proclamation,” forbidding any of Her Majesty's “Colonial subjects” from assisting the State, as Volunteers or otherwise; this was thought rather unkind of the Governor, as His Excellency was well aware of the causes which led to the rupture, and how impossible it was for the State to avoid it, and he had himself, at the last settlement of the line, expressed his astonishment at the forbearance of the “State” towards the “Basutos,” and avowed that it had tolerated too much from them, and yet it was at the same time difficult to see how he could avoid issuing the prohibition, as England was at peace with the Basuto nation.

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The Bloemfontein Rangers, who had taken part in many sharp engagements with the Enemy, and who had besides done much rough field work, returned to Bloemfontein after the second storming of the Mountain, for a few days rest,—and again joined the Commando, after an interval of Eighteen days, and on their return they escorted to the Camp certain Commissariat supply waggons,—the Writer did not return with his Corps, as he was well nigh prostrate, suffering severely from “acute” neuralgic and rheumatic pains and aches, brought on by exposure, having often to lie out on the wet and damp ground, and exist on unsuitable food;—“tough” and “stringy” beef and “Meelie pap” did not quite suit a non-meat eater;—thus being rendered wholly unfit for further active Military service during the War.

The Ranger Corps had taken part in several lively fights, one of the most exciting ones being at a place called “*Korah-Korah*,” lying in a pretty, though very rugged and stony valley, honey-combed with “*caves*,” on the 6th day of August, 1865; here some 300 of the Enemy were killed, 570 head of cattle, 400 Horses, 11,000 sheep, and 150 waggons were captured, 50 of the latter being immediately destroyed; on our side there were *three* men wounded, one being a *Ranger* (William Beeton),—thumb shot off,—several of the burghers showed great bravery here in chasing the Enemy up to the “*Cave’s*” mouth, and then dragging them out, this being a very dangerous experiment.

In the beginning of September, the Krygsraad and General decided to completely surround Thaba-Bosigo, and they accordingly invested it on all sides, by so doing, to prevent In-and-Egress, whilst continually keeping up a steady fire from the “field pieces” below, into the Kaffir entrenchments on the top of the Mountain; in this way it was thought that many of the Enemy were from time to time killed.

The cattle and horses on the Mountain having already for many hours been cooped up, without *food* and *water*, were becoming mad with thirst and were trying to force their way down the

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Mountain; many had already dropped down the precipitous cliffs of *Thaba Bosigo*; Moshesh himself was beginning to lose heart, his cattle too were fast diminishing from hunger and thirst,—the stench from the decomposing carcasses was becoming unbearable,—and he was seriously thinking of treating for “terms of Peace,” and the State had already proclaimed sundry portions of the Enemy’s Territory,—which it had conquered,—as annexed to the State.

The President, Mr. Brand, was during these dreary days of War and bloodshed, very active in encouraging the men at the different “Laagers,” arranging with the Executive Council for fresh drafts of men to relieve those who had been for some weeks on Commando; he used regularly to visit the Camps and was generally doing his duty as a Guide and Father to his people.

A Commando from the *Transvaal*, consisting of about 850 men, under Mr. Pretorius and his Commandant Paul Kruger, at last arrived in Basutoland and encamped at Molappo’s kraal, upper Caledon River; this Commando was sent, as alleged, to avenge the murders of the Transvaal burghers on the Drakensberg, already referred to, but the Free State got no real assistance from her good (?) neighbour, as they returned whence they had come, early in November, with such booty as they could collect.

On the 18th day of September, preliminary negotiations “for Peace” were opened between the State President and Moshesh by letter, which proved futile; all Moshesh did was to *reiterate the promises he had so often before made,—to abide by the Treaty of “1858,”* which bare promises were not considered satisfactory to the State, as every one knew that they would not be observed.

Governor Wodehouse again wrote to President Brand, under date 7th November, 1865, referring to his “Neutrality Proclamation,” and the authority granted by the State to Messrs. Webster and Tainton to raise a Volunteer Corps.

Mr. Thomas Webster, who had served for some weeks on Commando, was on the 2nd October, 1865, authorized by General Fick, with the President’s approval, to muster

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a “Volunteer Corps,” composed of Europeans, Burghers, Bastards, Baralongs, etc.,—as a “free-lance,”—to take the field against the Enemy, on condition that they could retain all *plunder* made by them, with the exception of *Guns* and property belonging to Free State burghers; these men were to be supplied with ammunition *gratis* by the State; regulations for their guidance were framed by the Raad on 10th February, 1866.

Some good friends and sympathisers in the Cape Colony and Natal were generously sending money, and supplies of foodstuffs, such as Meal, Coffee, Sugar, Tea, and other groceries for the use of the Commandoes, which were distributed by a Commission, appointed for that purpose by the Government.

On the 5th day of February, 1866, the Volksraad adopted the following “Resolution” by a large majority of votes :—

“That whereas the Missionaries in Basutoland have “not confined themselves *exclusively* to their sacred calling, “but have heretofore, and are still busying themselves with “political matters, and whereas the sympathy they cherish “towards the Basutos in connection with political matters “is shown to act detrimentally for the State, that whereas “by reason of the above, the ‘Orange Free State’ cannot “allow the Missionaries, who are residing in the recently “annexed Territory to remain there, etc.” The Missionaries had consequently to leave Basutoland for so long as the War lasted; some came to reside in the Free State,—others elsewhere,—only one French Missionary (Revd. Keck) remained on his station, as no suspicion rested upon him. The Writer, as member of the Raad for Bloemfontein, found himself in the minority by recording his “protest” against the above Resolution, as nothing had been proved to incriminate the Missionaries and necessitate so harsh a proceeding against these gentlemen.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

CONTENTS.

BASUTO WAR (CONTINUED)—ATTACK BY BASUTOS UPON “BURGHER” AND “RANGER” CAMPS, “MOUNT MISERY,” 1865—ATTACK BY BASUTOS UPON THE TOWN OF WINBURG, TWO BURGHERS, FATHER AND SON, MURDERED, JANUARY, 1866—ATTACK BY BASUTOS UPON BETHLEHEM, AND STOCK SWEEPED OFF, KAFFIRS KILLED, ETC., FEBRUARY, 1866—MOSHESH, MOLAPPO, AND LETSEA PROPOSE TERMS OF PEACE—TREATY CONCLUDED WITH THEM; THEY ALL ACKNOWLEDGE THE FREE STATE’S RIGHT TO LAND CONQUERED, AND PROCLAIMED BY GENERAL FICK—MOLAPPO AND LETSEA BECOME FREE STATE SUBJECTS—MOSHESH PROMISES TO PAY “WAR EXPENSES”—PAULUS MOPELI APPLIES TO BECOME A FREE STATE SUBJECT—ACCEPTED AS SUCH, AND IS STATIONED AT WIETZIESHOEK—LANCES FOUND OF LANCERS KILLED AT THE “BEREA” IN 1852—BURGHER DESERTERS FROM THE COMMANDO FINED AND SENT BACK TO COMMANDO—SERGEANT VAN RENSBURG OF THE “FREE STATE ARTILLERY” SERIOUSLY WOUNDED AT THE FORT WHILST ENTERING, RENDERED UNFIT FOR FURTHER “ACTIVE SERVICE,” COMPENSATED AND AFTERWARDS PROMOTED—RANGER CORPS RETURNS HOME, AND IS DISBANDED—FREE STATE “NATIONAL ANTHEM” PUBLICLY RECEIVED—BONUS OF £15 AWARDED TO MR. NICHOLAI, MUSICAL COMPOSER—MOSHESH, MOLAPPO, AND LETSEA APPLY TO GOVERNOR WODEHOUSE TO BE RECEIVED AS BRITISH SUBJECTS—GOVERNOR WRITES TO PRESIDENT BRAND, OFFERING HIS SERVICES FOR ARRANGING PEACE BETWEEN BASUTOS AND THE STATE—HIS LETTER LAID BEFORE THE “VOLKSRaad,” AND LATTER’S RESOLUTION, REFUSING GOVERNOR’S OFFER, AND STATING REASONS—GOVERNOR REFERS TO NEUTRALITY PROCLAMATION, AND COMPLAINS OF “WEBSTER” AND “TAINTON” RECRUITING FOR VOLUNTEERS IN CAPE COLONY—PRESIDENT BRAND’S REPLY—COMPENSATION TO BE PAID BY MOLAPPO TO NATAL GOVERNMENT—GOVERNOR ASKS FOR PASSES TO DRIVE CATTLE IMPOSED AS A “FINE” UPON MOLAPPO, THROUGH THE STATE—COMMANDANT LOUIS WESSELS PRESENTED WITH A RIFLE BY BLOEMFONTEIN RESIDENTS—FOUNDATION STONE OF BISHOP’S LODGE LAID, MAY 1866—BISHOP’S REMARKS.

An unexpected attack was made early in September, 1865, on the “joint Camp” of some burghers and the “Bloemfontein Rangers,” known as “Mount Misery Camp,” on a very dark night, at 10 o’clock, during a heavy fall of rain, by a party of the Enemy, numbering between 200 and 300, direct from “Thaba Bosigo”; they cunningly avoided the “pickets,” who could not, owing to the pattering of the heavy rain fall, hear them coming; they crept stealthily to the tents, and, from the outside, stabbed some of the men lying down inside; the alarm was soon given, and the assailants were driven off faster than they had come; one man, a burgher named David Venter, of Kaffir River, was stabbed to death, and four others badly wounded,—Mr. George Chatfield, an English farmer, residing near Bloemfontein, received some “*nine*” assegai wounds (one account said “*twelve*”), Barend Boucher *four*, and A. Coetzee *five* wounds; the Kaffirs took *two* or *three* Rifles, and stabbed one horse to death; four Kaffirs were left dead, and Six were wounded.

The attack, it was thought, was made by some of Moshesh’s most daring warriors,—specially sent from the Mountain, in a freak of desperation, as a kind of forlorn hope.

Early in the morning of the 28th January, 1866, an attack was made by a body of between 1,000 and 1,500 armed and mounted Basutos, on the Town of Winburg; these drove off the horses, cattle, and sheep, belonging to the Residents, which were grazing on the Town Commonage; General Fick, who happened just at the time to be encamped at a distance of only *Nine* miles from Winburg, with a force of about 200 men, *at once* came to the aid of the Town, and caused the Kaffirs to be followed by a Field Cornet, Mr. P. J. Theron, with a few men, who retook most of the stock except about 100 Horses; the Kaffirs burnt four farm houses, and murdered *two* burghers named Pelsers (Father and son), on the Town Commonage, and Seven Native loyal herd boys, three Kaffirs were found dead, and ten saddles were left behind by the Enemy.

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On the 23rd February, 1866, an attack was made on the Town of Bethlehem, in broad day light, by a Commando of Molappo's men numbering about 2,000; they surrounded Bethlehem, and took the “live stock”; in a few minutes 40 men, under the dashing Field Cornet N. Muller, followed them, and retook the stock.

The Kaffirs broke up into four or more parties, and fled; the burghers chased them for about 18 miles, killed 125, and retook 185 horses; two of the burghers were slightly wounded by assegai stabs; the remainder of the Enemy got away with 40 horses, and murdered a young lad named “Mosterd,” while herding his father's sheep.

After a bloody struggle of some Eleven months, *Moshesh* finding that he could hold out no longer, proposed “terms of peace”; the first of the Basuto Chiefs, however, to conclude a “Treaty of Peace” with the State, was *Molappo*, who on the 26th day of March, 1866, signed a “Treaty,” in which he acknowledged the “rights” of the State to the “tract of Country” annexed to the State, by General Fick's Proclamations, and confirmed by the Volksraad on 7th February, 1866, and applied to become a Free State subject, and promised to withdraw his people from that portion of the “*annexed Territory*,” lying on the “Free State side” of the Caledon River.

Letsea, the eldest son of *Moshesh*, likewise applied to be received a Free State subject, and was accepted,—both *Molappo* and *Letsea* had land allotted to them to occupy with their people.

A Law was framed by the Volksraad, on 23rd May, 1866, for the Governing of *Molappo* and his people.

Molappo undertook to pay as “War Expenses,” 500 head of cattle, and as damages, sustained by burghers, for thefts committed by his people, another 1,500 head—together 2,000 head; all these cattle were to be delivered at the “General's Camp” on 2nd April, 1866; he further acknowledged himself to be a Free State subject, and as a pledge for the due observance of all he had promised, and of his future good behaviour, he left as “hostages” at the

Camp one of his Sons and a Captain; it was finally agreed that a Free State Official, to be styled “Commandant,” was to be domiciled with him,—Mr. Paul Fick being appointed as such Commandant.

The “proclaimed Territory” was described as follows:—“between Patasanie, the Caledon River, and the Drakensberg”; soon after followed a “Treaty of peace” with *Moshesh* himself, 3rd April, 1866; *Moshesh* being unable, owing to an attack of illness, to be personally present, was represented by his brother “*Paulus Mopeli*” and his son “*Nehemiah*.”

In the “Treaty” *Moshesh* acknowledged the right of the State to the “annexed Territory,” as proclaimed by General Fick, and confirmed by the Volksraad, on 17th February, 1866, and promised to withdraw his people from same, those refusing to withdraw peaceably to be regarded as Enemies,—undertook to pay as “War Expenses” 1,000 head of cattle, and as compensation for damages sustained by the burghers, owing to thefts by his people, another 2,000 head,—altogether 3,000 head; these fines were shortly afterwards greatly reduced. Fifty of these cattle were to be delivered at the “Camp” of Commandant Wessels before sunset on the 4th day of April, 1866, and the remainder on the 11th day of April; he further promised to leave as hostages for the due observance of his “pledges,” at the “Camp” of Commandant Wessels, two of his Sons, and to deliver up to the State, on the production of proper “Criminal Warrants,” all Criminals from the State, who had fled to his Country, and finally, he consented to his son *Molappo* becoming a Free State subject.

The new boundary line was as follows:—“From “*Bamboesplaats*, near *Pampoenspruit*, with a straight line “for about three miles, East of *Letsea’s* new Town, from “there in a straight line “*North*” to the Caledon River, “and along the Caledon River to the Putasanie, along the “Putasanie to the source of same, and from there along “the *Drakensberg*.”

Paulus Mopeli likewise applied to be accepted as a Free State subject,—he too was received as such, and was placed

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with his people in that beautiful part of the Free State known as “*Wietzieshoek*,” under a Free State Commandant, where his people still are, he having died some months ago.

Three lances, supposed to have once belonged to the unfortunate men who were killed in the disastrous “battle” of the “*Berea*,” while serving under General Cathcart in 1852, were found in a cave in *Molappo’s* Country; one in a good state of preservation was converted into a flagstaff by the “*Bloemfontein Rangers*.”

Several deserters from the Commando, were fined by the “*Landdrost Court*,” in sums varying from £10 to £37 10s. or imprisonment for periods from *two* to *three* months; the fines as a rule were to be paid after the termination of the War,—the men meanwhile to be sent back to the Commando to resume duty.

A sad accident occurred in the middle of January, 1866, at near midnight, on a very dark night,—on the Fort at Bloemfontein, to Sergeant *Van Rensburg* of the “*State Artillery*,” a smart young non-com. Officer, who had just returned from the Commando at *Leeuw River*. Mr. Van Rensburg, who knew the Fort well, finding the gate open, entered the Fort, which was at the time garrisoned by a party of Dutch burghers under the command of a Field Cornet, named W. van Tonder, and while endeavouring to lead his mounts after him, into the Fort, was fired upon by the Field Cornet from the door of the “*Guard Room*,” the bullet shattering one arm and a thumb; happily Mr. van Rensburg, who had been an active and robust young Officer, recovered from this severe injury, but, owing to his being badly maimed, and rendered physically unfit for further “*active service*,” was compensated by the Government; much sympathy was felt for the promising young artilleryist, who was afterwards promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. On an Official Enquiry being instituted, it was found that the man who shot van Rensburg had duly challenged him, but owing to the boisterous state of the weather at the time, he failed to hear van Rensburg’s answer to the challenge.

The War being virtually ended, the “Bloemfontein Rangers,” who had for many months, as a Volunteer Corps, been in the field, and had in other ways loyally done its duty, to the satisfaction of the authorities, without any remuneration whatever, but rather to the great pecuniary loss of each individual Member,—seeing that the *Corps* was composed of men (some of whom were obliged, by attending to their own business, and others as Clerks) to earn their livelihood, was disbanded as a “Corps” in February, 1866; their tattered banner was for a long time preserved in the “Bloemfontein Museum.”

The Free State “National Anthem,” which had already been officially accepted as such by the Volksraad, was publicly inaugurated on 2nd March, 1866; this “Anthem,” which consists of *Nine* stanzas, was composed by Mr. Advocate H. A. L. Hameberg, by whom it was presented to the Government, and set to music by a *Mr. Nicolai*, an eminent Dutch Musical composer; it was first sung at the State’s “*twelfth*” anniversary, 23rd February, 1866, by a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen.

The Raad awarded to *Mr. Nicolai* £15 as a “bonus,” and the anthem was translated into English by Mr. W. R. Thompson, a Member of the “Cape House of Assembly,” but much of its original inspiring rhythm and vigour was lost in the rendering.

The number “*twelve*” being held in much repute, in both *Sacred* and *legendary* history, was regarded as an appropriate occasion for giving birth to this National Song, —on the *twelfth* anniversary of the State.

At the very commencement of the present “Basuto War,” *Moshesh* doubtless feeling that he had now thoroughly roused the State into determined action, and dreading the consequences of his past reckless behaviour, had applied to Governor Wodehouse, requesting that he and his people might be received as British subjects, under such terms and conditions as should, later on, be agreed upon, in which request he was joined by his sons *Letsea* and *Molappo*; the Governor not seeing his way clear in at

once complying with his request, wrote to the President, suggesting to him to lay before the Volksraad an offer from the British Government of their best services in the negotiation of an equitable peace between the State and the “Basuto Nation”; Mr. Brand, after laying the Governor’s letter before the Raad, on the 22nd February, 1866, sent by way of reply the following “Raad resolution,” viz. :—

“ The Volksraad having taken into consideration the letter of His Excellency, the Governor of the Cape Colony, dated the 20th day of January, 1866, addressed to His Honor the State President, expressing his willingness, and offering his services, to act as Mediator, in order to bring about an equitable peace between the Orange Free State and the Basutos, instructs His Honor the State President to inform His Excellency that the Government of this State has been compelled to wage the present War for the maintenance of violated rights, which have been recognized and accepted by the ‘Treaty of Aliwal North;—that the Raad in the interests of religion, morality, and social progress, heartily desires the termination of the War, and eagerly longs for peace, which shall offer a guarantee of permanency; that the Raad has learnt, with feelings of gratitude, the benevolent offer of mediation of His Excellency, but entertains the conviction, grounded on an experience of many years, that the Basutos will not respect the stipulations of any ‘Treaty of peace,’ unless they be forced to the compliance of such ‘Treaty’ by the power of our arms, and unless they be driven to feel that the Free State is sufficiently powerful to compel the Basutos to observe the conditions of any ‘Treaty’ that may be concluded, and constrain them thereto, should it be necessary, by force of arms.”

“ That the Government has determined, and the people of the State are willing, to undergo any amount of sacrifice in the prosecution of the War until such time as a desirable conclusion thereof shall have been attained; for which reason the Raad considers the present juncture unfavourable, and does not feel in a position to avail itself of the benevolent offer of His Excellency.”

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Governor Wodehouse, who had already issued a “Neutrality Proclamation,” forbidding Cape Colonials from assisting the Free State in the “Basuto War,” wrote again to the President, under date the 7th November, that he had learnt from “Free State Newspapers” that authority had been given to Messrs. Webster and Tainton to raise a “Volunteer Force” with permission to keep all the plunder it can acquire, and likewise that Mr. Tainton had been authorised to enlist a body of “fingoes” for “Military service” under the Free State, and it seemed clear from the tenor of these arrangements, and of the observations made upon them by the “Free State Press,” that their realization mainly depends on the success which may attend the efforts of Messrs. Webster and Tainton, to induce Her Majesty’s subjects, European and Native,—“to violate the Laws of their own Country, and thereby render themselves liable to punishment,—and to join in the shedding of blood, and in the spread of desolation, in a cause in which they had no just right to meddle, all for the mere object of obtaining ‘plunder,’ etc.”

In the President’s reply to the above despatch, dated 22nd Nov., after referring to a raid into the Free State, which had been made by a petty Native Chief, favourable to Moshesh,—named “Marose,” who was then living to the South of the Orange River (Colonial side), (to all intents and purposes under British jurisdiction), and several kaal Kaffirs under him (who likewise lived on the Colonial side of the River), and to the strict orders that had been issued to the Free State Commandoes not to cross the Orange River, and likewise referring to the Governor’s despatch of 7th November, said,—that he was led to infer from it that His Excellency was not in full possession of the circumstances connected with the appointment of Messrs. Webster and Tainton,—and notified further that Mr. Webster had for two years been a constant resident of the State, and Mr. Tainton for Six months, and that when it was considered desirable to divide our Commandoes into four or five sub-divisions, it was at same time arranged that our burghers were to remain under their own Officers, and that

Mr. Webster was to have the command of such White Volunteers in the Free State, and such Bastards and Barablongs as may wish to join him, and that Mr. Tainton was to be placed in the command of persons in the Free State not liable to Commando or burgher duty, as might wish to serve under him.

The Governor, evidently misconceiving the authority granted by the Military authorities of the Free State to Messrs. Webster and Tainton for the raising of Volunteers, threatened the President with the stoppage of the State's supply of ammunition,—in direct violation of the “Bloemfontein Convention” of 23rd February, 1854, which sets forth that “the Orange River Government (meaning the “present Free State) shall have the right to purchase its “supply of ammunition in any British settlement or possession in South Africa, subject to the laws regulating “the *sale* and *transit* of *Ammunition*, within such Colony “or possession, etc.,” and in a letter to the Governor, dated the 12th January, Mr. Brand intimated that the “State Government” had never enticed any persons into its service by promises of plunder, but had on the contrary declined offers of assistance from the Cape Colony and Natal, on the grounds of the “Neutrality Proclamation,”—further that the State Government had never authorized any person or persons to “enlist” or “recruit” in the Cape Colony,—neither was it aware of any act which would, in its opinion, justify a “breach” of the Convention above named.

Some further correspondence had likewise taken place between the Governor and President, respecting compensation in Cattle (10,000 head), which was to be paid by *Moshesh* and his son *Molappo* for Basuto raiding and plundering in the Colony of Natal,—the former desired “passes” to drive these cattle through Free State Territory,—which the latter readily granted, after the exchange of a little “red tape.”

Commandant Louis Wessels of the Bloemfontein District, who had during the War shown himself to be a brave and conscientious Commander, and whose services

were greatly appreciated by the Government and people, and who was one of the daring ones who had supported the late Commandant Wepener, when storming Thaba Bosigo, had a flattering address presented to him by Bloemfontein-ers, in *May*, 1866, when a sum of £60 was publicly subscribed for the purpose of procuring for presentation to him, a superior Rifle; Mr. Wessels died in the State some years ago.

The foundation stone of the Bishop's Lodge, adjoining the English Cathedral, was laid by President Brand, on the 24th day of May, 1866; the Religious portion of the ceremony was performed by Bishop Twells, assisted by two of his Clergy,—Revd. C. Clule and G. Mitchell.

The Bishop remarked in his address that there were some persons present who had taken part in the laying of the “Cathedral Stone,” some Sixteen years ago; after the stone laying by the President, two verses of the English National Anthem were sung, in honour of the day,—“Queen Victoria's birthday,—and two verses of the Free State National Anthem. The day's ceremony was witnessed by a large gathering of persons, and the grounds were tastefully decorated with flags, devices, etc., etc.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

CONTENTS.

TERRITORY ANNEXED TO O.F. STATE "BY CONQUEST," IN BASUTOLAND—"OCCUPATION LAW" PASSED—LINE OF "THREE ROWS OF FARMS" TO BE INSPECTED, AND GRANTED TO CERTAIN PERSONS—APPLICATION TO BE MADE TO GOVT. SECRETARY—FARMS TO BE OCCUPIED PERSONALLY OR BY APPROVED SUBSTITUTE—LAND COMMISSIONS APPOINTED TO INSPECT AND SURVEY FARMS UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF GOVERNMENT LAND SURVEYORS, PIECES OF LAND OF NOT LESS THAN 12,000 MORGEN RESERVED FOR LAYING OUT TOWNS—ALL AVAILABLE FARMS TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION TO WHITE MEN, UNDER "SERVITUDE" OF "OCCUPATION"—"QUIT RENT" FIXED AT TWO SHILLINGS PER 100 MORGEN—LAND COMMISSIONS PROTECTED BY STRONG PATROLS OF 500 MEN—BASUTOS SHOWING FIGHT, TWO MEN KILLED ON THEIR FARMS—VOLKSRaad GIVE FRENCH AND WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES THEIR BUILDINGS IN BASUTOLAND WITH 3,000 ACRES ATTACHED—GRANT OF LAND 4,000 ACRES AWARDED TO MOROKKA—EVERY "TENTH" FARM RESERVED FOR GOVERNMENT AS "SECURITY" FOR LEGAL TENDER PAPER MONEY—DIVISION OF SURPLUS PURCHASE MONEY OF FARMS—LAND INSPECTED FOR NATIVES—FARMS SOLD BY "PUBLIC AUCTION"—FOUR TOWNS LAID OUT: LADYBRAND, WEPENER, FICKSBURG, FOURIESBURG—CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT BRAND BY INFLUENTIAL GENTLEMEN IN CAPE TOWN, IN JUNE 1866—DEATH OF MR. HENDRICK DREYER NEAR HARRISMITH, MARCH 1866—GREAT SHOWER OF METEORS SEEN IN MARCH 1866—BLOEMFONTEIN CATHEDRAL COMPLETED—CONCERT GIVEN NOVEMBER 1866—SALE OF FARMS IN "CONQUERED TERRITORY"—SALE OF ERVEN AT BRANDFORD—FOUNDATION STONE "RISING STAR TEMPLE" LAID BY PRESIDENT BRAND—DEATH OF EX-LANDDROST HECTOR LOWEN IN ENGLAND, 3RD OCTOBER, 1865.

The tract of Territory which had, during the Basuto War, been annexed to the Orange Free State by Proclamation, confirmed by the Volksraad, and approved by *Moshesh*

and his sons Molappo and Letsea, as the conquest of “War,” and called by the State the “Conquered Territory,” was now being settled; a Law was passed by the Volksraad, entitled “The Occupation Law,” which, “inter alia,” enacted—“That all along the new ‘boundary line’ between the State and Basutoland a line of ‘three’ new farms (3 rows) of 3,000 acres shall be inspected, i.e. surveyed, which shall be granted on the following conditions, namely:—

1st.—To *White* people, who, during the War, have done Commando duty.

2nd.—To all *White* residents of the State.

3rd.—To all *White* residents, without distinction.

4th.—Application to be made for farms to the Government,—all the above farms to be “occupied in person,” by the “Grantees” or an approved “substitute”; the number of farms placed at the disposal of the Executive Government, as “Grant Farms,” would probably number about 700, each in extent 3,000 acres or thereabouts.

The remaining Territory was to be apportioned in farms of 3,000 acres in extent, each to be inspected (surveyed) by Land Commissions appointed by the Government,—each Commission to consist of *three* Members, under the Presidency of a qualified sworn Government “Land Surveyor”; the Members were to receive £1 1s. and the President £2 2s. per diem,—each individual Commission to “report progress” to the Government Secretary, stating the number of working days.

Certain pieces of land, each not less than 12,000 acres in extent, were to be reserved for laying out “Towns”; beacons to be fixed for these, same as for the ordinary inspected farms, and sketches to be made of all inspected farms.

All available farms to be sold by “Public Auction,” under the “servitude” of occupation by *White* men as above stated,—purchase money to be paid in *four* instalments, transfer to be given on payment of first instalment,—three months after sale, and purchase; each purchaser to pay £4 for inspection or surveying charges; transfer duty and all other costs and charges connected with transfer

to be borne by purchaser; earnest money to the amount of £20 to be deposited by purchaser,—this sum to be declared “forfeit” if the conditions of the sale be not fulfilled; “personal” occupation of the farms by the purchaser, or “approved substitute,” was a “sine qua non”; occupation to commence at a time to be fixed and announced by the State President; the new proprietor to comply *strictly* with “conditions of sale.”

The Government “Quit Rent” was fixed at two shillings per *hundred* morgen; other *minor* conditions too were attached,—as “*servitutes*” on the farms, which if not observed would entail “forfeiture,”—these need not be entered into here, the most important ones only being stated.

The Land Surveyors appointed to inspect and survey these farms were Messrs. G. F. Stegmann, John X. Merri- man, G. van der Byl Aling, Josias de Villiers, K. J. de Kok, George Prince, A. C. P. van der Bosch, and J. C. Fleck; each Surveyor had two Members with him.

The Commissions had to be protected in their work, by strong mounted patrols in batches of 500 at a time, for the Basutos in some instances showed fight, and seemed determined to stop the work; at length, after much opposition, the Surveys were completed.

So bad had the opposition become, that two men,—“*Bush*” an English trader, and “*J. Krynauw*” a Burgher, —were in “*June*” and “*July*” treacherously murdered by *Marakabie*, a son of *Moletzanie*, while working in their lands in the conquered Territory; the murderers were demanded, in terms of the *Treaty* of “*Thaba Bosigo*,” *but without effect*; so that it became necessary to keep up “*Commandoes*” continually to *clear* the “*Conquered Territory*.”

The Volksraad decided that the *Wesleyan* and *French Mission Societies’* Buildings, on the stations occupied by them, at the beginning of the War, be awarded to them, with 3,000 acres of land added to each building, for which latter they were to pay into the Treasury £100, besides fulfilling the conditions laid upon other purchasers.

A grant of 4,000 acres of land, adjoining his Territory, was awarded to the Chief “*Morokka*” as a “free gift,” for his assistance during the War; out of the land to be inspected every “tenth” farm was to be reserved for the Government as *security* for the “paper currency” last issued.

Out of the proceeds of farms sold, after deducting cost of Sale, etc., and a “tenth” portion for destitute persons (i.e. sufferers by the “War”), the “surplus” was to be divided amongst the White people, Burghers and others, who had served on Commando.

The President in his speech to the Raad on 8th May 1867, said:—“In conformity with section 8 of the ‘Ocupation Law,’ a tract of land between *Bamboesspruit*, Caledon River, and *Cornetspruit*, was inspected for coloured people; and I have appointed, subject to the terms of the Constitution, Mr. Thomas Webster, Commandant of that portion of the ‘Conquered Territory’; the inspection of the remaining portion of the ‘Conquered Territory’ was commenced on 8th June last, and at the four sales which took place since then, 330 farms were sold for £67,697—325 inspected farms still remaining unsold; while uninspected land still remains over in the neighbourhood of *Morijsa* and elsewhere.”

Four Towns were laid out in the “Conquered Territory”: “*Ladybrand*,” called after Mrs. Brand; “*Wepener*,” after Commandant Wepener; and “*Ficksburg*,” after Commandant General Fick; and later “*Fouriesburg*.” The three first named of these Towns made rapid progress in growth and prosperity, especially “*Ladybrand*”; they are all situate in a fertile grain producing Country,—the “granary” of the Orange Free State.

A considerable number of influential persons, residing in Cape Town, including Members of Parliament, Government Officials, etc., sent President Brand the following flattering address, after the War, in June, 1866:—

SIR,—It is now about three years ago that many of us bade you a cordial and respectful farewell, when you left

this City to undertake the enormous responsibility of the Presidency of the Free State; since that time, we have watched your career with interest and sympathy; when you accepted Office the Free State was in a position of great trial,—if not imminent peril; the prudent and successful conduct of your Government, had to contend with many difficulties, both from the internal condition of the Country and its external relations to the bordering Tribes; those difficulties ultimately resulted in a “War,” which was sufficiently formidable throughout, and oftener than once seemed ominous and threatening in the highest degree; as Neutrals in the strife we do not express any opinion whatever as to the origin of the struggle, or pretend to pronounce who were in the right and who were in the wrong; we simply accept the fact that you Sir, as President of the Free State, felt it your duty conscientiously to proclaim War against the Basutos, and subsequent to that act, and simply as fellow Townsmen, and fellow Countrymen of South Africa, we desire to express to you our admiration of the steadfastness and perseverance with which you stood your ground, and in the face of innumerable and most formidable difficulties, encouraged your burghers to resolute conflict in the field, while you equally endeavoured by moderate counsels to justly temper and direct their legislation in the Volksraad.

We have further to congratulate you, Sir, and your Government, on the triumphant issue of the contest, in which you have been engaged, and to express our most confident and heartfelt hope that the Peace which so auspiciously closed the War may be a permanent one, and that the Free State, and the Basuto Tribes alike, may henceforth rapidly advance in the course of prosperity and progress, which seems now so favourably opened up before them.

William Porter, C. J. Brand, O. J. Truter, H. J. de Wet, W. Hiddingh, Rice Henry Daniell, C. J. Juta, E. Chiappini, J. H. Buyskes, P. Marais, A. W. Cole, D. J. van Breda, sen., J. M. Hid-

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dingh, J. A. H. Wecht, J. J. Marquard, Hercules G. Jarvis, C. Marais, H. Lyner, J. G. Muller, Daniel J. Cloete, E. Landsberg, J. G. Blankenberg, sen., A. Denyssen, J. H. Dreyer, J. J. Jurgens, J. C. Juta, L. G. S. Woolson, J. L. Leisching, G. Rubridge, J. M. Horak J. J. Dickson, J. G. Steytler (J son), H. Schickerling, T. Spingler, Gust. E. Dreyer, J. C. Molteno, Benjamin Dixie, Thos. Watson, Richard P. Dobie, L. J. le Roux, J. G. G. Wold, N. E. Moll, R. le Sueur, J. E. Rutgers, St. George Boys, M.L.A., Thos. Inglesby, A. Stegmann, C. Watermeyer, C. Schiemeterlouw, P. H. Hiddingh, Gerhard Myburgh, H. C. van Breda, J. van der Byl, J. J. le Sueur, jr., Hamilton Short, W. Mayburg, J. G. Blankenberg, G. H. Muller, J. G. Mocke (C. son), E. J. M. Syfret, P. J. Redelinghuis, P. N. Leibbrandt, J. A. Smuts, jun., C. E. Beyers, W. S. Pearson, B. Noble, A. Faure, M. de Vries, A. L. Goldsmidt, H. Wilson, Joh. Scholtz, J. H. Munnik, A. B. Marais, Jacobus Scholtz, J. G. Tier, C. W. C. de Villiers, J. H. Wernick, G. Schierhout, Wm. Toelscher, C. J. C. Gie, W. C. A. Moller, P. J. Wahl, P. D. Hohne, John F. Long, R. C. Logie, P. F. Sandenburg, D. Tennant, T. Rossouw (G. son), P. J. de Wet, P. J. van Breda, F. Godf. Watermeyer, A. H. de Villiers, J. G. Steytler, J. Z. Human, J. T. Wicht, D. C. Leser, J. D. Frieslick, J. A. Theubis, C. H. Brand (P. A. son), J. M. Stamrood, R. Paul, W. G. Beaty, jr., Charles A. Fairbridge, J. Ferris Smuts, G. J. de Korte, J. F. G. Pietersen, W. H. Biccard, G. W. S. Pringler, sr., J. S. de Villiers (D. A. son), J. C. Wessels, W. E. More, A. J. Brink, M. A. Smuts, J. J. L. Smuts, Chas. Steck, Fred. J. Rutherford, C. P. Cauvin, Robt. W. Ross, A. J. Zeederberg, C. J. A. Fick, H. B. Keytel, J. J. van Niekerk (J. son), J. J. Smilt, L. Rosenberg, M. S. van der Byl, H. C.

Meyburgh, J. H. Broers, H. C. Vogel, A. C. Louw, sen., H. C. H. Rossouw, C. W. Buyskes, J. E. Carstens, J. N. de Villiers, H. Teubes, Robt. Wells, H. Koetzee, H. Regter, A. D. Krynauw, P. van Breda, J. Liebbrandt, C. H. van Zyl, J. S. de Villiers, W. S. Blore, Geo. W. Eaton, L. H. Fick, J. F. von Postwitz, Dan. Haupt, M. G. Jurgens, A. Hoskish, Jno. A. Roos, A. Brown, M.D., Tobias Mostert, J. Hopkirk, Thos. . MDuncan, Henry Hewett, J. A. Trybuck, P. Hurlingb, W. F. Stramrood, David Forsyth, C. de Kock, Fred Waldeck, John S. Rowe, M. J. Spingler, C. J. Rosenberg, A. P. van der Peol, sr., J. G. Frieslick (F. son), Gordon H. Cloete, W. A. van Bloemmestein, W. Hieman, jr., W. Merrington, Mich. Gie (J. son), J. H. Redelinghuis, J. A. Truter, S. de Kock (J. son), W. C. Kuys, Car. M. de Wet, G. Buyskes, M. L. Neethling, P. J. van der Byl, G. Longenan, J. F. Orsmond, A. G. G. Euston, H. G. Blankenberg, J. P. Sinclair, Henry W. Powrie, George M. Stewart, sen., P. Decker, A. B. Harries, J. A. van Breda, T. S. Berning, E. J. Aspeling, E. Brandt, J. H. Bonn (G. son), C. J. Businnie, H. Guam, G. A. Wishoerb, J. F. Kirsten (A. son), C. M. de Wet, J. A. Truter, Geo. W. Eaton, Petrus Kirsten, S. de Kock (J. son), A. W. Hoever, S. de Jongh, J. E. R. Bischoff, J. P. E. Faure, J. Marais, J. Bond, J. Upjohn, W. M. Bosdyk, M. V. Heyneman, William Haupt, M.L.A., F. S. Berning, S. P. Sandow Bey, W. L. Sammods, W. D. Sthell, P. L. G. Cloete, A. J. Louw (J. son), W. H. Bligheimer, A. W. Brand, R. Jacobs, J. C. Mostert, Robt. C. Nelson, P. J. Kotze, A. Faure (J. son), Samuel Tonkin, Henry Smith, C. Rodolf, Jno. Noble, J. W. Ecksteen, J. T. Wechtman, — de Villiers, D. W. Hutton, G. A. Duncan, J. Hoffman, J. H. Combrinck, J. H. Hofmeyer, E. B. Auret, J. H. Gous (A. son), H. de Kock, P. J.

“FREE STATIA.”

Wahl, J. W. C. Bennett, Jas. Duncan, A. Sheriffs,
P. A. Brand, B. J. van de Sandt, W. J. G.
Brandt, W. G. J. Bennett.

The above address was signed by 261 persons, amongst them was Mr. William Porter, the distinguished “Attorney General” of the Cape Colony, Sir Christoffel Brand, the “Speaker” of the Cape House of Assembly, several Members of the Colonial Parliament, Colonial Judges, and many of the most progressive and prominent professional and business men in Cape Town, and representatives of all classes of the community there, and was meant as a tribute of respect and admiration to their friend President Brand, and for the ability and persistence displayed by him, as the “chief factor,” in bringing the Basuto War to a successful termination.

On the 29th day of March, 1866, at 10 p.m., Hendrick V. Dreyer, an Agent at Harrismith, and “temporary” Chairman of the Volksraad, one of the ablest, most liberal minded, and progressive Members of the Volksraad, was murdered by Kaffirs, a few miles from Harrismith.

Mr. Dreyer had gone out with a mounted patrol of Sixteen White men, and One hundred and Sixteen loyal Kaffirs, in the direction of *Wietzieshoek*, and had captured about 1,400 head of cattle and a number of horses and sheep, and on their return home had off-saddled for the night on a “rocky ridge,” twenty miles from Harrismith; very early the following morning the order was given to move on,—Mr. Dreyer with a few of his white companions rode a little distance in advance of the “main column,” when suddenly, from an “ambush” amidst rocks, Dreyer and his friends were attacked by about 100 Zulu Kaffirs who with their assegais stabbed to death two of the party: Mr. Dreyer and Mr. Joseph Simbeck,—the other “advance men” having made their escape to the “main body,” and in the struggle that followed, the Zulus, though routed and flying, had succeeded in carrying off most of the captured cattle and horses. Mr. Dreyer’s body was found pierced in *Twenty-one* places, and Mr. Simbeck’s body in *Seven*

places; both bodies were conveyed to Harrismith for interment. Mr. Dreyer's death was much lamented by a large number of friends and relatives.

It might interest the reader to know that the House property in Bloemfontein was, in May 1866, valued for “Municipal purposes,” by two Valuers at £70,000.

An extraordinary and unusual phenomenon was observed very early on the morning of the 14th March, 1866, by several persons residing in different parts of the State, and also of the Cape Colony; great showers of Meteors were seen shooting with almost lightning rapidity in a “Westerly direction,” which lit up the entire Heavens with a flood of dazzling light, and continued to do so from 2 a.m. until sunrise; the light was extremely bright and picturesque, but excited great trepidation in the minds of suspicious persons, who regarded it as a sign of the end of the world; fortunately however the world survived this brilliant display of one of Nature's mysterious and awe-inspiring wonders.

The Bloemfontein Cathedral was so far completed that a Concert of “Sacred Music,” vocal and instrumental, could be held in the building, in November, 1866, under the direction of Mr. George A. White, the Cashier of the “Bloemfontein Bank,” who was regarded as an adept on “*Organ*” and “*Harmonium*” performances, he had with him several Lady and Gentlemen instrumentalists and vocalists. Amongst others, Bishop Twells, who performed on the “Pianoforte,” and was likewise endowed with *good* and *strong* vocal powers.

Several “Solos,” “Anthems,” and “Chants” were rendered, and the Concert was much appreciated by a considerable number of people; a few days after the Concert, 30th November, the formal consecration of the Cathedral—“St. Andrew and St. Michael”—took place; the Bishop, in honour of the festival, issued 200 invitations to “Luncheon” at “Bishop's Lodge,” now completed.

Archdeacon Merriman of Grahamstown, who had already visited Bloemfontein, in connection with the building, and several other Clergymen, including the Revd. B.

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L. Key, and W. Rosseter from Aliwal North, and various laymen were present; great interest was manifested in these proceedings, especially as the first stone of the Cathedral was laid many years ago, in the presence of the late Bishop Grey, a zealous churchman; the building was 60 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 30 feet high under the beams, and had a spacious porch; it was intended to serve as the “Choir” of a future more elaborate Cathedral.

Letters of congratulation were received from the Bishops of Cape Town and Grahamstown, and others; donations were also received from the Colony and the Free State towards the augmentation of the “Building Fund,” and the proceedings generally ended hopefully for the future progress and prosperity of the long neglected Church, and the Members of other Churches appeared to feel interested in the success of their Episcopalian friends.

A second sale of Erven was held at “Brandfort,” on the 4th December, 1866, when Twenty-four Erven were sold for £730,—the price per Erf ranging from £15 to £48, and averaging £30 per Erf; the total amount realized from both Sales being £2,331 7s.

A Sale of 111 farms in the “Conquered and ceded Territory” (Basutoland) was held on 22nd December, 1866, each farm realizing from £26 to £900,—according to capabilities the proceeds of the Sale amounted to £26,468, and the “average” price of each farm about £240.

The “foundation stone” of the Lodge Temple “Rising Star,” No. 1022, was laid on the 27th day of November, 1866, by the President, Bro. J. H. Brand,—in the presence of its own Officers and Members of the sister Lodge “Unic,” sundry visiting B.B., and a large number of spectators.

The President wore the “Rose Croix” Apron and Collar, and laid the stone with due Masonic ceremonial and dignity; the Architect was Brother Richard Wocke; under the stone was laid a copy of the Lodge “bye-laws,” silver coins in use, local Newspapers, list of Officers and brethren belonging to the Lodge, and the usual Masonic elements of Corn, Wine, and Oil were “in evidence”; after which the entire company adjourned to a large “Refresh-

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ment booth” where they partook of the creature-comforts provided by a brother Mason.

The announcement of the decease in England of Mr. Hector Lowen, formerly Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bloemfontein, and later the *first* Landdrost under Free State rule, reached Bloemfontein on the 3rd October, 1865;—alas! what ravages death is making amongst the old “Sovereignty” residents.

Regulations were framed by the Volksraad on 15th March, 1865, for the holding of “Wool markets” in Bloemfontein, and the following Prizes were offered, viz. :—

To the person bringing the “best wool” to the Market	£20
To the person bringing the “second best wool” to the Market	£10

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

CONTENTS.

RE FINE OF 10,000 HEAD OF CATTLE IMPOSED BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON "MOSHESH" AND MOLAPPO, FOR RAIDING AND PLUNDERING IN NATAL—PASSES ASKED BY GOVERNOR FROM THE FREE STATE TO DRIVE THESE CATTLE THROUGH THE STATE TO NATAL—GOVERNOR WODEHOUSE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT BRAND THREATENING TO HOLD FREE STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FINE ON "MOLAPPO," AS HE HAD BEEN RECEIVED AS A FREE STATE SUBJECT—GOVERNOR WODEHOUSE WRITES AGAIN RESPECTING "MOSHESH" AND "MOLAPPO"—THEY DESIRE TO BECOME BRITISH SUBJECTS—PROCLAMATION OF THEIR SUBJECTION, 12TH OCTOBER, 1868, AND OBJECTS TO THE QUANTITY OF LAND TAKEN FROM THEM—PRESIDENT'S REPLY, REFERRING TO "CONVENTION" 23RD FEBRUARY, 1854—TREATIES OF NO ACCOUNT WITH BASUTOS, WAR UNAVOIDABLE, GOVERNOR WODEHOUSE'S LETTER TO MOSHESH OF 28TH OCTOBER, 1864, REFERRED TO, CENSURING MOSHESH IN SEVERE TERMS—GOVERNOR WODEHOUSE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT BRAND, 28TH OCTOBER, 1864—VOLKSRAAD "RESOLUTION" TO APPEAL AND PROTEST TO IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT, 22ND APRIL, 1868, AGAINST PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNOR, REFERS TO CONVENTION OF 1854, STATES REASONS FOR PROTESTING ETC.—GOVERNOR'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT RESPECTING PROTEST, 30TH MARCH, 1868—VIOLATION OF CONVENTION 1854, CLOSING OF CIVIL COURTS—A DEPUTATION OF TWO MEMBERS, REVD. G. VAN DE WALL AND COMMANDANT C. DE VILLIERS, SENT TO ENGLAND TO SUPPORT PROTEST, ETC., AND CONFER WITH COLONIAL MINISTER ON BASUTOLAND MATTERS—DEPUTATION'S REPORT TO VOLKSRAAD, RESULT OF THEIR INTERVIEW WITH DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, COLONIAL MINISTER—COMMISSION OF FIVE MEMBERS APPOINTED BY VOLKSRAAD ON 14TH JANUARY, 1869, AND PEACE FINALLY RESTORED AND "CONVENTION" SIGNED AT ALI WAL NORTH WITH GOVERNOR WODEHOUSE, 12TH FEBRUARY, 1869—MR. J. H. BOWKER APPOINTED BRITISH AGENT IN BASUTOLAND—MOLAPPO AND LETSEA RELEASED FROM "FREE STATE" ALLEGIANCE—PAULUS MOPELI REMAINS FREE STATE SUBJECT—WAR EXPENSES—NUMBER OF MEN ON COM-

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MANDO—PRIZE MONEY—COST OF COMMANDO—PROCEEDS OF LAND SALES—PASTEBOARD “GOOD FORS”—GERMAN SILVER “GOOD FORS”—BAD BEHAVIOUR OF MOLETZANE.

The writer has in previous pages referred to the compensation “fine” of 10,000 head of cattle, demanded by the British Government from Moshesh and Molappo, for raiding and plundering in the Colony of Natal, and for the driving of which “fine stock” through the State “passes” had been granted; Governor Wodehouse, on the score of Moshesh and Molappo having been taken over as “Free State subjects,” again wrote to the President, threatening to hold the State *responsible for these fines*, alleging that he was justified in doing so, as the State had received Molappo, who was one of the delinquents, as a subject; this threat the President at once repudiated, since to the condition of allegiance, which was spontaneously sought by the Basutos, was attached the “proviso” that those Basutos who had applied to become Free State subjects, were themselves to settle “old scores” with the British Government, but alas! the long-suffering State’s troubles were not yet ended, for Governor Wodehouse in another despatch to the President, dated 14th March, 1868, said, “On the 11th February, 1868, I informed you that Moshesh had placed himself entirely in my hands, the actual Proclamation— (meaning the Proclamation of ‘Subjection’) was delayed, from my wish to act with courtesy towards your Government, as well as to communicate with the Governor of Natal”; the Imperial Government had, however, *prior* to the date of the Governor’s despatch, authorised him to proclaim Moshesh and his Tribe *British subjects*, and he had already taken the initiative,—*vide* Proclamation of 12th March, 1868,—then came an interminable “pen and ink” discussion, or rather “pen and ink” fight, as to the “area of the Territory” annexed, proclaimed, and afterwards ceded to the State.

The Governor from his standpoint contending that the Basutos would be deprived of too great a portion of the land best suited to their wants, and would be “cooped up” in a

comparatively barren tract of country, to a degree that would render thieving almost inevitable, and even necessary for their very existence, to which the President replied, by reviewing the past relations between the Free State and the Basutos, ever since the “Bloemfontein Convention,” of 1854, and pointed out that, owing to the ever-increasing hostile attitude, and the thieving and murderous propensities of the Basuto Nation, it had become impossible to maintain peace; how a *pretended* disputed “boundary line” had always been made the pretext for murder, spoilation, and thieving by the Basutos, and yet how, when the *line* question was finally arranged by “mutual accord” in 1858, through mediation of the Governor, Sir George Grey, at the special request of the State, and with the full concurrence of Moshesh, and the solemn “Treaty” then entered into,—and again in the year 1864, by Sir Philip Wodehouse, when *on both occasions*, after the State had incurred great expense, it was found by each of these Governors that the Free State was wholly in the right, and the Basutos were wholly in the wrong,—peace was as remote as ever; owing to the determination of the Basutos to trample under foot all “Treaty” and other “political” compacts, evidently with the ulterior object of clandestinely appropriating to themselves the White man’s land, and how under these circumstances it had become quite apparent that neither Moshesh nor his Tribe would ever respect the most solemn Treaty obligations, and the Free State was therefore reluctantly compelled to maintain its rights by a life and death struggle; in cogent support of these assertions the writer feels that he may appropriately cite the letter written by Governor Wodehouse to Moshesh from Aliwal North, on the 28th day of October, 1864, reproduced below, giving the latter his candid views of the situation and tendering him some wholesome advice, which, alas! to his undoing was entirely thrown away upon him.

Holding views such as were set forth in the Governor’s letter, it seems strange that Sir Philip Wodehouse should in the face of the “Bloemfontein Convention” of 1854, Sec. 2, which reads: “That the British Government has

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“no alliance whatever with any Chief or Tribes to the Northward of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua Chief Adam Kok, and Her Majesty’s Government has no wish, or intention, to enter into any ‘Treaties’ which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the ‘Orange River Government,’” should seemingly now support the cause of the Basuto “bandit.”

It is more than probable that the dispassionate reader will not wonder that the proposals made by the Governor for the so called peaceable (?) ending of the War which had been dragging on for many months, at the cost to the State of many lives, and thousands of pounds, should, now that the time for the final disposal of the land acquired by *conquest* and *cession* from the Basutos had come, and after the Governor had proclaimed the Basutos British subjects and their land British Territory, and stopped the ammunition (in violation of the Convention), and after the domineering Enemy who had for so many years provoked and injured his White neighbour, and rendered War inevitable, and *was now thoroughly humbled*,—should have been respectfully declined by the Volksraad, and that they had begun to suspect the “bona fides” of His Excellency, who though having obtained so great an insight into Basuto faithlessness (as to cause him to send to Moshesh, from Aliwal North, on 28th October, 1864, the following communication) should now have become ostensibly—at least—his “partisan.”

TO THE GREAT CHIEF MOSHESH.

Great Chief,—“Having now finished my inspection of the land situated near the boundary between the ‘Orange Free State’ and the ‘Territory of the Basutos,’ and being in a position to point out what in my opinion should form the ‘boundary line’ between them, I think it right to accompany the description of the line herewith enclosed with some explanatory observations for ‘your information.’”

“I should wish you to understand that in taking upon myself the task just completed at the request of the

“Orange Free State, and with your full consent, I conceived that it was my duty to mediate between the Government of an ‘independent State’ on the one hand, and on the other hand, the ‘Paramount Chief’ of an ‘important Tribe,’ in his own person controlling, and by his own acts representing, and binding all his subjects, and bearing this in mind I shall review, very briefly, the past history of the lands in dispute, and the considerations by which I have been guided in arriving at what appears to me the only conclusion reconcilable with substantial justice; in doing so, I shall repeat my assurances that in the determination of this dispute the Government of Her Majesty the Queen has no interest other than that of promoting and preserving the tranquillity and well-being of the Inhabitants of these regions,—of all races.”

“It is not disputed that in times gone by, all the lands now forming the ‘Free State,’ the Transvaal, and Basutoland, were in the possession of different Tribes, some Basutos and some not, and that *all*, in the course of the many Wars that have occurred, passed into the possession of various owners; neither is it disputed that, before the establishment in this part of the country of any European Government, European farmers migrated from the Cape Colony, and obtained the consent of the Chiefs to occupy farms within their respective Territories; after this had occurred, the British Government became possessed ‘by force of arms’ of the Country now forming the ‘Orange Free State,’ and granted to those whom it found in occupation ‘Certificates,’ admitting their right to them, and promising that surveys should in due time be made; the British Government likewise on the 18th December, 1849, published a ‘Proclamation,’ defining the ‘boundaries’ that should in future be observed between their own possessions (the present ‘Free State’) and the lands of the several Chiefs (including yourself) by which they were surrounded.”

“These boundaries were described in the Proclamation as those arranged by the British Resident, Major Warden; subsequently Her Majesty relinquished her

“ possessions, which were constituted into the ‘Orange
 “ ‘Free State,’ and in the course of a few years from that
 “ time a War broke out between the ‘State’ and yourself,
 “ which was brought to a close through the mediation of
 “ Sir George Grey.”

“ The Treaty which was signed at Aliwal North for
 “ that purpose on the 29th day of September, 1858, by our
 “ duly authorized Commissioner, contained a distinct re-
 “ cognition of the ‘*so-called Warden line,*’ subject to
 “ modification by the Governor of the Cape Colony; after
 “ it was so signed, it was taken by Mr. Burnet, the present
 “ Civil Commissioner of Aliwal North, to ‘Thaba Bosigo,’
 “ and was then, with the assistance of the Revd. Mr. Jousse,
 “ then residing there, as your missionary, fully explained
 “ to you in all its parts; and received your ratification on
 “ the 15th day of October, 1858; from that time to the
 “ present day no further hostilities have occurred, and con-
 “ sequently the ‘Treaty’ of ‘Aliwal North’ remains in full
 “ force.”

“ I have further satisfied myself that the line known
 “ as the ‘*Warden line,*’ was so drawn as to do no more,—
 “ except in one portion,—than preserve the farms for which
 “ (as above stated) British Certificates had been given,
 “ and likewise that up to the time of the signing of the
 “ ‘Aliwal North’ ‘Treaty,’ the rights of the owners of the
 “ farms had not been questioned nor their possession dis-
 “ turbed.”

“ What is the present state of affairs? From one end
 “ of the line to the other end, and in most cases to a con-
 “ siderable distance *within* the line, parties of your Tribe,
 “ *without* a pretence of right, and *without* any formal de-
 “ claration on your part, have squatted on several farms,
 “ have established villages, cultivated large tracts of land,
 “ introduced large numbers of cattle, and have by intimi-
 “ dation driven off the lawful owners; everywhere are to be
 “ seen deserted and roofless farm houses, with valuable
 “ orchards, fast going to destruction.”

“ It seems impossible for any one called upon to act as
 “ ‘Mediator,’ between two parties, to countenance acts so

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“completely lawless in character, possessing no claim to be
“viewed in a more favourable light than ordinary thefts;
“moreover if I could, under any circumstances have re-
“conciled myself to supporting, in some degree, this law-
“less system of appropriation, the inclination to do so must
“have been wholly extinguished by the preposterous pre-
“tensions set up by those whom you selected to accompany
“me as Commissioners,—each in his turn, as we passed
“through the lands in which he was immediately interested,
“put forth claims, which in the aggregate would have in-
“volved the extinction of the ‘Orange Free State,’ and
“which he was at little pains to support by any reasonable
“agreements; one of these left me as soon as we had
“reached the limits of his interests,—another soon followed
“his example.”

“The only modification therefore of the ‘Warden line,’
“which appeared to me to be admissable was that assented
“to by the British Authorities *before* the establishment of
“the ‘Free State,’ for the accommodation of ‘Gert Taai-
“bosch’ and his Tribe, then occupying that part of the
“Country.”

“I feel sure that, guided by that spirit of moderation,
“and attachment to the British Government, which have
“ever distinguished you, you will at once give such direc-
“tions as will lead to the speedy restoration to their lawful
“owners of the lands improperly appropriated, and effect-
“ively check all encroachments for the time to come.”

I am, your friend,

P. E. WODEHOUSE,

Governor and High Commissioner.

Now follows Governor Wodehouse’s communication to
the President O.F. State :—

Aliwal North,

October 28th, 1864.

To His Honour

The President

of the Orange Free State.

SIR,—“In transmitting to you a description of the
“‘boundary line,’ which ought, in my opinion, for the future

“ to be maintained between the ‘Orange Free State’ and the
“ ‘Basutos,’ I beg at the same time to enclose the copy of a
“ letter which I have addressed to the Great Chief Moshesh,
“ explanatory of the grounds on which my decision has been
“ arrived at.”

“ You will observe that the ‘Warden line’ has been
“ maintained, except in so far as it was proposed by Mr.
“ Biddulph that an alteration in favour of ‘Gert Taaibosch’
“ should be allowed, and that I have pointed out in strong
“ terms to ‘Moshesh’ the impropriety of the acts which
“ have led to this negotiation, and the necessity for
“ checking anything of the kind in future.”

“ But I am in justice bound to express my regret that
“ the Government of the State did not, at the very com-
“ mencement of these encroachments, make a determined
“ effort to repress them.”

“ Had the first intruders been promptly punished, we
“ may reasonably suppose that the evil would have been
“ arrested; the absolute impunity they have hitherto enjoyed
“ has tempted one party after another to advance into the
“ Free State, until what was at first the act of mere squat-
“ ters, has come to assume a ‘National Character.’ ”

“ Finding things as they are, I consider that the Free
“ State should allow the Chief full time for the removal of
“ his people from the farms on which they are living, and
“ that it may very possibly be found both practicable and
“ advantageous to permit some to remain within the Free
“ State upon conditions to be fully explained, and subject
“ to instant removal for violation of these.”

“ It would probably facilitate the removal of the
“ Basutos if the proprietors of the Farms would make
“ arrangements for the purchase of the ‘Crops’ of the present
“ season.”

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servant,

P. E. WODEHOUSE.

“FREE STATIA.”

The Volksraad decided, by resolution of 22nd April, 1868, to appeal to the “Imperial Government,” and the State President accordingly forwarded the following “Memorandum” to the “Secretary of State” for the Colonies on the 13th day of May, 1868, viz. :—

“After Her Majesty’s supremacy had, by Proclamation ‘of the 3rd February, 1848, been declared by Sir Harry G. W. Smith, Governor of the Cape Colony, and H.M.’s ‘High Commissioner over the Territories situated between ‘the Orange River, the Drakensberg, and the Vaal Rivers, ‘Sir George Russell Clerk was, by Her Majesty’s Govern- ‘ment, appointed as Special Commissioner with a view of ‘withdrawing that Supremacy, and of making over the ‘Government of the Orange River Territory to the ‘Inhabitants or their representatives, with the under- ‘standing that all Native Chiefs within the said Territory ‘should return to their former independence; the transfer ‘of the Government of the ‘Orange River Sovereignty’ ‘was made by, and the conditions upon which that Transfer ‘was accepted are contained in, the Convention entered ‘into on the 23rd day of February, 1854, between Sir ‘George Clerk on the one side, and the Representatives of ‘the Inhabitants on the other side; whilst the therein ‘guaranteed independence of the Inhabitants, and the ‘Territory inhabited by them, which since that time has ‘borne the name of ‘Orange Free State,’ is declared by ‘Her Majesty’s ‘letters patent’ of the 30th January, 1854, ‘in the Proclamation of the same date, at the Court of ‘‘Buckingham Palace,’ and in the Proclamation of Sir ‘George Clerk of 8th April, 1854.”

“There cannot be the slightest doubt that the ‘Con- ‘vention’ of 23rd February, 1854, must be considered of ‘continuing and binding effect, on both the contracting ‘parties; its existence, its force, and its effect have been ‘repeatedly recognized by or on the part of H.M. Govern- ‘ment, and the Government of the ‘Orange Free State’ ‘has always strictly observed, and at all times, and in ‘every respect, fully acted according to the letter and ‘spirit of its conditions.”

“ It must be quite apparent that it was only by the
 “ insertion of such stipulations, as are explained in articles
 “ 2 and 8 of the Convention, that the Inhabitants of the
 “ ‘Orange River Territory’ could have been brought to con-
 “ sent to the abandonment of Her Majesty’s Sovereignty,
 “ and to accept the transfer of that Territory, for it is a
 “ known fact that the principal reason which induced the
 “ withdrawal of Her Majesty’s supremacy consisted in the
 “ many difficulties, disturbances, encroachments, and acts
 “ of violence of the Basuto Chief Moshesh, and his people,
 “ who were called by Sir George Cathcart a ‘Nation of
 “ Thieves,’ and in the exp̄ense and sacrifices which would
 “ be continually required to protect and ensure the safety
 “ of the White population against the Basutos, and after all
 “ that had happened between 1845 and 1854, it would have
 “ been a perfect impossibility for the inhabitants left to
 “ themselves, and having to form their own Government,
 “ and to secure to themselves proper protection, and the
 “ necessary safety, unless the ‘guarantee’ had been given
 “ to them that the British Government would not in future
 “ throw its protecting arm over offending Native Tribes,
 “ and would not enter into any ‘Treaties’ which must from
 “ the very nature of the case be always injurious to the
 “ ‘Orange Free State,’ and that the Government of the
 “ ‘Orange Free State’ would have the full and unrestricted
 “ liberty to purchase, within British Territories, the
 “ ‘necessary ammunition’ to enable the inhabitants to de-
 “ fend themselves against the fury of the Savages, or to
 “ punish their offences; it must however be manifest that
 “ the ‘Orange Free State’ will only in case of extreme
 “ necessity proceed to such measures of hostilities when it
 “ is considered that the largest portion of its inhabitants
 “ follow the peaceful pursuits of agriculturists, and graziers,
 “ and that the State has not the means of keeping up a
 “ ‘Standing Army,’ so that in case of War or hostilities the
 “ inhabitants must be called out to leave their ordinary pur-
 “ suits, and to take up arms.”

“ The Orange Free State has therefore always exerted
 “ all possible means to maintain peace and tranquillity, or

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“ to settle by amicable ways the disputes and difficulties
“ which have arisen; witness the reception given to
“ Moshesh at Bloemfontein, March, 1854; the Agreement
“ made with him at Smithfield on the 6th October, 1855;
“ the many deputations sent to him, the correspondence
“ between him and the State President, and the expres-
“ sions used by Sir Philip Wodehouse himself in ‘1864,’
“ to the Free State and Moshesh; notwithstanding the
“ amicable disposition of the Orange Free State, the state
“ of things had in the beginning of 1858 assumed such a
“ threatening aspect that the Orange Free State was com-
“ pelled to declare War against Moshesh.”

“ The War was brought to a close by a ‘Treaty of
“ Peace’ and ‘amity,’ which was concluded through the
“ mediation of Sir George Grey at Aliwal North, on the
“ 29th day of September, 1858. Neither the conditions of
“ this ‘Treaty,’ nor the boundary line, which had according
“ to Art. 2 of that ‘Treaty’ been pointed out, partly by
“ Sir George Grey in 1858, and partly by Sir P. E. Wode
“ house in 1864, were observed by Moshesh and his people;
“ on the contrary, both were so flagrantly violated, and the
“ encroachments and acts of violence of the Basutos became
“ so intolerable that the Free State was in 1865 absolutely
“ forced into new hostilities, these led to the concluding of
“ a ‘Treaty’ with the Basuto Captain *Molappo* on the 26th
“ day of March, 1866, and with the Chief Moshesh, on the
“ 3rd April, 1866,—by the last named Treaty, Moshesh
“ recognized a certain extent of Territory, conquered during
“ the War, by the Orange Free State, and which must be
“ admitted to have constituted almost the only compensation
“ which the State has obtained for all the losses, damages,
“ injuries, and expenses caused by Moshesh and his people,
“ as the Territory of the Orange Free State, and as con-
“ stituting hereafter part thereof,—and bound himself
“ further to cause the proclaimed Territory to be immedi-
“ ately evacuated by his people, and that such of them as
“ failed to do so should be regarded as enemies, and be ex-
“ pelled by the armed forces of the Orange Free State,

“ without any hostile interference whatever on the part of the Chief *Moshesh* and his people.”

“ Without stopping to enquire whether, and in how far, *Moshesh* has fulfilled his engagement, it is quite sufficient to state, as an undoubted fact, that some of his people did not quit the conquered Territory, whilst others immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Peace, purposely encroached upon it, committed all sorts of illegalities, irregularities, and thefts, and even went so far as treacherously to murder peaceable and unsuspecting Free State citizens, this compelled the Government of the Orange Free State to call out an armed force, not for the violation and setting aside of, but on the contrary, for the maintenance of the ‘Treaty,’ and for enforcing the provisions of Art. 2 of same,—to clear the ‘ceded Territory’ (which constitutes part of the Orange Free State, and has been placed under the Districts of Caledon River and Winburg) of those who were, by the Treaty, to be considered as Enemies; the object for which the ‘armed force’ was called out would most probably have been accomplished before the end of last year, if it had not been for what may fairly be assumed to be a fact, that the Basutos had been encouraged and incited to persevere in their opposition, until the beginning of this year, by the hope held out to them that His Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony, would then probably be able to assist them.”

“ This assistance they afterwards obtained, on the 13th January last His Excellency addressed a letter to the State President, mentioning that *Moshesh* and his people would in all probability soon become subjects of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and requiring that, for that reason the Government of the Orange Free State should at once make proposals to *Moshesh* for a cessation of hostilities, and when the Government felt itself constrained to declare, for many other reasons not necessary to be mentioned here, that it could not under any circumstances do so until the Territory of the State had been cleared of its Basuto Enemies, and when it accordingly

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“proceeded to clear it, His Excellency thought fit peremptorily to prohibit all supplies of Ammunition, from the British Colonies, to the Free State, and His Excellency thereby deprived the inhabitants of the only means of defence against their Enemies in their own country.”

“His Excellency further required that the Orange Free State should give up all the ‘ceded Territory,’ and should adopt the lines appointed in 1858 and 1864, by which the Free State would lose even those grounds which having formed part of the Free State in 1854, were by the ‘Treaty’ of 29th September, 1858, awarded by Sir George Grey to Moshesh, but reconquered in the beginning of the War of 1865, at the same time His Excellency issued a proclamation in Cape Town, by which Moshesh and his Tribe were declared British subjects, and his country British Territory, and this too before His Excellency’s communication could be laid before the Volksraad, and before they had an opportunity of discussing with His Excellency the plans he had formulated with respect to the Basutos.”

“His Excellency having carried out his plans, and having peremptorily prohibited the supply of Ammunition, made it impossible for the Volksraad to enter into negotiations with him, in order to arrive at a definite conclusion and settlement of the existing questions, and the Volksraad has therefore decided to avail itself of the right belonging to every free, independent, and Sovereign State, of communicating directly with, and emphatically and earnestly to protest before Her Majesty’s Government,”

1st.—“Against the acceptance of Moshesh and his people as British subjects, and the declaring of Basutoland as British Territory, concerning which the Free State has not, so far as its interests are concerned, been heard or consulted, and which acceptance and declaration has been made without any guarantee having been given that their interests will in no wise be prejudiced thereby, as is required by Art. 2 of the Convention of 23rd February, 1854.”

2nd.—“Against any encroachment which may be made
“in the Territory ceded to the Orange Free State by the
“Treaty of Peace of the 3rd April, 1866, and forming since
“that time, part thereof, and by any encroachment by
“which a grievous wrong would be inflicted on a Republic
“which has the advantage of being on the most amicable
“terms with the British Government.”

3rd.—“Against the step taken by His Excellency the
“High Commissioner, by which the Orange Free State is
“deprived of the full liberty guaranteed to it by Art. 8 of
“the Convention of the 23rd February, 1854, to purchase
“ammunition in the British Colonies, and by which the
“Convention has thus been violated.”

“The Volksraad, clothed with sovereign power in the
“Orange Free State, considers itself entitled and obliged
“to request that the acts of His Excellency the Governor
“against the State, which the Volksraad thinks there are
“good grounds for believing not to be in accordance with
“the instructions given to His Excellency the Governor,
“may be subjected to a strict enquiry; feeling confident
“that such enquiry will lead to a redress of the grievances
“which have, in its opinion, been unjustly inflicted upon,
“and which cannot be borne by the State, without loss of
“its honour.”

“The Volksraad entertains the utmost confidence that
“Her Majesty’s Government will give a full and earnest
“consideration to the remonstrances submitted by its
“direction, and will do ample justice to the reasonable
“claims of the Orange Free State, and will give such
“directions as will lead to a complete and strict observance
“of the Convention of 23rd February, 1854; and will pre-
“vent the inhabitants of this State from becoming a prey
“to the blood-thirsty and thievish Basutos, and avert the
“ruin to which the Republic will otherwise be brought.”

“In conclusion, the State President rejoices that he
“can avail himself of this opportunity to express in the
“name of the Government of the Orange Free State, which
“is in this respect also the exponent of the feelings of the

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“ entire population, the reiterated and solemn assurance
“ that it entertains the most profound respect and regard
“ for Her Majesty the Queen of England, and Her Majesty’s
“ Government, that remembering the close ties which
“ formerly existed between the British throne and the
“ Orange River Sovereignty, it places the very highest value
“ upon maintaining and strengthening reciprocal friendly
“ relations, and that it will continue as it has hitherto
“ always done, to exert its utmost endeavours to avoid
“ everything which might give rise to disturbance or
“ collision, in proof of which the Government of the Orange
“ Free State can refer to the fact that from the moment
“ that His Excellency the High Commissioner had given
“ notice that the Basutos had been declared British Sub-
“ jects the armed forces of the Orange Free State had strict
“ orders not to cross the Basuto boundary line (in order to
“ avoid any collision with them) beyond the Territory of
“ the Orange Free State,—a step which has not met with
“ equal reciprocity on their side, as the Basutos have not
“ scrupled since the issuing of these orders, and even
“ during the last few days, and after they had been pro-
“ claimed British subjects, and whilst His Excellency the
“ Governor was still in Basutoland, to plunder the inhabit-
“ ants of the Orange Free State and to commit thefts on a
“ large scale, even within the boundary line of 1858.”

J. H. BRAND,

President of the Orange Free State.

Bloemfontein,

Orange Free State,

22nd April, 1868.

As the “Convention” of the 23rd day of February, 1854, and its violation by the Governor had been freely referred to by President Brand, it is only fair to append the following letter from the Governor to the President, giving his views as to the infringement by the Free State Government of the said Convention, which reads as follows, viz :—

Aliwal North,
30th March, 1868.

To His Honour the President
of the Orange Free State,
Bloemfontein.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 27th instant, enclosing the Resolution of the Volksraad, declaring the acceptance of Moshesh and his people as British Subjects, and the annexation of his country to be British Territory, as well as the prohibition of the supply of ammunition from the Colony, to be wholly in contradiction of the Convention of 23rd February, 1854, and directing the State President to protest against the same with the British Government, and declining to negotiate with me for the purpose of carrying out measures based on the violation of the Convention.

Two acts are here referred to, as a violation of that instrument, the former authorised and directed by Her Majesty's Government, the latter directed by myself, with great unwillingness, after I found that the Free State was resolved to inflict upon the Colony the evils I wished to prevent and to refuse those arrangements for Peace which on former occasions they had so earnestly implored, and which they had obtained from Moshesh through our intervention.

I have no desire to prevent an appeal to Her Majesty's Government on both points, if your Government should be of opinion that it is the wisest course for them to follow, but it may be well for me to point out that these alleged violations of the Convention have been very long preceded by systematic and prolonged breaches of its spirit, and provisions of your Government, one of its most important provisions is, “the Courts as well the British, as those of the Orange River Government, shall be mutually open and available to the inhabitants of both Territories, for all lawful processes.” In the face of this “article,” the Courts of the Free State are now, and have been for many months, entirely closed, and Colonial Creditors entitled to recover very large sums of money are left wholly without redress.

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Again : Not long after the War commenced, it became my duty to remonstrate very strongly against the employment in the War of British subjects not possessing property in the State, against Her Majesty's express desire and Proclamation, and notwithstanding this, I know that such people have been constantly employed with the Commandos.

I mention these facts, not for the purpose of recrimination, but in the face of your determination not to negotiate with me, to show that I have been acting with much forbearance, and was still anxious to arrive at a friendly understanding, as however the Volksraad has determined on a direct reference to Her Majesty's Government, I shall feel obliged if you will inform me what arrangements you have in contemplation for the preservation of Peace pending the result of the reference, and I shall probably receive some reply to the proposal I had the honour to make in my letter of the 27th instant from Colesberg, as no doubt all persons who may desire to become the purchaser or proprietor of farms on this side of the old border, will wish to have their titles recognized by both Governments.

As I purpose waiting at Aliwal North for your reply, I trust it will not be long delayed.

I have, etc.,

P. E. WODEHOUSE.

The writer has already in previous pages briefly touched upon the matter of alleged employment on the State Commandoes of British Subjects ; this charge, as will be noticed, the President had already disposed of ; further, as regards the closing of the Courts, it is but fair towards the Free State to inform the reader that the stern exigencies of Martial Law made the closing of the Civil Courts in the State, *for a time*, unavoidable ; it was not a measure which could be regarded as capricious or one-sided, and did not only *temporarily* affect the Cape Colony and Natal residents, for the State burghers and ordinary residents suffered equally with the British Colonies, from a measure which seemed quite justifiable *in War time*, when coping with a powerful Enemy, and a forced construction, appeared in

the minds of many thoughtful men to have been put upon it by the Governor for furthering his policy.

By Resolution of the 17th May, 1868, the Volksraad decided to authorize the President to enquire from the Governor whether His Excellency was willing to agree “provisionally” to the line fixed by the Treaty of 1866, and would,—if so,—guarantee non-encroachment of same by the Basutos, or if not willing to do so, whether His Excellency would suggest such other “line” as may be the least detrimental to the State, all without prejudice, however, to the final settlement of the reference to London, and if same be in the State’s favour, to hand over the land beyond the Basuto side of such line cleared of Basutos.

A deputation of two Members, consisting of Revd. G. van de Wall and Commandant C. de Villiers was nominated by the Volksraad to proceed to England for the purpose of laying before the British Ministry the foregoing protest, which had already been forwarded to Mr. Blythe, the Free State Consul in London, and all proofs and other documents, prepared by the Government, bearing upon the Basuto War and actions of the Governor;—and these gentlemen left Bloemfontein en route for England in May, 1868. It appeared from the Governor’s speech at the opening of the Cape Parliament in May, 1868, that he did not urge the acceptance of the Basutos as British Subjects,—he merely advised the appointment with Moshesh of a British Agent, but regardless of his advice the Basutos were, on their own very urgent entreaties, accepted as Subjects, whilst the question of boundary lines and other details were left to the Governor for adjustment.

The deputation, who were assisted in London by the Consul (Mr. Blythe), reported on their return from England that they had been favoured by the Duke of Buckingham, the Colonial Minister of State, with an interview; that they had been cordially received, and had every reason to hope that the State’s case would be fairly discussed, and honourably dealt with in England; they further added that they (the deputation) had laid particular stress upon the contents of the Treaty of Peace with Moshesh of April, 1866, had

urgently requested the withdrawal of the Proclamation of British Sovereignty, and desired that a Royal Commission be sent from England to make a full enquiry into the whole Basuto question; to these two requests, however, the Duke declared his inability to assent without actually recalling the Governor; he promised finally to send an answer to the deputation, and to communicate with the Governor.

After hearing the report of the deputation, and the provisional line suggested by the Governor, and the further correspondence between His Excellency and the President, the Raad decided on the 14th January, 1869, to appoint a Commission of five Members to treat finally with the Governor regarding the Basuto question, the time and place of meeting to be arranged between the Governor and the President; the five members appointed were the State President, Messrs. H. A. L. Hamelberg, J. J. Venter, C. de Villiers, and A. Bester.

The writer would here observe “en passant” that the Thaba Bosigo Treaty with Moshesh contained a clause that the Free State would have the right of clearing the conquered and ceded Territory if the Basutos did not voluntarily evacuate it; this therefore was now being done, for since April, 1866, the War had practically come to an end.

The Commissioners nominated to meet His Excellency, Sir Philip Wodehouse, assembled at Aliwal North on the 3rd day of February, 1869, and on the 12th February a “Convention” was entered into, by which about “one fifth” of the area of the conquered and ceded Territory was restored to the Basutos. This was an unpalatable dose for the State to swallow, at the time, seeing how the Basutos had for many years persistently, and with evil intent, provoked the War which had at last, much against their expectation, proved to be so disastrous for them, and had not been gained by the State without the loss of many valuable lives and the cost of thousands of pounds, but it was doubtless for the best interests of the Republic that the British Government had taken over the Basutos, indeed it was an actual political gain, for immunity from *raids* and *thieving* could now be effectually guaranteed by a strong

Government, who had made itself responsible for the good behaviour of our implacable Enemies, by accepting them as their subjects; the embassage to Her Majesty's Government had likewise proved beneficial on the principal that it is always better to deal with the “Higher Powers” direct, than through “*Intermediates*,” however able and well intentioned the latter may be.

The *Convention* dated 12th February, 1869, which was signed by Governor Sir P. E. Wodehouse, President J. H. Brand, Messrs. H. A. L. Hamelberg, J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, and A. Bester, read as follows, viz. :—

1st.—The “boundary” between Basutoland forming a part of the British Empire, by virtue of the Proclamation of His Excellency, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, dated 12th March, 1868, and the Orange Free State, shall, subject to the provisions contained in the 6th Section hereof, be as follows :—“ From the Junction of the Comet “ Spruit with the Orange River, along the centre of the “ former to the point nearest to ‘Oliphantsbeen,’ from that “ point to ‘Oliphantsbeen’; from ‘Oliphantsbeen’ to the “ Southern point of Langberg, along the top of ‘Langberg’ “ to its North-West extremity, from there to the Eastern “ point of Jammerberg to its North-Western extremity, “ from there by a prolongation of the same to the ‘Caledon “ River,’ along the centre of the ‘Caledon River’ to where “ the ‘Putisanie’ falls into it, along the centre of the “ ‘Putisanie’ to its source in the Drakensberg, from there “ along the Drakensberg.”

2nd.—The “boundary line” mentioned in Sec. 1 shall be marked off, and proper beacons shall be erected along the same, without delay, as far as may be deemed necessary, by two or more Commissioners to be appointed respectively by His Excellency the High Commissioner, and by the President of the Orange Free State, in the presence of two Land Surveyors, who shall be appointed in the same manner, and who shall frame two similar sketches of the said “boundary line,” or such part of the same as shall be marked off, to be signed by them, and by the Commissioners aforesaid, one to be transmitted to His Excellency the

High Commissioner, and one to the President of the Orange Free State.

3rd.—The Government of the Orange Free State hereby acknowledge the Basutos domiciled on the Eastern side of the “boundary line,” mentioned in Sec. 1, to be British Subjects.

4th.—All Natives who have been allowed or permitted by the Government of the Orange Free State to establish themselves on the Free State side of the “boundary line,” mentioned in Sec. 1, are hereby acknowledged to be Subjects of the “Orange Free State.”

5th.—Such Basutos not falling within the terms of Sec. 4 or Sec. 7, as at present live on the Western side of the “boundary line,” mentioned in Sec. 1, shall be allowed to remain on the said side, until the 31st July, 1869, in order to enable them to reap and remove their Crops, and after the said day, unless specially permitted by the Government of the Orange Free State to remain, shall be obliged to quit the Territory of the said State; such of them as may fail to comply herewith may be expelled by such means as the Government of the Orange Free State may think fit to adopt for that purpose.

6th.—Upon the written request of the Chief Molappo to the Volksraad of the Orange Free State for himself and his people to be released from their subjection to the said State, and to become “British Subjects,” the Volksraad shall grant their request; whereupon the land between the “Putisanie,” the “Caledon River,” and the “Drakensberg” shall come to form a part of the Territory of the Orange Free State, and the “boundary line,” mentioned in Sec. 1, instead of remaining along the centre of the Caledon River to where the Putisanie falls into it, along the centre of the Putisanie to its source in the “Drakensberg,” shall thereafter be taken to run along the centre of the “Caledon River” to its source in the “Drakensberg.”

7th.—The French Missionary Establishments “*Mequatling*” and “*Mabolele*,” shall be maintained for the reasonable purposes of the Mission, and the Missionaries and Natives residing thereon shall be subject to such Re-

gulations as shall from time to time be made by the Government of the Orange Free State, for the proper management of the same, and 1,500 morgen of land, or such additional grounds as the Volksraad of the said State may consider necessary and practicable, shall be assigned to each of the said Establishments.

The French Missionary Society, however, or their representatives shall be entitled at any time to give up as such and to dispose of the same, should they consider it advisable to do so.

8th.—There shall be free intercourse, personal and commercial, between the White inhabitants residing in the Orange Free State, on the one side, and in Basutoland on the other side, subject to the Laws and Regulations now in force in the two countries respectively.

9th.—No Natives residing in Basutoland shall be allowed to enter or pass through the Territory of the Orange Free State, and no Natives residing in the Orange Free State shall be allowed to pass through Basutoland, otherwise than in conformity with such conditions and regulations as are now in force or may hereafter be enacted by the Volksraad of the Orange Free State, or by or in the name of the “British Government” respectively.

10.—It is stipulated between the two contracting parties that from both sides criminals shall be delivered up upon the terms that shall be agreed upon hereinafter between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, on the one part, and the Government of the Orange Free State on the other part, and which shall constitute the subject of a “special Convention,” as soon as the Government of Basutoland shall have been constituted.

11th.—It is stipulated between the two contracting parties, that the manner in which thefts of cattle and other property is to be proved, the manner in which spoor of stolen cattle is to be traced, the manner in which compensation for thefts is to be claimed and to be obtained, and all other matters connected therewith, shall form the subject of separate “Agreements,” to be entered into, from time to time, between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty

and the Government of the Orange Free State, or such Commissions as may be appointed by them, for the said purpose.

12.—His Excellency the High Commissioner, agrees to submit to Arbitration the claim of the Orange Free State to compensation for thefts committed, and other damage done, by the Basutos to the inhabitants of the Orange Free State, and the claim of the Basutos to like compensation,—since the date of the Proclamation by His Excellency the High Commissioner, by which the Basutos have become British Subjects; should the Volksraad of the Orange Free State desire such arbitration.

13th.—In the same manner His Excellency the High Commissioner agrees to Arbitration, with regard to the claim of the Orange Free State to compensation for the abandonment of the land situate between the “boundary line” mentioned in Sec. 1 of the Treaty of Peace between the Orange Free State and the Chief Moshesh, dated the 3rd day of April, 1866, and that mentioned in Sec. 1 of the present Convention, and in the case provided for by Sec. 6 for the abandonment of the land situated between the “Putisanie,” the “Caledon River,” and the “Drakensberg.”

14th.—Nothing herein contained shall be considered to set aside or invalidate the Convention entered into on the 23rd day of February, 1854, by Sir George Russell Clerk, Her Britannic Majesty’s Special Commissioner, and the Representatives (delegates) representing the inhabitants of the Orange River Sovereignty, or any part of the same, nor shall the Proclamation of His Excellency the High Commissioner, dated the 12th day of March, 1868, be held to have been a violation of the said “Convention.”

15th—Nothing in the preceding Section contained shall be held to prevent the acceptance of the Volksraad of the Free State of the proposals made by the Commissioners on the 5th day of February, 1869, as the same are set forth in the “Schedule” hereto annexed, and if such proposals shall be accepted by the said Volksraad, then the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 13th of the preceding Sections shall be deemed to have been cancelled, and the several Sections

contained in the said proposals, shall be taken to be Sections of this Convention.

The present Convention, subject to the confirmation and ratification of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty on the one part, and of the Government of the Orange Free State on the other part, shall be carried immediately into execution, without waiting for the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place in Cape Town, in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, within Six months from this date.

Thus done, and signed at Aliwal North, in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, on this 12th day of February, 1869.

SCHEDULE.

Section 1.—The border between the Orange Free State and Basutoland shall be that recognized before the War of 1865.

Section 2.—All persons to whom the Government of the Orange Free State shall, before the 1st day of April, 1868, have sold or granted farms, lying between the *line* in the preceding *Section* mentioned, and the line described in a letter from the High Commissioner to the President of the 14th day of April, 1868, and who shall have complied with the conditions of the Sale or grant, shall, subject to the stipulations hereinafter contained, receive Titles to the same from the British Government; all Instalments remaining due under the “conditions of Sale,” shall be paid to the “Free State.”

Section 3.—It shall be open to the British Government in any case in which special circumstances may render it necessary to do so, to withdraw the *title*, and resume possession of any such farm on condition of granting to the purchaser, or “grantee,” a farm of equal value or compensation in money.

Section 4.—All of the said farms that have become forfeited by non-fulfilment of the conditions of Sale, or grant, shall revert to the British Government, and any of such forfeited farms shall be available for the purposes of the preceding Section, and such of the said farms as shall

not be applied to such purposes shall be sold, and of the proceeds of Sale “two-thirds” shall be paid to the Government of the “Free State.”

Section 5.—The obligation of “personal residence,” on the part of the *purchaser*, or *grantee*, or his substitute, shall be abolished, and the Quit-Rent payable for every such farm shall be at the rate of Five pounds per annum for each thousand morgen.

Section 6.—The British Government shall, in consideration of the above stated arrangement, pay to the Government of the Orange Free State, over and above all sums accruing under the preceding Section, the sum of Fifty Thousand pounds sterling, on or before the — day of — next, and in default of such payment and until the same shall be made, shall pay annually the sum of Three thousand pounds, commencing from the day on which the first payment of Quit-rent shall become due, under the preceding Section.

P. E. WODEHOUSE.

February 5th, 1869.

The Free State Commissioners did not see their way in accepting the terms and conditions “set forth” in the foregoing “Schedule,” preferring to accept as a whole the “Convention” of 12th February.

Of the 62 farms lying on the *three rows*, beyond the Caledon River, only *three* remained for the State, and out of the inspected and *sold* farms 92 were entirely, and 28 partially, and of the uninspected farms 50, not sold, also the land lying between the Bamboesplaat, the Orange River, and the Comet Spruit, the last intended for the occupation of Native Subjects of the State, reverted to the Basutos, in terms of the Convention.

The Volksraad, by an overwhelming majority, one only dissenting, confirmed the “Convention” on 5th May, 1869, and it was well for them that they did so, for it has borne good fruit for the Country; since then we have not had *another* “Basuto War,” the British Government having

taken upon itself all responsibility as to the good behaviour of its new Native Subjects.

Mr J. H. Bowker, a tried and capable frontier veteran well versed in Native policy, was appointed by the British Government, in the “dual” capacity as “Commandant of Police,” and “British Agent,” with Moshesh.

A great meeting, “*Pitso*,” of Basutos,—Chiefs, Missionaries, and people,—was held at “*Khora-Khora*,” on the 23rd February, 1869, when the Governor clearly explained to them the terms of the “Convention,” pointed out the new “boundary line,” and enjoined obedience to law and order, and in plain terms notified to them the penalties which they would individually incur by disobedience; there was “general” satisfaction expressed by Chiefs, Missionaries, and people with the settlement arrived at through the Governor, as all were longing for Peace and rest, only “*Molitzane*” and a couple of other turbulent ones expressed some dissatisfaction, but temporary opposition from these “ne’er-do-wells” did not count for much, and soon died out altogether.

As a result of the confirmation of the “Convention,” “*Molappo*” and “*Letsea*” petitioned the Free State Raad, to be released from their obligation of allegiance as “Free State Subjects,” which was readily granted.

“*Paulus Mopelie*,” however, who was stationed at Witzieshoek, near Harrismith, remained a contented “Free State Subject” up to the time of his death, a few years ago; his people are still there.

The “War Expenses” were estimated to amount to £43,000, or thereabouts; to cover this amount “legal-tender Government Notes,” commonly called “Bluebacks,” a “second issue” were created by the Volksraad; this sum had been reduced to £34,000, when the President made his speech to the Raad on 3rd May, 1869, and all these Notes have, many years ago, been redeemed and ultimately fully liquidated by a faithful observance of the conditions under which they were issued, and none of them are now in existence.

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The State had, it was calculated, sent to the Commando, from time to time, up to the conclusion of hostilities, from 5,000 to 6,000 armed and able bodied men.

The State President informed the Raad on 2nd May, 1870, that 4,500 burghers and others had made application for “prize” or “bonus” money, to be awarded out of the proceeds of farms sold, to wit: those who had served on Commando.

The inspection and Survey expenses of the farms in the “Conquered Territory” cost the State about £7,828.

The proceeds of sales of farms in the “Conquered Territory” realized by “Public Auction,” held from time to time, was about £107,780, and the expenses connected with Survey, advertising, auctioneering, and other charges to £9,647 odd, leaving a surplus balance of £98,133 or thereabouts.

At this time—1868—and for some time before and after, the want of small “money change” (“specie”) was much felt in the country generally, indeed so acute had the pressure for want of “specie” become, that some inventive persons solved the difficulty by issuing their own money in the shape of paper “Good-fors,” written or printed on “cardboard,” and signed by the issuer, for small sums under One pound,—even the Bloemfontein Bank had to resort to this expedient for want of Silver money.

In time, as these “Good-fors” and “I.O.U.’s” were kept in circulation for many months, and passed readily enough “locally,” from hand to hand, they became grimy and greasy, and hardly fit to handle, still less to locate in one’s purse, and as may be readily imagined, became a prolific method of spreading contamination, disease, and death; however, as microbes were then almost an “unknown quantity,” and less feared than at present, they were readily received, and complacently pocketed by some persons, for the habit of issuing paper “Good-fors” had become fashionable,—aye, almost universal, Store, Hotel, and Canteen-keepers, small Shopkeepers, Butchers, Bakers, and all sorts and conditions of humanity availed themselves of this “open door” to spurious trading,—in short, it must have proved a

profitable business to many, for large numbers of these dirty bits of cardboard supposed to be payable “on demand” got lost, became illegible, or were destroyed, or obliterated, whilst still in circulation, or rather whilst still unpaid; the writer has among his “curios” a few of these repulsive relics of the past century.

An enterprising Bloemfontein mercantile firm, “D. & H.,” wishing apparently to inaugurate some reform, and perhaps gain a little “extra” notoriety in the Good-for issuing “method,” ordered from England a large number of “German Silver” Good-fors for sums varying from Sixpence, One Shilling, Two Shillings, and Two Shillings and Sixpence, embossed with the words “Good-for,” the value, and the name of the firm on one side, and the words Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, the Free State “Arms,” and the year of issue on the other side, of these the writer has kept a couple as a remembrance of the past good old happy-go-lucky days. Of course, the firm issuing “tokens” of this nature were incurring some risk of being made responsible for forged “pieces,” as they could easily have been counterfeited, but fortunately crimes of this nature were less rampant than now.

It was reported at the time, that every hundred pounds estimated value of these “disks” cost the firm about Twenty pounds, but on the other hand, it is but natural to assume that the “firm,” whose credit was then good, was ultimately called upon to pay only about 75 per cent. “in value” of their “Metal Good-fors,” if even so much,—probably only about fifty per cent.

The writer would here mention that between the time of entering into the Treaty with Moshesh, by which Peace was finally established, and the signing of the Aliwal North “Convention,” it became necessary for the State, owing to the bad behaviour of the Basutos under the recalcitrant *Moletzane*, who had murdered the two burghers, and had done so much other damage in the “Conquered Territory,” to keep up a strong force of burghers to clear the Territory and protect the inhabitants.

A strong Police force was really now the “*desideratum*,” and would in every respect have been most suitable for this “rough and ready service,” for the burghers were pretty well exhausted by their long Commando duties, but the Volksraad, ruled by a false spirit of “conservatism,” was afraid of the expense, and at a “special” Raad meeting, held on 8th August, 1867,—the matter requiring haste,—the President and Executive Council had meanwhile again been obliged to declare “Martial Law,” and called out a Commando of 300 men to clear the Conquered Territory,—the “Civil Courts” had again to be closed, but on this occasion only for those actually serving on Commando, while “Writs of attachment,” and other “interlocutory” Judicial “Orders,” and “decrees,” could be granted as usual.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

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An Ordinance was passed by the Volksraad soon after the murder of a young man called “Krynauw” and other burghers, in the Conquered Territory on their farms, while peacefully engaged in ploughing, being Ord. No. 3 of 1868, entitled “An Ordinance for raising a Burgher border force.”

For this purpose the country was divided into *five* recruiting Districts as follows, viz. :—

Bloemfontein and Jacobsdal.
Fauresmith and Boshof.
Harrismith and Caledon River.
Kroonstad and Philippolis.
Winburg and Bethulie.

Bloemfontein was to supply 200 men, Bethulie 100 men, Boshof 120 men, Caledon River 150 men, Fauresmith 180 men, Harrismith 100 men, Jacobsdal 100 men, Kroonstad 200 men, Philippolis 100 men, and Winburg 200 men.

Out of each “recruiting” District, 300 men were to be commandeered, those out of the Harrismith, Winburg, and Kroonstad Districts had to serve for a period of “Six weeks,” and those out of the remaining two Districts for a period of “two months.”

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All Inhabitants between the ages of “18” and “60” were liable to service; they were to furnish their own mounts, guns, saddles, and bridles, also at least half a pound of gunpowder, thirty bullets, and Eight days’ food supply; each man was allowed to furnish a suitable “substitute” to be approved of by the Field-Cornet; the Government were to supply Tents, Coffee, Sugar, and Salt,—other necessaries were to be commandeered.

It was ascertained in August, 1867, from returns prepared and sent in to the Government Office, from the several Country Districts, that the total losses for which compensation for thefts had been claimed, amounted to £128,055 10s., whereas the compensation awarded by the Raad only amounted to £3,534 7s. 4d., which was at the rate of about 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the pound, and this was for losses during the War of 1865 and 1866 only.

The President intimated to the Volksraad at this Session, that Lieut.-Governor Keate of Natal, who had been nominated “arbitrator” to arrange the disputed “boundary line” between the State and the Transvaal, had been pleased courteously to accept the nomination.

Some stir was being made in the Free State and Transvaal, owing to sundry rumours of the discovery, from time to time, of valuable minerals, and a report had gained currency in Bloemfontein, in December, 1867, that the eminent German explorer and mineralogist “Carl Mauch” had discovered extensive “gold bearing” areas at or near the Zambezie, distant not less than 500 miles from Potchefstroom, and it was further rumoured that the Transvaal possessed unlimited “mineral wealth”; the discovery of the “Witwaters-Rand” Gold Mines fully bore out, in subsequent years, the truth of Mr M.’s statements.

President Brand’s first term of office as State President having expired, he was re-elected on the 12th day of November, 1868, for a second term of five years, and “sworn in” in the Dutch Reformed Church at Bloemfontein, on the 4th May, 1869; after the swearing in, and other ceremonials, a congratulatory address was presented to him, and a salute

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of 21 guns fired from the Fort; at night the Town was generally illuminated.

On the 28th May His Honour obtained from the Raad three months leave of absence to visit Cape Town, during which time Mr. J. J. Venter was appointed acting President; Mr. Brand returned from Cape Town on the 25th August, 1869.

The Volksraad, in May, 1869, on a memorial from Mrs. Wepener, widow of the late Commandant Louw Wepener, who fell so bravely at the head of his men on “Thaba Bosigo,” authorized the President to present Mrs. W. with a farm in the Conquered Territory.

On the 24th day of May, being St. John’s day, the writer was elected W.M. of the Masonic Temple “Rising Star,” in the E. of Bloemfontein, and Bro. H. A. L. Hamelberg W.M. of the Sister Lodge “Unic.”

In the evening the B.B. of both Lodges attended a banquet given by the Lodge “Unic”; the “Rising Star” banquet took place on the 28th May.

Bishop Twells, who had just returned from England, where he had attended the Pan-Anglican Synod of English and American Bishops, at Lambeth, delivered an interesting lecture in April, 1869, descriptive of his recent visit. He was well and cordially received in England, had preached to large congregations, amongst others, to some 2,000 people in “York Minster,” attended many religious and other meetings, and made mention of the hopeful religious revivals in the *Old Country*; the Synod was attended by 50 Bishops and 500 Clergymen.

The Bishop purchased land at Modderpoort, in the Conquered Territory, in January, 1869, for the establishment of a College, and “Mission Brotherhood,” to be placed under the direction of Canon Beckett, on his arrival from England, and on the 24th day of January, 1869, the Bishop assisted at the consecration of Bishop McRorie, as Bishop of Maritzburg, Natal.

A “Circulating Library” was established at Bloemfontein, in 1867, and Mr. Gilbert Farie, Manager of the Standard Bank, was appointed Hon. Secretary.

On Sunday morning, December, 1868, Messrs. John Bell, F. W. Doxat, and William Crisp were ordained Deacons in the Cathedral, Bloemfontein.

The first diamond found North of the Orange River, reached London in July, 1867, and was valued at £500.

It was also rumoured, in March, 1869, that a Mr. R. W. Chapman, residing in Hope Town, had purchased a large diamond weighing 83 carats, from a Dutch farmer, who had procured it from a Native Koranna, and that this stone was subsequently purchased by Lilienveld Brothers of Hope Town for £11,000: it was found North of the Orange River and was known as the “Star of Africa,” and made for itself an interesting record; other diamonds were found soon after, and people were now coming from all parts in search of these valuable gems.

The writer’s period of service as Volksraad representative for Bloemfontein, having expired, he was, in March, 1868, re-elected, without opposition, for another term of four years.

Commandant John G. E. Kolbe, a gentleman who had served the State well and faithfully during the Basuto War, and as a member of the Executive Council, Justice of the Peace, and Director of the Bloemfontein Bank, died at his farm near Bloemfontein on the 3rd day of April, 1868, at the early age of 46 years, leaving a widow and a large family; he returned from the Commando about four weeks before his death, suffering from a severe attack of Typhoid fever, from which he died. Mr. Kolbe was the son of a German Missionary who came to the Colony in 1820, and was stationed at Philippolis, Griqualand West, then Orange River Sovereignty.

The shares of the Bloemfontein Board of Executors and Trust Company, having, in terms of the prospectus, all been taken up, a meeting of Shareholders was held on the 22nd May, 1868, when the “Trust Deed” was passed, and *five* Directors chosen; there were eight candidates for the five seats, the gentlemen chosen were Messrs. Thos. White, J. T. Jollie, John Palmer, Thos. W. Vowe, and E. S. Hanger. Mr. James B. Brown was appointed the first

Secretary, on the 12th day of April, 1868, at a salary of £350; there were eighteen applicants for the post.

The “foundation stone” of a Wesleyan Church was laid at Bloemfontein, by Mrs. Morrow, the wife of the resident Wesleyan Minister, Revd. John G. Morrow,—in the presence of His Honour the State President, the members of the “Building Committee,” and numerous spectators.

Under the stone was laid a sheet of parchment, containing the names of the State President, the Chairman of the Wesleyan Conference in England, the Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in South Africa, the members of the “Building Committee,” paper currency, coins, etc.; the architect of the building was Mr. R. Wocke, and the contractors were James Goodale and H. Wilson; the Church having then been completed was opened by Divine Service, on Good Friday, 1868. The entire cost of the Church, inclusive of new harmonium, pulpit books, etc., was £1,631, or thereabouts. Mr. Morrow left for Fort Beaufort on 27th April, 1870, when “farewell addresses” were presented to him.

Bishop Twells, after a period of great activity and usefulness in his extensive Diocese, since his arrival from England, in making long and fatiguing journeys, establishing various Missions, starting, or rather being chiefly instrumental in completing the Cathedral and other places of “Divine Worship,” collecting the scattered members of his Church, and doing other useful work in “Religion” and “Education,” suddenly left the State in July, 1869, to the surprise of his many parishioners, for barring his somewhat high Church proclivities, he had, by his geniality, kindness, and zeal, won the hearts of many people.

The cause of his sudden departure from the State, and the charge laid against him in his absence, had not been sufficiently substantiated for the writer to enlarge upon the matter here.

The Bishop having subsequently sent in his resignation, a meeting of the “Church Vestry” was held at Bloemfontein on the 3rd day of September, 1869, at which sundry Resolutions were adopted, expressing the deep grief of that “Body”

at the unhappy position in which the Church found itself, thanking Archdeacon Merriman of Grahamstown, for his sympathy and ready help in its trouble, and declaring their desire to have him appointed to the vacancy; at the same time strongly protesting against the continuance of certain “Ceremonial Observations,” which had for some time been introduced into the “Religious Services” of the Cathedral, by reason of which several respected Church members felt aggrieved and were thereby debarred from attending the Cathedral.

The meeting finally declared its loyalty to the “Mother Church,” and its confidence in the Bishop of Cape Town, as Metropolitan; it was notified, later on, that Archdeacon Merriman had declined the offer to the vacant See.

At another “Vestry Meeting,” held on 14th December, 1869, it was decided to refer the election of a Bishop to the “Society for the propagation of the Gospel,” through Dr. Grey, the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.

The late State Attorney, Mr. Alfred B. Roberts, son-in-law of the late President, Mr. Boshof, died suddenly at Bloemfontein on the night of the 26th February, 1869, at the early age of 47 years; he came from Natal, where he had practised as an Attorney, and had lived in the State 13 years. Mr. Roberts left a widow and three children.

Mr. Joseph Allison, late Clerk to the British Resident (Major Warden), and later still Government Secretary, and Registrar of Deeds, under the State Government, died at his farm *Tempe*, near Bloemfontein, on the 15th September, 1869, aged nearly 52 years.

An old resident, Mr. Wm. D. Savage, who had been a member of the “Bloemfontein brigade” on “Commando,” and some time ago left for New Zealand, returned to Bloemfontein in September, 1869, in a double capacity,—for he had left this a Bachelor, and returned a full blown Benedict.

The Master of the “English Church” Grammar School, Mr. George Clegg, who came to Bloemfontein with Bishop Twells, died on the 31st July, 1868, of Consumption, at the early age of 33 years.

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The old dispute between the Free State and the Transvaal, South African Republic, as to the true “boundary line” between the two States, which would long ago have been amicably settled but for the land greed of the latter, was now in December, 1869, about to be decided by Lieut.-Governor R. Keate of Natal, who had been nominated as arbitrator by both parties.

A Commission was appointed by the Raad, consisting of the State President, Mr. Brand, and four Raad members, Messrs. J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, T. F. Dreyer, and F. McCabe, who left Bloemfontein on the 3rd December, met the Governor and the “Transvaal Commission” on the “disputed ground,” and the “question at issue” having been decided by the arbitrator, with the assistance of the Natal Surveyor-General, his award was laid before the Raad on the 4th May, 1870, to which exception was taken by several Raad members, who were of opinion that he (the Lieut.-Governor) had exceeded the power given him in the deed of “submission,” which was merely an authority, or rather a “request,” to point out the “true sources” of the “Vaal River”; he having failed to locate the sources of that river, or what was *universally* regarded as such, thereby taking from the State a valuable “tract of land”; much adverse criticism in reference to the decision therefore took place in the Raad, but ultimately, for diverse political reasons, a “Resolution” was reluctantly adopted, accepting the award, unsatisfactory as it was, rather than delay the settlement any longer.

Another “Public Sale” of Basutoland conquered Territory farms was held on 1st December, 1869; Forty-nine farms were now sold, which realized £12,734.

The following is a detailed statement of farms sold, in the “Conquered Territory,” since the 26th November, 1866, viz. :—

1st—On the 26th day of November, 1866,			
	18 farms sold for.....	£1,729	
2nd—On the 20th day of December, 1866,			
	98 do. do.	do.	26,623

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3rd—On the 20th day of January, 1867,	97 farms sold for.....	£19,347
4th—On the 1st day of March, 1867,	188 do. do.	19,313
5th—On the 6th day of July, 1868,	82 do. do.	7,390
6th—On the 27th day of July, 1868,	33 do. do.	1,985
7th—On the 30th day of September, 1868,	79 do. do.	18,654
8th—On the 1st day of December, 1869,	49 do. do.	12,734
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Farms sold 644 for	£107,780

Being on an average of £167 for each farm.

The “Conquered Territory,” taken as a whole, is a fertile tract of country,—is, in fact, or can be made, the grain and fruit producing portion of the State, and is only awaiting the advent of the “Iron Horse” to ensure its future wonderful development; the soil is cool and crops can be grown without irrigation.

It has been divided into “four” Districts, and “five” Wards,—the Towns and Districts being “Ladybrand,” “Wepener,” “Ficksburg,” and “Fouriesburg”; the Wards being “Vecht Kop,” with 108 farms, “Wepener,” with 172 farms, “Ladybrand,” with 156 farms, “Coranaberg,” with 141, and “Ficksburg,” with 121 farms.

The terrible “Locust scourge” caused much loss to the “State” during the year 1869,—large swarms of these ravenous and destructive pests in different stages of growth, both flying and hopping, appeared all over the State, and devoured large quantities of “garden produce,” and many standing crops of wheat and other grain; however, after the damage had been done, but nevertheless to the great delight of the agriculturist and farmer,—for better late than never,—considerable numbers of locust birds of both kinds, both large

Since the above was written “Railway Communication” has been opened with the “Conquered Territory.”

and small, suddenly appeared on the scene, in December, 1869, and destroyed several swarms.

The large white locust bird, bearing a close resemblance to the common “stork,” and about the size of a turkey hen, of which there were then a great many in the country, destroys the full-grown locust when roosting, and the young hopping locust on the ground, whilst the smaller bird, “dark brown” with a streak of white below the wing, and about the size of a “Swift,” and as active on the wing, devours the insects in the flight and their gyrations in mid-air whilst engaged in their work of devastation affords an interesting and beautiful spectacle, for they form themselves into “battalions,” their tactics being invariably to surround their prey in order to prevent their escaping.

The destruction of “Locusts” has become a serious and difficult problem for solution, in the country, and it is essential that the several South African Governments,—English, Dutch, German, and Portuguese,—should immediately devise some efficacious mode of “united action” to obtain that end.

The “habitat” of the “Locust” appears to be in the “far interior” of the vast Continent from which the swarms swoop down upon us in millions upon millions, they are borne along by the wind.

The reader may probably feel inclined to meet with a smile of incredulity, or rather to receive with the usual “grain of salt,” the “allegation,” but it is nevertheless a well attested fact, that the State enjoyed perfect immunity from the Locust invasion for about Nine years (i.e. from April, 1854, to the beginning of 1863), and it had become a standing joke with some facetious Dutch persons, and others, that the locusts (“Rooijbaatjes”) accompanied the English Government when the latter abandoned the country, and went away “for good,” with the “Rooijbaatje” Soldiers in 1854, the joke implying that Locusts were a portion of the British Government “O.R. Sovereignty” paraphernalia.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

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DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS—THE DIAMOND FIELDS—MUTUAL PROTECTION ASSOCIATION — REGULATIONS — RICH DIAMOND FINDS—NUMBER OF DIGGERS ON THE FIELDS—CAMPBELL LANDS — NICOLAS WATERBOER CLAIMS —“FREE STATE TERRITORY”—LIEUT.-GOVERNOR GENERAL HAY ESPOUSES HIS CAUSE, AND OBTAINS INFORMATION FROM THE “FREE STATE” AS TO GROUNDLESSNESS OF W.’S CLAIM—PRESIDENT PROCEEDS TO CAPE TOWN TO MEET NEW GOVERNOR, “SIR HENRY BARKLY”—INVESTIGATION BY FREE STATE “EXECUTIVE COUNCIL” OF WATERBOER’S CLAIM—CLAIM REJECTED—LANDDROST APPOINTED AT PNIEL—DIAMOND ORDINANCE PASSED—“TWO” GOVERNMENTS AT DIAMOND FIELDS—PRESIDENT BRAND MEETS SIR HENRY BARKLY IN CAPE TOWN—GOVERNOR VISITS BLOEMFONTEIN—BANQUET TO GOVERNOR—CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNOR, RE WATERBOER’S CLAIM—ARBITRATION PROPOSED—WATERBOER PROCLAIMED “BRITISH SUBJECT”—TERMINAL POINTS—FREE STATE PROTESTS — CONVENTION OF 1854 — THE PRESIDENT BECOMES SERIOUSLY ILL — GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED — CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNOR CONTINUED — WAGGON WITH GUNS AND AMMUNITION SEIZED BY JACOBSDAL OFFICIALS—CONDUCTOR TRIED AND PLEADS GUILTY—PROPOSAL TO ARBITRATE ON PROCLAIMED “LINE” — URGENT REMONSTRANCE AGAINST TRAFFICKING WITH NATIVES IN GUNS AND AMMUNITION—REPORT OF SEIZURE OF WAGGON AND GUNS—TRIANGULATION SURVEY OF “LINE”—GOVERNOR SENDS DEMAND FOR RELEASE OF WAGGON AND GUNS, AND COMPENSATION £600 — DEMAND COMPLIED WITH “UNDER PROTEST” — OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE “BROKEN OFF”—MEETING OF VOLKSRAAD—SECRETARY OF STATE’S INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR GEORGE GREY — CAPTAIN LINDLEY’S BOOK ON THE DIAMOND FIELDS QUESTION, ENTITLED “ADAMANTIA.”

The existence of Diamonds, in payable quantities, of which so much had been heard during several months, indeed

ever since 1867, when the first diamond is said to have been found, was no longer a matter of doubt.

"Diggings" were first opened on the Vaal River, at "Klipdrift," afterwards called "Barkly West," in May, 1870, and some encouraging "finds" were being made, about this time; one hundred white men and a large number of natives were at work, a short distance from the "Berlin Mission Station," known as "Pniel"; the Pniel lands were thrown open to the public in July, 1870.

The Pniel Station and lands were purchased by the "Berlin Mission Society," through their Agent here, the Revd. C. Wuras, a German Lutheran Missionary, from the late Griqua Captain Cornelius Kok, in 1846, who was duly acknowledged by his neighbour, another minor Griqua headman, called "Andries Waterboer," father of certain "Nicolaas Waterboer," of whom more will be said further on, and the Koranna tribes in the neighbourhood, as the rightful proprietor of the lands which had in 1870 been in peaceful occupation of the said "Berlin Society" for about twenty-five years, and they had paid Quit rents to the Free State Government as owners thereof, by virtue of regular registration, in the O.F. State Land Registers, for fifteen years, or thereabouts.

In the middle of June, 1870, some two hundred "diggers" were working at Pniel, and they had increased at the end of July, 1870, to about two thousand.

An "Association," calling itself the "Mutual Protection Association," was formed, and under it was a "working committee," and an Official known as "Commandant"; regulations were framed, and strictly enforced, and a Mr. Stafford Parker, who had gained popularity and the confidence of the diggers, was elected Chairman or President of the Association.

No dealers in strong drink were permitted to trade within two miles of the "diggers Camp"; Claims of "twenty feet square" were pegged out for applicants, by the Association, under certain conditions; any person absenting himself from his "Claim," for longer than three

days, except in case of illness, or other lawful cause, would forfeit same.

It was generally supposed that there were diamonds to be found in the bed of the Vaal River, and “dredging” operations were commenced; diamonds were found on both sides of the River; the rock formation on the Northern bank of the river at Klipdrift, alias Barkly West, was a unique one, consisting of innumerable large blocks of very hard white quartz, lying on the surface, and these were thought by many to indicate the presence of Gold and diamonds, or both, in great abundance.

Some of the men occupied in digging were experienced “Californian” and “Australian” miners; a rumour gained currency—tho’ some of the rumours in circulation were to be cautiously received—that a diamond valued at £1,500 had been unearthed (a short distance from the spot where the search for diamonds was then going on) which had been sold by the finder, a native Koranna, for a waggon and span of oxen, worth about £140; other diamonds, a few rubies, and a turquoise were also found; the larger “finds” were for different reasons kept secret.

In July, 1870, it was said that a Mr. R. had found a diamond weighing $26\frac{3}{4}$ carats, for which he had refused £2,200. This “find” caused a great stir throughout the country, and people came trooping from all directions to the Vaal River, expecting that when once they got to this enchanting spot, fortunes were easily within their grasp.

In May, 1870, it was reported that a party consisting of Six diggers had found diamonds to the value of £100,000, also that a poor working man had suddenly become wealthy by securing for himself £30,000 worth of diamonds; other considerable “finds” were likewise reported and the “diamond fever” was rapidly spreading far and wide.—nothing was spoken of but diamonds, morning, noon, and night; all must needs go to try their luck, and those who could not go personally managed to secure some interest in the “finds” of others; glowing accounts continued to be noised abroad as to the great “boon” these wonderful “fields” had been to many persons, binging wealth often-

times by one stroke of the pickaxe, but as may readily be imagined, there was another side to the picture, not all the diggers who went to the fields with sanguine hopes did find diamonds; indeed, very many did not, and many others died there from exposure, disease, intemperance, bad water, bad food; and the drawing up of the “veil” of the early Diamond fields history would disclose a melancholy chapter of horrors for the curious reader.

President Brand in his speech to the Volksraad, on the 2nd day of May, 1870, intimated that diamonds had been found in the Districts of Boshof and Jacobsdal, and urged the necessity of instituting searching enquiries as to the truth of the numerous statements afloat and the need, if true, of framing Regulations for the control, guidance, protection, and governance of those engaged in “digging”; indeed large tracts of country were supposed to be diamondiferous.

In the country in which diamonds had hitherto—“1870”—been found, including that known as the “dry-diggings,” there were 140 farms, amongst these were 99 having British “title deeds,” and these were all Free State Territory, by virtue of the State’s acquisition of same, from the former lawful owner, the British Government, through the abandonment and cession of the “Orange River Sovereignty” in 1854, and also by virtue of the “State’s” purchase and cession in 1861, from the Griqua Captain, Adam Kok, of Philippolis, through his duly accredited Agent,—Mr. Henry Harvey of Philippolis,—of certain lands known as the “Campbell lands,” which Adam Kok had inherited from his deceased uncle, a certain other Griqua headman called “Cornelis Kok.”

The above “Campbell lands” were sold, as already stated, to the Free State Government, about the time, or soon after, Adam Kok (who had inherited them) left Philippolis for Normansland (St. John’s River) then waste lands, now known as Griqualand East, when Mr. W. M. Pretorius was President of the “Orange Free State.”

To these lands, or the greater portion of them, and some other “Free State” lands besides, a comparatively

obscure petty Griqua headman, or rather headman of a small section of Griquas, called Nicolaas Waterboer, son of a certain Andries Waterboer, already mentioned, aided and abetted by a few white partisans, notably Mr. “D.A.,” then residing at Colesberg, and others at Griquatown, and elsewhere, had for some time been conjuring up an imaginary claim, without, however, possessing a shadow of real right thereto,—the groundlessness of this claim will doubtless at once impress the reader, when he is told that for a considerable portion of the land claimed by, and for, Nicolaas Waterboer, British “Title deeds” had been issued many years ago, in the time of the “Orange River Sovereignty,” to white British subjects; these “title deeds” having been duly registered without any “servitude” whatever, or any opposition from “Waterboer,” and they afterwards, in 1854, passed over from the British Government by cession, and became the property of the “Orange Free State”; these “title deeds” having never been cancelled or even formally challenged.

The above “Title deeds” were issued to the several holders on the strength of purchase by them from Cornelis Kok’s people, with the full knowledge and approval of the said Cornelis Kok and his Raad (“Council”) and the British Authorities, and the farms for which the “title deeds” were issued, had been in continuous occupation of their White owners for about twenty years or more.

Notwithstanding the very apparent groundlessness of his claim, Waterboer and his friends through misrepresentations and false statements had evidently succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of Her Britannic Majesty’s acting High Commissioner, Lieutenant-General C. Hay, to whom he had applied to be received, with his people, as British Subjects, and his lands as British Territory.

After a long and somewhat irrelevant correspondence between Waterboer and the Free State Government, without prejudice however to the rights of the latter, the former, his Council, and Agents, were at last prevailed upon to refer the matter of his alleged claim to the “arbitrament” of the late Colonial Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse; the “deed

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of submission” had already been drawn up, and signed by the State President and Waterboer, when unfortunately, Sir Philip, before he could investigate the matter, had to leave South Africa.

After this, on 18th August, 1870, the Free State being desirous of having the matter amicably disposed of, arranged a meeting with Waterboer and his Agents at a farm called “Nooitgedacht” near the Vaal River, when the State President, with the members of the State Executive Council, and the State’s Agents met together for the investigation of Waterboer’s so-called “Claim,” and on finding that the “evidence,” both “oral” and “documentary,” were going strong against him, he (Waterboer) and his party became alarmed and suddenly withdrew from the “Meeting,” *before its close*, and at the termination of the enquiry, the Executive Council decided that he had entirely failed in establishing his “Claim,”—whereupon a Proclamation was issued by the State, on the 29th August, 1870, notifying that an opportunity having been given to Waterboer on 18th August, 1870, at Nooitgedacht, to prove his rights to the “Campbell” and other lands claimed by him, he had failed to do so, and that the Free State Executive Council, having, on the documentary and other evidence laid before them, fully investigated the matter, found that Waterboer had no claim whatever to the “Campbell lands” sold to the State in December, 1861, nor to the other lands, and that a Commission would be appointed to plant beacons, etc.

In the middle of September, 1870, the Executive Council decided to grant “diggers’ claims,” on the “Campbell lands,” for a distance of 15 miles along the Vaal River, each claim to be thirty feet square; the “license money” to be paid to the Free State Resident Commissioner.

Lieutenant-Governor Hay wrote to the State President, on 15th September, 1870, referring to the latter’s proclamation of the Campbell and other lands, as being Free State Territory; asked for sketches of the disputed lands, and desired to be furnished with “full information,” and the “proofs” upon which the State based its rights to the lands

in question, *wholly ignoring the fact that Waterboer, and not the State, was the claimant, the latter being in legal possession*, and intimating that W. had requested to be taken over, with his land and people, by the British Government, and in a communication, dated 19th September, 1870, suggested that the beacons referred to had better not be erected, as they would not be respected; to this suggestion the President was constrained “temporarily,” though “reluctantly,” to submit taking the precaution, however, to do so “*under protest.*”

The State President replied to the Lieut.-Governor’s communication of 15th September at great length, sent him copies of all “proofs,” “oral” and “documentary,” mentioned every particular in connection with W.’s trumped up claim, said what had from time to time been done in endeavouring to convince W. of the groundlessness of his pretensions, and the many futile attempts which the State had made to get W. to attend meetings of “enquiry,” except the one at Nooitgedacht, which he had abruptly left before its conclusion,—in short, the President supplied the Lieut.-Governor with a clear and comprehensive history of the entire question at issue, and finally quoted Section “2” of the Bloemfontein “Convention” of 1854, which reads :

“That the British Government has no alliance whatsoever with any Native Chief or Tribe to the Northward of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua Chief, Adam Kok, and Her Majesty’s Government has no wish to enter hereafter into any “Treaties” which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government.”

His Honour very properly laid great stress upon this “important clause” in the Convention, which he regarded as a salutary safeguard for the State against Native aggrandisement, from which it had already suffered so much, and which was now being grossly violated by receiving Waterboer and his people as British Subjects, especially in the way this was being implemented.

In the latter end of 1870, another petty claimant appeared on the “scene” for the “Campbell lands,” north

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of the Vaal River, in the person of a Batlapin kaffir, called Jantje, alias Jantje Motlibe, for now that diamonds were so much “in evidence,” it was apparent that claimants for land could be easily “conjured up” by every “ill wind”; no one, however, attached any value to Jantje’s claim as against the “Free State”; naturally it caused some further trouble and expense to the State (but it chiefly concerned the Transvaal) in connection with the “Bloemhof” “boundary line,” which had, after reference to Lieut.-Governor Keate of Natal, as “arbitrator,” lost, by his “award,” some of the land they had claimed, whilst on the other hand, all those who wished to see justice and right prevail, felt sure that the Free State was the only rightful owner of the land, to which attempts at the curtailing process was being so strenuously applied.

The acting High Commissioner, under the plea that many British subjects had assembled on the “Diamond fields,” closing his eyes and ears entirely to “Free State” rights, appointed, under an English Act of Parliament, 27 Victoria, Cap. 35 (an Act, be it observed, which was passed mainly, if not altogether, for the trial of “British subjects,” who had committed crimes within Territories not under the jurisdiction of any civilized Government) Mr. John Campbell, formerly Resident Magistrate of Port Elizabeth, as “special Magistrate” of Klipdrift, alias Barkly West, as it was now called; Klipdrift having, in November, 1870, become the great “centre” of attraction, for in that month some 43 waggons, with families and their belongings, had arrived from Natal, and different parts of the Cape Colony, and elsewhere.

Mr. Campbell arrived at Klipdrift early in December, 1870, and addresses of welcome were presented to him by many “diggers,” and others; all these men were probably glad to receive any person of position, clothed in even a “semblance” of authority, in their midst, who could assist in maintaining order, and make them look more respectable, without, in the least, questioning the rights of “meum et tuum,”—part of the business or the legality of Mr. C.’s appointment, or any matters bearing upon “Sovereign

rights,” all of which required a little study, for which the busy digger had no time or inclination.

These men had come to dig for diamonds, and had no desire to meddle with political or Territorial bickerings, which are not generally attractive subjects to deal with; they only wanted to prosecute their search for “precious stones” in peace and security.

The Free State Government meanwhile protested vehemently against the placing of an “alien” official within its Territory, seeing that the President had already, in September, 1870, appointed a Resident Commissioner, or Landdrost, Mr. O. J. Truter, at Pniel, on the Vaal River.

Mr. Truter was entrusted with both Judicial and Financial authority by the Free State Government, and with Jurisdiction over all Free State Territory, lying to the South of the Vaal River.

Pniel was made into a separate District, and Mr. Truter had, as Resident Commissioner, or Landdrost there, gained great popularity with a considerable section of the digging community, for having himself been a digger in Australia, in his early life time, he knew how to keep on good terms with both the “digger” and the “prospector.”

A “burgher force,” consisting of about 1,000 men, was commandeered to keep order amongst the Diggers, and to protect the residents on the fields, and Mr. Truter was likewise supported in the discharge of his duties by a “police force”; the Government was zealously doing all it was possible to do under the very special exigencies created by the discovery of rich diamond fields,—and these remotely situated,—to ensure peace and contentment amongst the peculiar mixed population.

The first ordinance regulating the search for diamonds, and other precious stones, defining rights, etc, was promulgated by the State on 2nd June, 1871, Ord. No. 3, 1871, and the writer had some share in drafting same.

There was at this time a “dual Government” exercising “Sovereign” sway over the “open” diamond fields,—Mr. Campbell as representing the British Government, as Agents for Waterboer, and Mr. Truter as representing the

Orange Free State ; and as will readily be understood, it was not possible, under the peculiar conditions of this conflicting rule, to avoid serious complications.

Mr. Campbell arrogated to himself the sole right of registering and issuing to diggers the claims applied for, and of receiving license and other monies, over all the open diggings, including *Pniel*, and, of course, Mr. Truter did the same.

The State President, Mr. Brand, *continued to protest against Mr. Campbell's appointment* and usurpation, and sent a copy of the protest to the High Commissioner and Her Majesty's Government in England, but all “in vain,” and he was soon after deputed by the Volksraad, along with a Raad member, Mr. C. W. Hutton, to proceed to Cape Town, and there to interview the newly appointed High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, immediately on his arrival from England, on the subject of Waterboer's pretended claims.

Mr. J. J. Venter was appointed acting President during Mr. Brand's absence, by Proclamation on the 1st day of December, 1870.

The President reached Cape Town on the 24th December, 1870, and Sir Henry Barkly landed in the Colony in January, 1871; the President interviewed him soon after his arrival, without, however, coming to any definite arrangement as to the matter “at issue.”

On the 20th day of January the President left Cape Town on his return journey, and reached Bloemfontein on the 21st day of February, His Honour having been detained on the road by heavy rain storms; he was welcomed back in the usual hearty manner, and greeted with a “Royal Salute” from the Fort.

Sir Henry Barkly arrived in Bloemfontein from the “Diamond fields,” via Boshof, where he was “feted,” in March, 1871; he was met at Bains Vley by the President, the Government Secretary, the Commandant of the District, and a large number of Townspeople and Burghers, who had gone out to meet and escort him into Town, in carts and other vehicles, and on horse back.

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On meeting the Governor and his party near Bains Vley, a “feu de joie” was fired, the firing being “kept up” in true burgher fashion for some time.

The Governor took a seat in the President’s cart, and was driven into Town under the booming of a “Royal Salute” from the Fort, and alighted at the house of the writer, which had been “given up” for the time, to receive him, where a triumphal arch was erected. Unfortunately the gentleman driving the cart, owing to some unexplained accident, probably too short a turn, at the outside gateway of His Excellency’s temporary abode, upset the cart; the Governor, the President, Mr. M. Steyn (the driver) and a son, who were all seated in the cart, were thrown out,—the Governor was the most hurt, though not seriously, receiving merely a cut at the back of the neck; the wound was at once bandaged by a Medical gentleman who happened to be present, and the distinguished patient was soon pronounced to be all right again.

The President and his son were merely a little bruised, and Mr. Steyn and his son escaped unhurt.

In the evening a “State dinner” was served up at the Presidency, covers were laid for “Eighty,” at which the Governor and his Staff, including his son, and Commandant Bowker of the “Frontier Border Mounted Police,” stationed in British Basutoland, His Honour the President, the Government Secretary, Members of the Volksraad, Officials, and others sat down.

The following day a complimentary address, numerously signed, was presented to the Governor, to which he sent a written reply, and a “Public luncheon” was afterwards given to him in a new spacious Store on the Market Square, which had been tastefully decorated with flags, devices, flowers, etc.; Mr. R. Hankey, an English gentleman then in Bloemfontein, acted as Chairman. About eighty citizens shared in the luncheon, amongst whom were the Governor and his Staff, the President, the Government Secretary, Government Officials, Members of the Raad, Clergy of all denominations, etc, etc.

Several toasts were proposed, and honoured in the

usual “after dinner” fashion, and the “feed” terminated with some lively dancing, which ended at a late hour,—without, the writer is pleased to add, any unseemly sprawls.

The following day, after a brief survey of the Town, the Governor and party left “en route” for Basutoland via “Thaba 'Nchu.”

It was hoped that the visit to Bloemfontein of the Queen’s Representative, and what he had seen and heard here as to the groundlessness of Waterboer’s “claim” to the Campbell and other lands, and the friendly reception accorded him, would have “paved the way” to an amicable and speedy settlement of this ill-judged interference, more especially as all the proofs of the State’s *sole and rightful* ownership had ingenuously been placed in the Governor’s hands, but His Excellency had no sooner left Bloemfontein than he commenced a heated correspondence with the State President, and appeared, in spite of all sound principles of “International Law” and “usage,” bent upon wholly disregarding “Free State” rights,—by unduly, favourably countenancing Waterboer’s claim, thereby ostensibly assuming from the very outset a decidedly hostile attitude towards the “State”; it is true His Excellency consented to, and even proposed, a mode of “arbitration” for the settlement of the dispute, but on such terms, and under such conditions, as would doubtless have rendered it nugatory and have secured for Waterboer a successful “ending,”—at least, it was generally thought so at the time, and his proposals could consequently not be entertained.

The President was always most anxious for an impartial arbitration, especially now that *forcible* possession had been taken in Waterboer’s name of the “Diamond fields,”—for instance he proposed as suitable arbitrators the Emperor of Germany, the King of Holland, the President of the United States of America, etc., but the Governor did not see his way clear, acting, as was alleged, under higher authority, to accede to Mr. Brand’s proposals, and so the matter kept dragging on.

On the 27th day of October, 1871, the Governor proclaimed Waterboer, and his people, and his country, the

latter, of course, meaning the country he (W.) claimed, as “British Territory,” under the name of “Griqualand West,” and described in his Proclamation as land *belonging* to Waterboer,—the large tract of country lying on both sides of the Vaal River, and within what was known as the “Vetberg” line, including 143 farms, more or less, which had for many years been under Free State Jurisdiction.

The most noteworthy points of demarcation referred to in the Governor’s Proclamation were “Ramah,” “David’s graf,” or “David’s grave,” and “Platberg,” the above-named “tract of land” had, as already stated, been in quiet occupation for many years, of Free State subjects, under British and Free State “title deeds”; the proclaimed land likewise included the German Mission Station *Pniel*, already mentioned, the last named having been continuously occupied, first under British, and later under “Free State” rule, for about a *quarter of a century*.

The writer may here observe, in passing, that Waterboer and his supporters had all along sought “*ultra vires*” to shift *two* at least of the chief “terminal points” above named (i.e. “David’s graf” and “Platberg”),—by so doing to win for himself (Waterboer) an extensive slice of Free State country.

On the 17th day of November, President Brand issued a counter Proclamation, gainsaying the allegations contained in the Governor’s “annexation Proclamation,” and protesting against the assumption of “British authority” over Free State Territory, and against its occupation by a British “Police Force,” and further against the appointment of British Officials on the Diamond fields,—the Volksraad had been summoned to an “extraordinary Session on 4th December, 1871, and likewise issued a long and formal “*protest*” against the “high handed” and palpably unjust proceedings of Sir Henry Barkly; this protest contained a full and comprehensive statement of facts in support of Free State rights of “ownership” to the lands proclaimed by His Excellency, who despite all that had hitherto been done to convince him of the worthlessness of Waterboer’s claim, was apparently too much biased in W.’s favour to

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be convinced by anything the State could bring forward, so the only course now remaining for the State, in order to avoid serious “complications” with the British Government was “provisionally” to retire from the “Diamond fields,” under solemn “protest” to withdraw their Commissioner and other Officials, and to continue to agitate for a reference of the “altercation” to an “impartial” board of arbitration.

President Brand was still, as he had always been, during this unhappy controversy, most anxious to remain on friendly terms with our powerful neighbour, the British Government, and with a view of expediting as much as possible the *amicable* settlement of a dispute, which had now unfortunately become a matter of heated contention between two civilized Governments,—continued to urge a reference to “arbitration,” the first attempt to do so having as good as failed.

In Mr. Brand’s letter to the Governor, of 25th March, 1872, he undertook to advise the Volksraad to agree to the reference of the dispute to the arbitrament of one or more Commissioners to be chosen by the “Governor,” and an equal number by the “State,” and in case of their non-agreement to the final umpirage of some distinguished person of ability in Europe, not being a “British Subject,” or in any way connected with the “Orange Free State,” to be named by the Dutch Ambassador in London; whilst on the other hand, the Governor (palpably losing sight of the important fact that the individual whose pretended claims he had taken over, and was so zealously espousing, was after all nothing more than a mere “claimant” of land in actual possession of the “Orange Free State”), the Governor replied approvingly of the first portion of the President’s letter, suggesting the appointment of Commissioners, but took exception to the Dutch Ambassador in London having the sole right of naming the final “Referee,” and suggested that the “referee” be chosen without limitation as to nationality by the Dutch Ambassador in conjunction with some other Foreign Minister accredited to the Court of St. James, to be nominated by the “Secretary of State” for the Colonies; this might probably have been arranged to

mutual satisfaction, had the Governor stopped here, but he went further, and desired that what he called a “*formal waiver*” be made by the Free State of any right it had derived to the land “*claimed*” by Waterboer, under and by virtue of the Convention of 1854; this was a preposterous proposal to make to any one who had not entirely lost his reasoning faculties, and that too to a people who regarded the Convention with the British Government as their “*Charter of Rights,*” but besides and beyond this extraordinary demand, the Governor in his despatch to the President, dated 21st June, 1872, said, “*inter alia,*” “*I shall be content not to insist on a ‘formal waiver’ of ‘claiming under the Convention of 1854, before going to ‘arbitration, with respect to the specific questions you mention, upon insertion in the ‘Deed of Submission’ of ‘an assurance that, whatever the result of the arbitration ‘may be, the Government of the Orange Free State engages ‘not to assert, at any future period, on any plea whatsoever, a claim to the same, or any other land, within the ‘area claimed by Captain Waterboer;—without such an ‘engagement any arbitration would be inconclusive, and ‘illusory’*”;—this clause extracted from the Governor’s letter, clearly showed that His Excellency greatly feared an impartial investigation of W.’s “*trumped up*” claim, that he intended the arbitration to be a mere “*farce,*” and that he did not mean to respect the terms of any bona-fide “*award*” that might be given, if, in any way, advantageous to the Free State,—this was showing the “*cloven hoof*” with a vengeance, or rather throwing off of the “*mask,*” and the writer leaves the impartial reader to form his own conclusion of so glaring a piece of “*jugglery.*”

The President naturally replied to this famous despatch that the “*State*” could not, under any circumstances whatever, consent to a “*formal waiver,*” or “*disclaimer,*” of any rights obtained under the Convention of 1854, but that it was prepared to agree that the final “*referee*” be chosen by the American, German, French, or Russian Ambassadors in London. The President’s suggestion was not acceptable to the Governor, who wished to add the names of the

Austrian and Italian Ambassadors, and the President of the “Helvetic Confederation”; this again looked like nothing else than “finessing” with the question at “issue,” and though a lengthy and somewhat irrelevant correspondence was kept up, which lasted for nine months longer, no definite agreement could be arrived at, either with regard to the “final Referee,” or the wording of the “Deed of Submission,” and the arbitration seemed doomed to “death” by suffocation,—whilst, however, the interminable correspondence was still in progress, and the reference to “arbitration” still pending, President Brand was in August, 1872, suddenly taken dangerously ill, from a severe attack of Kidney disease, doubtless brought on by incessant mental strain and worry, which wholly incapacitated him from attending to his Official duties, and which lasted for several months, and from which his life appeared, at a very early stage of the disease, to be fast “ebbing” away, so that his best friends hardly dared to hope in a possibility of his recovery,—though strange to say, the patient himself did not, even in the midst of all his sufferings, despair of an ultimate restoration to health.

When Mr. Brand felt he could no longer attend to his Presidential functions, he, with the consent of the Executive Council, appointed the Government Secretary, Mr. F. K. Hohne, temporarily to act for him; this gentleman at once summoned the Volksraad to assemble on the 3rd day of October, 1872, when a letter was read from His Honour informing the Raad of his illness, and notifying that he had appointed the “Government Secretary” as acting President, —this appointment the Raad, after some discussion, confirmed and decided to grant the President leave of absence from his public duties during his illness, on “full salary,” and to grant him besides this, a monthly “bonus” of £50 to meet unforeseen “expenditure,” and further resolved that, in the event of his decease, his salary was to be continued to his Widow and Children, until such time as other provision could be made for them; a letter of sympathy was likewise sent by the Chairman, in the name of the Raad, to the President.

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On the 4th day of October, 1872, the Volksraad appointed “three Commissioners,” out of that body, to administer the Government during the President’s illness. They were : Messrs. G. J. du Toit, F. R. Schnehage, and the writer, in whom were vested the “full and complete constitutional powers and privileges of ‘State President,’ ” —the writer was appointed Chairman of the “Commission,” though he had, whilst the matter was under discussion in the Raad, strongly expressed his opinion that only one gentleman should have been appointed as acting State President ; in this contention, however, he was “outvoted.” The Commissioners *at once* commenced their duties, in this a most critical and anxious time of the State’s History, and resumed correspondence with the Governor on the lines adopted by President Brand, which, however, judging from the stand taken by His Excellency in his communication of 21st June, 1872, and which could not under any circumstances be accepted, was expected to prove wholly abortive, as it seemed clear that the Governor did not sincerely want arbitration ; the question now arose in the midst of all this one-sided policy, as to the urgent need of obtaining a correct “provisional” demarcation of the line as proclaimed by the Governor (from which the State had for “the present” retired *under protest* in order to avoid complications), which proclaimed line seemed very *indefinite*, and opened a door to serious misunderstandings, especially as some of the chief “terminal” points were in dispute, it was therefore agreed that *two* Commissioners should be appointed, viz. :—Mr. Recorder D. Barry, of Barkly West, by the Governor, and Mr. “State” Attorney James Buchanan, of the Transvaal, by the Free State, to investigate and decide the matter, *by pointing out the “proclaimed line,”* and in case of their non-agreement their decision to be submitted for *final* adjudication to His Honour Chief Justice Bell of the “Cape Supreme Court,” *pending the final settlement of the main question* ; but before this could be arranged, another trouble arose for the State, a communication having been received by the “Government Commissioners” from the Governor, dated 26th November, 1872, notifying that a complaint had

been received from a mercantile firm in Cape Town, “G. S. & S.,” that a waggon loaded with merchandise, etc., together with the draught animals (mules) had been seized by Free State Officials at Jacobsdal, on the 10th day of October, 1872, within the Territory proclaimed by him, the Governor, as “Griqualand West,” and the conductor of the waggon arrested (the arrested man was soon after released on finding bail for his appearance at the Circuit Court at Jacobsdal, on 3rd December, 1872).

The Governor, in his letter, expressed the hope that the property arrested would be restored, the arrested man released, and compensation made.

The arrested waggon contained at least “*one hundred guns*” and some ammunition, which were being conveyed to the Diamond fields for sale or barter there, to the Natives, and was, as the Jacobsdal Government Officials (who all knew the country well) and likewise a Free State Government Land Surveyor, who had for a long period been engaged in surveying the “Vetberg line,” stoutly maintained, and whose statements the Government Commissioners relied upon, were passing, when arrested, through “Free State Territory” loaded with these contraband goods of a most harmful kind and in direct defiance of Free State Law; being so,—it goes without saying that our Officials at Jacobsdal were more than justified, indeed compelled, in accordance with Free State Law, which made it a serious crime to convey *Munitions of War* through the State without proper legal permits; to seize the waggon with its contents, on the other hand, the Governor maintained, upon certain vague and flimsy statements, and upon “*ex parte*” and questionable evidence, that the seizure and arrest occurred in Territory which he had proclaimed as a part of Griqualand West, and from which the Free State had “temporarily” retired, *under protest*,—this allegation was, however, never legally verified; the circumstances attending the seizure of the waggon and the place of seizure, etc., was, at any rate, a “moot point,” and now was the time, if there was any desire to act honourably, for the appointment of an impartial “mixed Commission,” or call it a

“mixed Tribunal,”—to make a thorough investigation of this “portion,” or still better of the entire “*boundary line*” question, for if the *three* terminal “points” of Waterboer’s line, already referred to, respectively known as “Ramah,” “David’s graf,” and “Platberg,” had remained at the same spots where they were well known to have been located, *from the beginning*, and one or more of which, as there was ample trustworthy evidence to prove, had been *shifted*—had not been tampered with,—not only would the seizure of the waggon and its contents have been fully warranted, but the entire “Griqualand West” Proclamation would, likewise, have collapsed like a “house of cards,” and this more than ridiculous “fiasco” of championing a wily native’s baseless and “illegal pretensions” would at once have met its deserts.

The writer would add here that the State urgently remonstrated with the Colonial Authorities, through the Governor and other Officials, as to the great danger, fraught to the country generally, by the reckless, shall we not rather say criminal, traffic in “firearms” and “ammunition” with the Native tribes *from everywhere*, but no heed whatever was paid to this well meant warning.

By allowing *arms* to get into the hands of the Natives, which was now being done *by wholesale*, at Kimberley, the authorities were sowing the “*wind*,” and would assuredly before long reap the “*whirlwind*,”—as was fully verified a few years later when an attempt was made by the “Cape Colony” to “disarm” the Natives in Basutoland of these same “fire-arms,” which proved a signal failure (as they naturally refused to surrender them) and caused a *bloody and costly* War.

Before the seizure of the waggon with Guns and ammunition, by the Jacobsdal Officials, several other waggons laden with “contraband,” “en route” for the Diamond fields to be sold or bartered there to the Natives, had passed over Free State Territory *undetected*; many hundreds, probably thousands of Guns and great quantities of ammunition was thus being continually “smuggled”

through, to be sold to the Kaffirs, with the knowledge of British and Colonial Officials,—although, at the time, the Law in the Cape Colony was said to have been very “stringent” towards those selling or bartering “Guns” and “ammunition” to the Kaffirs.

The “Government Commissioners” replied to the Governor’s letter of 2nd December, 1872, after obtaining from the Landdrost and other Officials at Jacobsdal a full “Report” of the “seizure,” and arrest, which they sent him, from which Report it appeared that the “conductor” of the waggon, on being arraigned before the Jacobsdal Circuit Court on 3rd December, 1872, pleaded “Guilty” to an Indictment charging him with having conveyed through the “State,” on or near the farm “Kleinfontein,” situate only a mile or two from Jacobsdal, a waggon containing one hundred Guns, with ammunition, in contravention of Section 12 “Free State” Ordinance No. 7, of 1858 (a copy of which Ordinances was likewise sent to the Secretary of the Griqualand West “Administration”) for which offence he (the conductor) was sentenced to pay a *minimum* fine of £10, or undergo three months’ imprisonment; the *contraband* “fire-arms,” together with the waggon, mules, etc., being declared forfeit to the “State.”

From a “Triangulation Survey” of the provisional “boundary line” proclaimed by Sir Henry Barclay, as taken from the points “Ramah,” “David’s graf,” and thence to “Platberg,” which was made by a Free State Land Surveyor, Mr. Josias de Villiers, *as he knew them*, this gentleman being well acquainted with the country and had in the exercise of his profession become possessed of certain data, from which he was enabled to complete a reliable survey, it appeared that the “provisionally” proclaimed “line,” from which the State, as already said, had temporarily retired, under protest, had been respected by the Jacobsdal Officials, so that it was highly improbable that the seizure of the waggon, and its contents, could have been made on other than Free State Territory, the great desire of the Free State authorities being all along to avoid any act calculated to

disturb the friendly relations which had hitherto existed with Her Britannic Majesty's Government, hoping that an appeal to England would ultimately prevail in reinstating the State in her violated rights, whilst His Excellency, on the other hand, seemed determined to start a quarrel.

A rough “Triangulation Survey” of the “line” proclaimed by the Governor, by a Mr. “F.O.,” a Griqualand West Government Land Surveyor, who had, it appeared, with some others, an interest for securing for Waterboer *more* land, and who was known to be one of the latter's most zealous partizans, was likewise compiled, *in opposition to that of Mr. de Villiers*; this “Survey” which clearly indicated, as pointed out to the Governor, by the “Government Commissioners,” that the “terminal points,” already referred to, had been “tampered with,” was what the Governor professed to rely upon, for his *inspiration*, but it could not be recognized by the “Free State,” without committing an act of flagrant and wilful suicide of “State” interests.

In the matter therefore of the legality or otherwise of the waggon and “contraband seizure,” as well as of the main contention, the forcible annexation of “State Territory” and its reference to a “competent” board of arbitration.—the correspondence was being “spun out” to a wearisome and inordinate length, the Governor vexatiously insisting as a pretext that the “seizure” and “arrest” were intended as an “act of aggression,” which assertion the “Government Commissioners,” knowing same to be unfounded, were bound instantly to repudiate.

In the Government Commissioners' letter to the Governor, of 15th January, 1873, in reply to His Excellency's communication of 31st December, 1872, the glaring errors of Mr. “F.O.'s” Survey were specifically pointed out.

To “sum up” the whole of this unpleasant piece of business, of which the chief incidents could only be lightly touched upon here, as a *full* record thereof would fill a fair sized “volume,” for which no space could be found in these pages, the writer would add that on the 27th day of January an *imperative demand* in writing, dated 11th January, from

the Governor to the “Government Commissioners,” and forwarded through Mr. Richard Southey, Lieut.-Governor of Griqualand West, was handed to them (the Commissioners) by Mr. J. B. Currey, who styled himself Government Secretary, claiming the restitution within “One Hundred Hours” from date of receipt, of the waggon, contraband guns, etc., together with the sum of “Six hundred pounds” as compensation, and an ample “*apology*” for insulting the British Flag.

As the Volksraad could not be got together on so short a notice, which the Governor must have known, the Members of the “Executive” were summoned, and the Governor’s “mild” demand laid before them. Wild reports were at the same time freely being passed from mouth to mouth, as emanating from Kimberley, where plotting against the “State” was regarded as a cardinal virtue (but which reports were doubtless, for the most part, the vapoury concoctions of busy bodies within the State) as to the evil intentions of the *opposition faction*, if the demand were not immediately complied with, at which unfortunately, for the reputation of the State, a Majority of our respected Executive friends took false alarm, judging probably discretion *at all times* to be the better part of valour, and after a short discussion assented *under protest* to the preposterous and unreasonable demand,—when the waggon, the contraband goods, and the “Six hundred pounds” were all deported to Griqualand West.

The writer and one of his colleagues in the Government, and another gentleman, could not conscientiously accede in complying with the demand, feeling persuaded that it was only another *dodge* to get, thro’ intimidation, by a piece of *bluff* and *sharp practise*, from a small State what could not otherwise be obtained.

The writer and those who sided with him knew *full* well that the “State” had nothing to fear by making a dignified stand and maintaining her rights, since she had right, justice, and law on her side, and had always courted an “investigation of rights,” and that under the circumstances His Excellency, Sir Henry Barkly, would not dare,

as an *accountable agent* to higher authority, to injure the State, as some thought he might attempt to do; that, moreover, we had an “open door” of appeal to his *superiors* in England, who would not countenance injustice and guile, and so they could resign themselves with equanimity to the turn of events; after all, we had only been carrying out our laws, in our own Territory, and who could blame us for doing so? Then again, was it not more honourable, and would it not redound more to our advantage to assume a manly attitude, such as behoved an independent people to do when *right* lay on their side?

The official correspondence between the Governor and the “State” Government came to an end in October, 1874, “broken off” by the Governor, as every one expected, who stated that the matter had in that month been referred to Earl Carnarvon, and this was a piece of good news to the “State” for there was now a well founded hope that justice and right, which had so long been smothered, must and would predominate.

The State was during the time the “Waterboer controversy” was pending, in an awkward “dilemma,”—it could not consistently acknowledge the Government which had appropriated its Territory (the Diamond fields) so any official and other communications sent or received from them, had to be sent and received *under protest*; criminals of all kinds crossed over easily into the State from Griqualand West, and “vice versa,” and were safe from arrest, and the political “outlook” could only be spoken of as enveloped in a dense mist of “cimmerian” gloom.

The Volksraad met in extraordinary Session, on the 13th day of February, 1873, and approved of the steps taken by the Jacobsdal Officials in the “seizure” of the waggon and guns, and the subsequent acts of the Executive Government; nothing else could indeed have been done, than to ratify an act which from its very nature had become final and could not be reversed.

The Governor had by his singularly unkind act, of, as he doubtless thought, striking terror into a small and weak country, and of extorting by means of threats of pains and

penalties, money and property, doubtless became in the eyes of shallow and hero-worshipping individuals, and of a servile foreign “press,” the Hero of the hour, and a model South African Statesman (though probably this sentiment was not shared by men of discernment and rectitude of character), and so His Excellency felt disposed to go a little bit further, in his desire to show his admirers how he could *still more* punish the refractory little community North of the Orange River, who had dared to assert their rights, and maintain a Government of their own, in the face of a “Sir oracle,” and of manifold opposition and calumny, as will appear in the following chapter.

How very different it would have been, in the interests of peace, and good will, and altogether more satisfactory for all parties living in South Africa, if the Queen’s Representative had been fashioned after the model of the *Sir George Grey* “type,” and if the following honourable and righteous policy, propounded by a former Colonial Secretary of State, in the year 1857, three years after the abandonment, had been observed : the “Secretary of State,” at the time (1857), wrote to Sir George Grey, a liberal minded Statesman, as follows :—

“ Fully persuaded that constant changes and vacillation
 “ in Great Britain’s frontier policy could not fail to be
 “ mischievous in the extreme, the independence of the two
 “ Republics must be scrupulously respected by us, not only
 “ by the consistency of our policy, but also from the higher
 “ motive of regard for our ‘Treaty’ obligations ; so long as
 “ the engagements entered into on our part, be also faith-
 “ fully observed, not only in their letter, but also in their
 “ spirit ; we should be careful to respect the ‘Territorial
 “ limits,’ which they assign to the Republics, as far as they
 “ are ascertainable, according to the fair meaning of their
 “ terms, although they fail to define them with accuracy,—
 “ while at the same time, we maintain with fairness, the
 “ integrity of the frontier.”

“ I entertain no doubt of your disposition to cultivate,
 “ by equitable and considerate treatment, the most friendly
 “ relations with these Republics,—and as far as possible, to

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“avoid mixing yourself up in disputes, which may arise
“between them and the Native tribes, in their neighbour-
“hood, and I cannot but indulge the hope that your efforts
“may be successful; the circumstances to which you refer,
“that neither of these States possess any port on the sea
“coast, and that both are consequently dependent on British
“possessions for the supplies of imported goods, which gives
“us the power, if we are inclined to use it, of taxing them
“for our own advantage, may be rendered,—I trust, by
“judicious management, a means of promoting concord,
“rather than a source of quarrel and illwill: Her Majesty’s
“Government are ready to give the most favourable con-
“sideration to any claim which you may recommend for
“securing the payment of a fair proportion of the duties
“levied, to the Republics, or for making any other just and
“reasonable arrangement with regard to them, etc., etc.”

In a neat “octavo” volume entitled “Adamantia,” or
“the truth about the South African Diamond fields,” by
Captain Augustus F. Lindley, published by W. H. & L.
Collingridge, Aldersgate Street, London, E.C., 1873, the
reader will find a plain and forcibly compiled statement,—
more elaborate than it is possible for me (the writer) to
give, of the case between the “State” and “Waterboer,”
and of the “proclamation of the Diamond fields.” Captain
Lindley died suddenly of heart disease in London, just after
he had completed the volume, in May, 1873.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

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Governor Barkly, who was not yet quite tired of nagging, wrote again to his very good friends the “Free State Government Commissioners,” on the 17th day of February, 1873; this time on the subject of an affray which had taken place in the District of Boshof, in the middle of the previous month, between a large body of armed Basuto Natives (about 80 in number), styled by him “British Subjects,” but who, not having a brandmark to prove their identity as such, could not be distinguished from ordinary prowling Kaffir “tramps,” who were then scouring the country, stealing, and doing much mischief.

These Natives were passing through the State, all armed with guns, in direct contravention of Free State Law, “Ordinance No. 7, 1858,” already referred to, the State authorities having, before this occurrence, been much perplexed by bands of armed and other Kaffirs, continually passing through the State undetected, and committing thefts “en route”; the Government was therefore compelled to raise a small force of Mounted Police, in both the Districts of Boshof and Jacobsdal, to put a stop, if possible, to these depredations, at a cost of about £2,000 per annum, and this police force was a means of doing so.

The Governor’s letter was intended to notify to the Free State “Government Commissioners” that, from depositions taken before a Magistrate in Griqualand West, a certain affray had occurred between these Natives on their way to their “kraals,” and certain persons assuming to act under the authority of the State Government, on which occasion he further intimated that two of the natives were shot dead, and two others were severely wounded, and as these people were British subjects, His Excellency presumed that a Judicial Enquiry had been held,—and if so,—his *Government* would like to be furnished with a copy of the proceedings, and that, if no Enquiry had been held, or if an Enquiry of only an “ex parte” character had been held, he submitted that a thorough investigation should take place, at which he expressed his desire to be represented, with a view of discovering with whom the responsibility of the untoward event lay, etc.; with reference to this communication the

writer need only repeat what was written by the State Secretary, Mr. Hühne, by order of the “Government Commissioners,” on the 6th of March and 10th of April, 1873,—in a communication addressed to the Cape Colonial Secretary on the subject, for the information of His Excellency, i.e. that a full Enquiry had already been held by the Landdrost of Boshof, who reported that about the middle of January, 1873, information was brought to a Mr. Swartz, a Justice of the Peace, by a person who was in search of straying cattle that he had espied a large number of Natives on a Mountain about two miles from his house; that these Natives were all in possession of Guns,—*without passes*,—and that one of them had threatened the man that should he approach them they would shoot him.

Mr. Swartz on hearing this, immediately proceeded to the Mountain where the Natives were seen, and finding them there, intimated to them that they would not be allowed to pass through the State armed as they were without Free State permits, and demanded from them their guns, which they *at once*, in insolent terms, refused to surrender; upon procuring assistance Mr. Swartz succeeded in overtaking the Natives, who numbered about 80. They had already moved off; and when overtaken the following morning Mr. Swartz again demanded of them the arms in their possession, giving them a few minutes time to hand them over, which they again refused to do. Mr. Swartz then proceeded to Boshof, to report what had occurred, where he was instructed by the Landdrost of Boshof to enforce the Pass Law; Mr. Inspector van Ryneveld of the Police force was then despatched by the Landdrost with a few policemen and burghers to repeat Mr. Swartz’ demand; upon arrival at Mr. Brink’s farm, Mooimiesjesfontein, he found that the Natives had ensconced themselves in a “gully” and were prepared to fight, and upon his again demanding from them their guns, giving them a few minutes to decide, and informing them that they themselves,—minus their guns,—would be provided with passes to travel through the State, they again threatened to fire upon him, and it was *now* that the police and burghers were ordered to fire; as rain was

just then falling heavily, and night was setting in, Mr. van Ryneveld did not succeed in apprehending the Natives that day, and found on their return the following morning that the firing of the previous day had resulted in the death of one Kaffir, and the wounding of another; having received the above report of the circumstances, from a Field Cornet, a Justice of the Peace, and the Inspector of Police, who was likewise a Justice of the Peace, which all coincided in the main points, the Government Commissioners concluded that every consideration had been shown to these Natives, that the provisions of the law had been fully observed, and that force had only been resorted to after ample warning,—time, and opportunity had been given them to decide whether they would comply with the demands of the Law or not; they choose the latter course; and thus brought upon themselves the trouble they fell into; it appeared further, from a statement made by a Mr. Fletcher, a gentleman returning home from the Diamond fields, who had personally witnessed the affair, and who had written to a Diamond field Newspaper on the subject, that the Natives were determined to fight the matter out; they had therefor only themselves to blame for what they had suffered in defying the laws of the Country.

The Natives fled on the night of the hostile encounter, and went back to the Diamond fields with their weapons, and of course on their arrival there concocted hideous tales of Boer barbarity, which were at once forwarded to the Governor.

His Excellency expressed dissatisfaction, in a letter dated 26th April, 1873, at what he was pleased to style a want of courtesy on the part of the Government Commissioners in not having written to him personally,—in the first instance,—on this subject, but as the Diamond fields had already been annexed to the Cape Colony, or was about to be so annexed, it seemed to the Commissioners more fitting to address the Cape Colonial Secretary, *for the information of the Governor*, on the subject, and His Excellency notified later on that he had referred the matter to the

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“Secretary of State for the Colonies,” and nothing further was heard on the matter.

At the special session of the Volksraad on 4th February, 1873, a communication was read from President Brand, intimating that he was now fast recovering from his severe illness, to which a congratulatory reply was sent him.

On the 12th May, 1873, Mr. Brand appeared in person in the Council Chamber, and referred in grateful terms to the mercy of the “Most High” for his recovery, thanked the Raad for their generosity, and kindly sympathy, the Government Commissioners for administering the Government during his illness, and notified his intention of assuming office after the present Session, on or about the 16th day of June, 1873; the latter he did by proclamation.

The Volksraad fixed the 15th day of June, 1873, as a day of thanksgiving for the President’s restoration to health, and the 17th day of June, 1873, as a public holiday and a day of general rejoicing, which was enthusiastically kept up in all the Towns and Villages of the State, and as Mr. Brand’s second term of office of five years (he having already served the State for ten years) was soon to terminate, they proposed him to the Electors for a “third” term, as the sole Candidate for re-election.

Many requisitions from all parts of the State were sent to Mr. Brand, these he accepted, and the day of election was fixed for the 12th day of November, 1873,—he was on that day re-elected with 3,320 votes,—this number of votes would doubtless have been greatly augmented were it not that he was the only Candidate in the field.

The President elect was sworn in by the Chairman of the Volksraad, in the Dutch Reformed Church at Bloemfontein, on the 5th day of May, 1874, the ceremony was witnessed by the Volksraad in full Session, the Clergy, the Government Officials, and many inhabitants, both Dutch and English, and was very impressive, as no one expected that Mr. Brand could recover from his recent long and dangerous illness.

Several speeches were made, and a congratulatory address* was presented by the Volksraad to His Honour on

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this auspicious occasion, he having now entered his “third lustrum” of Official life.

Mr. Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg, a native of Holland, who had for fifteen years been a prominent figure in the Free State political life, for some time a Member of the Volksraad, and Attorney General, and who had moreover acquired great influence in and out of the Raad, especially with the Dutch portion of the community, left Bloemfontein for his native land (Holland) about the middle of Māy, 1871; a formal address was presented to him by the Raad, then in Session, and he was publicly thanked for all he had done for the Country and its people.

Mr. Hamelberg was, on his departure from Bloemfontein, entrusted by the Government with a political mission to the Right Hon. “Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs” in England, on the Waterboer embroglio (the State having always propounded the principle that questions of “*State policy*,” between the two countries, should be dealt with by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and not by the Minister for the Colonies).

Mr. Hamelberg was, on the decease of the Consul-General for the State (Mr. C. Hiddingh), appointed to succeed him; he was an able man, and held in high esteem by his own countrymen and others, but did not make himself very popular with the English party, as he was regarded as anti-English, both nationally and politically, and somewhat contracted in his political ideas, but he was generally respected as a man of probity, straight dealing, business discernment, and punctuality; he died at Arnhem, in Holland, some eight years ago.

News reached Bloemfontein in May, 1872, of the death of Mr. C. Hiddingh, who had acted as Envoy for the King of the Netherlands in 1857, in presenting the “National flag” and “Coat of Arms” to the Orange Free State; this gentleman, who was for a time Consul-General for the State, in the Netherlands, was accidentally killed by being run over by a passing train, at Arnhem, in Holland,—the

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scene of the accident was some years ago pointed out to the writer by Mr. Hamelberg.

The National Monument on the Hill, close to the Fort, erected to the memory of Commandant Wepener, and other burghers,—Dutch and English,—who were killed in the Basuto War of “1865” - “1866,” was completed in May, 1871, and unveiled by President Brand on the 29th day of that month; Mr. Richard Wocke was the architect and builder; it cost the State £330. Two Hundred pounds having been granted by the Government, and one hundred and thirty pounds collected from the public by small subscriptions throughout the State; a religious service was first held in the Dutch Reformed Church, after which a procession was formed, and speeches were made, a burgher “guard of honour” under Commandant L. Wessels was formed, the State flag was carried in advance by a Standard bearer, five Commandants were present, also the Members of the Volksraad, the Government Officials, the “Monument Building Committee,” and a large number of spectators, more speeches were made at the Monument, and a salvo of guns fired from the Fort.

After the ceremony, the Monument was handed over by the Chairman of the Volksraad to the Bloemfontein Municipality, who accepted the charge; a road was subsequently made up the “Monument hill” by the Municipality, for which the tender of Mr. C. W. Champion of Bloemfontein, was accepted at £175, and called “Monument Road.”

The writer's third term as Member of the Volksraad having expired, he was re-elected, and again took his seat as Member for Bloemfontein.

The foundation stone of “Priory Chapel” at Modderpoort, District Ladybrand, was laid by the Revd. Canon Beckett, on 10th May, 1871, the style is gothic, the building being 40 by 20 feet; here a brotherhood was founded, and is still in existence. Father Douglass, a Church of England Clergyman, held in high esteem by all who knew him, was subsequently made Prior; this gentleman died there some five years ago.

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Dr. Brill, the new Rector of Grey College, arrived in Bloemfontein on 20th May, 1872; a deputation from the Town waited upon him and presented an address of welcome on his arrival in Bloemfontein, and also entertained him at a banquet. Dr. Brill has proved himself an able and successful teacher, and good citizen, and in every way worthy of the confidence he has enjoyed for many years, by both Dutch and English alike, he is still doing duty as Rector, and may he long continue to do so.

Bishop Webb arrived in Bloemfontein on 28th July, 1871, accompanied by Mrs. Webb, his two sisters, and two young children; the ceremony of enthronment took place on the Sunday after his arrival, the procession of officiating Clergy consisted of Revds. Beckett, Davis, and Barrow; the Bishop preached both morning and evening at the Cathedral to large and attentive congregations, and held his first confirmation in the end of August, “1871,” when twenty-three persons—eleven males and twelve females—were confirmed. Dr. Webb, who had endeared himself to the people, again visited Bloemfontein in 1900, and stayed some months watching over the Diocese after the decease of Bishop Hicks; he left Bloemfontein on being elected to the vacant Diocese of Grahamstown, as successor to the late Bishop Merriman, and died in England recently.

On the 10th day of November, 1871, a daughter of Dr. Schummelketel of Kroonstad (a well known Medical Practitioner there), aged 13 years, was killed by lightning whilst sitting with her mother and two sisters in their dining room, the same flash of lightning struck down Mrs. S. and both her surviving daughters, but happily the three last named recovered from the shock.

It may interest the curious reader to know that Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony on 19th December, 1871; the annexation was confirmed by the Queen in Council, but was afterwards cancelled, and Basutoland is now again under the direct control of the “Imperial Government”; the Natives are said to be loyal, and satisfied with British rule, and are rapidly increasing in number and in wealth.

The Colonial Government was now reaping what it had sown, for while the Basutos were for a short time under their sway, and manifesting some signs of restlessness, the Cape Authorities became alarmed,—perhaps conscience stricken,—an attempt having been made to disarm them of the very guns and ammunition for which they had so freely and recklessly opened the trade to all “kaffirdom,” at Kimberley, in spite of Free State urgent warnings and fiery remonstrances.

The Basutos when asked to surrender their arms, naturally refused to part with weapons they had acquired by “bona-fide” purchase, the result being a violent hostile encounter between them and the Colonial forces, which ended in the massacre of many Colonial Volunteers and others near Mafeteng.

The diamond diggings at Jagersfontein, a farm belonging to Mr. Cornelis Visser, were opened in July, 1870, two diamonds, several rubies, and other precious stones had been unearthed there,—since then several other valuable diamond “finds” have been reported from Jagersfontein; a large Diamond was said to have been found there by a Mr. Barend de Klerk, in August, 1870, weighing “48” carats, at a depth of only six feet from the surface, but being full of flaws it was not considered very valuable; fifteen diamonds had been found up to this time; there were now at Jagersfontein some 300 diggers,—Eighty claims had been registered up to January, 1871, and the number of diggers had increased to about 800.

Up to the present time Jagersfontein has kept up its reputation as a rich mining centre, some of the largest, purest, and most valuable stones have been, and are still being found there, and the mine is still worked,—so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, profitably by a couple of companies; a large and valuable diamond found there some years ago caused a great sensation.

The claims marked off in the mine are said to number 1,124, the value of diamonds unearthed in one year was £270,840, the number of loads of ground hauled out of the mine in the same period was 1,120,796, washed 885,173,

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and the wages paid to white and coloured workers, by the largest Company, amounted to £104,893.

Another diamond mine in the State,—the Koffyfontein mine,—not many miles removed from Jagersfontein, has proved a success too, the value of diamonds found there, in one year, ending March, 1894, amounted to £31,694 17s.

There are other Mines in the State, of less note. *at present*, than the above, but all seem to promise well if properly worked.

Though the big game has greatly diminished during the present decade, owing to their reckless slaughter, there was still some game left in the State some years ago; a few statistics may prove interesting:—On the 31st May, 1867, forty-four carcasses of springbuck were sold on the Bloemfontein Market, at prices varying from *three to four shillings* each, and even less according to size and condition, but a wasteful and wanton destruction of game of all kinds (quadrupeds), merely for the sake of their skins (which latter always finds a ready sale), the flesh being often wasted, had been going on for many years, and this, when almost too late, led the Volksraad to pass stringent “game laws,” and game “preserving laws,” from time to time; in 1872 a law was passed imposing a fine of £15 upon persons killing game, i.e. Wildebeest (Gnu), Blesbok, Springbok, etc., merely for the skins; the first game law was passed in 1858, but these laws and others became, through the apathy or connivance of certain Government Officials, practically a dead letter; other laws, more particularly those bearing upon ostriches, and other big game, promulgated since 1872, have been more rigidly enforced, when, alas! too late to be of much avail.

It was reported on reliable authority that some years ago 311,446 skins of Wildebeest, Blesbok, and Springbok were shipped for Export from Natal *in one year*,—what then about the other ports? uncertain, but probably many more.

The Bloemfontein Wesleyan Chapel, built during the time of the Revd. John G. Morrow, with the grounds appertaining thereto, was sold in July, 1873, for £1,100

to the Bloemfontein Municipality, for a Town Hall; this is the building at present in use as a Public Library and Reading-room; the present Town Hall is on the Northern portion of the same stand.

The foundation stone of the new Wesleyan Church in Maitland Street was laid by His Honour President Brand, in the end of November, 1873; the plans were prepared by Mr. Wm. B. Langford, the building was to be 63 by 32 feet inside measurement, with a Vestry 20 by 18 feet, the cost was estimated at £2,500 of which sum the Building Committee had £1,100 in hand, being the proceeds of the old building; the Revd. James Scott, afterwards President of the South African Wesleyan Conference, was the popular Wesleyan resident Minister, the name of the new Church, which was afterwards, during Mr. Scott's ministry, much enlarged and improved, is “Trinity Wesley Church”; the Wesleyans have likewise built on the Elizabeth Street side of their Church, a neat and roomy School-room, well built and sufficiently furnished for all practical purposes, which is a great acquisition to them and to the City generally. Mr. Scott left Bloemfontein a couple of times, having been for a time stationed in England, and again at Kimberley, but he has returned to Bloemfontein, where he is ever welcome by his own people, and all who know him.

The writer's father, Mr. William Collins, for many years Registrar of Deeds in the State, and who had from time to time filled many other important positions in the late “Orange River Sovereignty” under the British Government, and in the “Orange Free State,” resigned his office in August, 1873, and retired from the Public Service, as he was becoming too old and infirm for the work, to the great regret of all who knew him; he served the State Government faithfully, and to the best of his ability, ever since the taking over of the country from the British Government in 1854, and was deservedly held in honour by the authorities and others.

He made his home in the District of Ladybrand, and settled on a farm called “Caledon-draai,” which had been

granted to him by the Volksraad, and departed this life at the Writer's house in Bloemfontein, on the 26th day of October, 1876, aged 73 years.

The writer has great pleasure in being able to yield this tribute of affection to the memory of his departed parent.

As a proof that the Bloemfontein Market has for many years been popular and well patronized by the Country residents and others, the writer would here observe that even so long ago as the month of August, 1874, two hundred and sixty-nine waggons and carts laden with firewood and farm produce of all kinds (firewood and kraal mist being then almost the only kind of kitchen fuel) were drawn up during that month on the Market Square; the contents realized £2,036 7s. 6d., besides that sold out of hand; the Market dues for that month amounted to £64 16s. 6d.; the yield from the Market is now very much larger.

The rate of waggon carriage from Port Elizabeth to Bloemfontein, per ox waggon, in July, 1874, and *before*, and for a long time *after*,—it may be interesting to note,—was £1 16s. per 100-lbs. weight, nearly 4½d. per pound; almost every article of Merchandise, etc., had then to be conveyed from Port Elizabeth by ox waggon, the goods took from six weeks to two months to reach our remote little Town (i.e. between the time of up and off loading); these were glorious money-making days for that useful body of men known as “transport riders,” and we can hardly realize the idea that they could have longed as much as others did for the speedy advent of the “iron horse,” which though long in coming has been a boon to the general public, and a decided march of progress.

Farm produce sometimes realized satisfactory prices for the growers, on the Bloemfontein Market; as an instance in point, butter was sold in October, 1873, at 8s. 1d. per pound, and some other produce realized proportionately high prices.

The first Legislative Council in Griqualand West, was opened by the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Richard Southey, afterwards Sir Richard Southey, on the 30th day of Decem-

ber, 1873; the State was still protesting against the forcible seizure and occupation of the land.

The rateable house property in Bloemfontein, in February, 1874, was valued at £97,872, this was however considered a low valuation, the Town having grown considerably during the last two decades.

Another sale of twelve farms in the “Conquered Territory” (Basutoland) was held at Bloemfontein, on the 16th March, 1874, which realized £8,935, being on an average £744 17s. for each farm; the last sale of 36 farms there was held on 15th June, 1875.

The Revd. John Brebner, late of Somerset East, Cape Colony, was appointed as Superintendent of Education for the State, on the 1st January, 1874, and did much good work for several years in that capacity; Mr. Brebner retired on a pension a couple of years ago, and returned to his native land, Scotland; he died in Cape Town some months ago, having returned from Scotland in quest of a milder climate.

The State President, who, in terms of the Constitution, is to make annual visits of inspection to the several Towns and villages of the State, so as to keep in touch with the Officials and people, started for the first time after his long and dangerous illness, on his tour to Winburg and Kroonstad, in February, 1874, and whenever possible His Honour went these rounds regularly.

Mr. Thomas White, an old resident, and the proprietor of the “Friend,” after many years of hard work, took a trip to England and the continent of Europe, and returned early in February, 1874, much invigorated in health, and pleased with what he had seen; on his return a dinner was given to him by his numerous friends, in the Town Hall.

After some months of severe drought, very heavy rains fell in the State early in February, 1874; Bloemfontein had its share; when a German resident named *Ruder*, in attempting to cross the Town Spruit in a Cape Cart, drawn by two horses, was washed down and drowned; the cart and horses were got out in Lower Church Street, and the unfortunate man’s body was found some days after the sad

occurrence on the farm of Mr. D. van Tonder, Vaalbank, Rhenoster Spruit, about eight miles from Bloemfontein.

The foundation stone of the first German Lutheran Church in Bloemfontein, was laid in St. George Street, by President Brand, in the middle of February, 1874; the ceremony was an interesting one, the Revd. C. Wuras, Superintendent of German Missions, and J. N. Mayfarth, both of Bethany, were present, as were also Revds. James and George Scott, G. Radloff, F. Coilliard, G. O. Meader, Drs. C. J. G. Krause and Kellner, and a considerable number of townspeople; prayers were offered up, hymns sung, and speeches made; the usual official stone laying programme was arranged; some money offerings, amounting to £43, were laid upon the stone, and the ceremony ended successfully; this must have been gratifying to the German residents, who were fast increasing in numbers, and were soon to have their own Church, for which they had patiently waited a long time.

The Revd Mr. Winter was the first resident Minister, and arrived from Germany in December, 1874. The present Minister is Revd. Grosskoph.

President Brand laid the foundation stone of St. Andrew's College on the 16th day of February, 1874, in the presence of a large number of Church members and members of other Churches; the Bishop of the Diocese, Dr. Webb, and the Revd. McKenzie, the Principal of the College, performed the religious portion of the ceremony; speeches were made, and after the conclusion of the stone laying the Meeting adjourned to the Bishop's Lodge to meet Mr. and Mrs. McKenzie, where refreshments were handed round.

This building was completed in January, 1875, and consecrated on the 25th day of that month; Mr. McKenzie was a few years later nominated Bishop of Zululand, and died there in the prime of life, regretted by many.

News was received in Bloemfontein, via Zanzibar, in June, 1873, of the decease in the far interior of that zealous Missionary and intrepid traveller, Dr. David Livingstone;

his body was, some time after his death, conveyed to England, and now lies entombed in Westminster Abbey.

A move was made by Bishop Webb, in February, 1874, for acquiring a piece of land known as “Fort Drury,” for the erection of a “Convalescent Home,” and “Cottage Hospital,” an Institution much needed in Bloemfontein, for which he (the Bishop) had offered £100; a Meeting of Householders was called about the end of February to decide upon the Bishop’s offer, when a letter was received from the Government objecting to the sale of this plot of ground, alleging that it was required for a Prison; to the placing, however, of a Prison on this piece of land, in the very heart of the town, an idea emanating, *it was said*, from the *then* Government “Building Committee,” general opposition was shown,—as might reasonably have been expected,—Memorials to the Government were numerous signed against the latter ill-devised scheme, by 93 persons, to which the Government replied that, the matter having been reconsidered, another site for a Prison would be selected. Bishop Webb was subsequently able to secure this piece of land for the desired humane object, and upon it now stands the present “Cottage Hospital,” for which many a poor sufferer has had ample reason to thank God, and bless the good Bishop’s memory.

This Hospital, being undenominational in principle, has for many years been a great boon to many who have required medical and nursing attention, the latter being attended to by some devoted sisters; it was for a long period the only Institution of the kind in Bloemfontein, and has since its establishment been considerably enlarged and improved, especially in Queen Victoria’s Jubilee year.

In February, 1874, very heavy rains fell in various parts of the State; the Orange, Vaal, and other rivers overflowed their banks for considerable distances beyond their channels, several “ponts” were washed down the rivers, some containing loaded buck waggons and animals, houses were submerged and washed away, trees were rooted up, along the banks of the rivers; Corn and Saw mills along the Orange and Caledon Rivers were wrecked, fish by thousands washed

out of the rivers, and probably no floods equalling this in intensity could be called to mind by that “Natural phenomenon,” the oldest inhabitant.

The “Orange River,” in some places, had attained the width of 600 yards, and several persons were drowned, alas! those were the days of bridgeless rivers and bad roads, and drowning fatalities were numerous.

Advices from Winburg stated that on a Mr. Prinsloo’s farm at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers, 500 head of horned cattle were swept away by the flood; on the farm of a Mr. Ras, 1,300 sheep and a waggon were swept away; on the farm of a Mr. van Zyl, a dwelling and waggon house were destroyed, and on other farms dwelling houses and furniture were swept away; the damages were enormous.

A Reading Room and Library, in connection with St. Andrew’s Cathedral (“St. Andrew’s Church Institute”) was opened on the 2nd May, 1874,—this is the present “Gordon Club”; the “Entrance Fee” was fixed at 2/6, and the subscription at 5/- per month, Hon. Member’s subscription at One Guinea per annum; the Revd. W. T. Gaul, formerly Bishop of Mashonaland, was the first Hon. Secretary; the “Club” was conducted on temperance principles, was well patronised, and has recently been dissolved.

The “Public” or “Government Offices” on Market Square, having for a long time been found wholly inadequate for the rapidly increasing public requirements, the Volksraad resolved upon building “new offices,” and Tenders were called for the work; the site chosen was at the “top” of Maitland Street, on an extensive and well situated piece of land; the Members of the “Government Building Committee,” at this time, were Dr. C. J. G. Krause, Captain H. Schultz, and the Writer; Mr. R. Wocke’s tender at £18,000 was accepted by the Raad on 21st May, 1874; he procured Masons and Carpenters from Cape Town to do the work; the site chosen for the Govt. Offices opened up a new street, now the chief business street in the city.

The first commencement of Telegraphic communication in the State was made in May, 1874, when a proposal was read from the Cape Colonial Government, to lay a line from

the Colony to the Diamond fields, via Philippolis and Fauresmith, which was granted by the Raad, under certain conditions, and with a “proviso” that the line could be taken over by the State, on a notice of twelve months; since then—“1874”—a network of wires have been laid in the State, and communication by “wire” has been opened between the following towns and villages:—Boemfontein, Bethulie, Brandford, Bethlehem, Boshof, Bothasville, Bultfontein, Dewetsdorp, Edenburg, Fauresmith, Ficksburg, Frankfort, Harrismith, Heilbron, Hoopstad, Jacobsdal, Jagersfontein, Koffyfontein, Kroonstad, Ladybrand, Lindley, Morokko, Parys, Philippolis, Reddersburg, Rouxville, Senekal, Smithfield, Ventersburg, Vrede, Vredefort, Wepener, Winburg, Zastron, and other places; the following languages may be used:—English, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Latin.

In 1899 the sum of £14,796 was voted under this head for Salaries, Instruments, Stationery, etc.

The last “Law” on the subject of Telegraphic Communication, etc., was promulgated on 5th May, 1899.

A very important matter was now, in June, 1874, engaging the attention of the “Cape Parliament,” in which this “State,” and its people likewise had an interest, not less important than our neighbours, viz., the building of “bridges” over the Orange River; it was proposed to construct four bridges over the River: one at Hope Town, at a cost of £60,000; one at Colesberg, at a cost of £58,000; one at Aliwal North, at a cost of £36,000; and one at Bethulie. A correspondence took place on the subject, between the Colonial and State Governments, which was followed by a Convention signed by both Governments, in June, 1874, fixing Tariff Rates, etc.

The Volksraad authorized the State President, by Resolution of 20th May, 1874, to enter into the Convention with the Colonial Government, re the building of one or more of these bridges; all of them have now been erected.

A want had long been felt in the State of a “first-class School” for the training of young ladies, in connection specially with the Dutch Reformed Church; boys had for

some time been favoured with sound Educational advantages, but the Education of girls had thus far been neglected, and the people had begun to realize the fact that much could be done in elevating the people to a higher standard, by educating the Mothers of the future generation,—and it was now, in July, 1874, contemplated to erect such an Institution to be called the “Dames Institute Eunice,” on an eligible piece of ground near the “Presidency”; a Committee was formed and the Revd. G. Radloff, the Resident Dutch Reformed Minister at Bloemfontein, acting for the Committee, obtained from the Bloemfontein Municipality “four” erven of land as a grant. “Plans” and “Specifications” were asked for from competent Architects, in January, 1875; Mr. R. Wocke’s designs, and Mr. S. Goddard’s tender for the Mason work, and Messrs. Clark and Skea’s tender for Carpentry work being accepted, the whole amounting to £4,300. These were for the lower building only; the upper building was completed several years later at a higher cost. The Writer had the honour of being one of the first “Committee Members.”

A Law was passed by the Volksraad, on 16th May, 1872, constituting a “High Court of Appeal,” so as to relieve the President and “Executive Council” of the anomalous duty of hearing and deciding Law, and Land Commission cases, *in final instance*, of which there was generally a good “crop” for adjudication.

The opening of the Court had, however, been deferred until the Session of October, 1874, owing to the difficulty of finding a suitable President for the Court, who was to be the Chief Justice of the State, at the Salary allotted of £1,000 to £1,200, and to amend the Law in a couple of other details. Mr. Advocate F. W. Reitz was now appointed Chief Justice and President of the Court, and Mr. C. W. Hutton, late Landdrost of Fauresmith, and the Writer members; the first Session of the Court was fixed for 17th August, 1874, when a great many cases were awaiting adjudication; this was the first “Supreme Court” in the State.

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Mr. Reitz arrived in Bloemfontein in August, 1874, and was entertained at a public dinner in the “Masonic” now Bloemfontein Hotel; the Court commenced its Session on the date fixed, and continued in Session for several weeks; this Court was afterwards superseded by the “High Court,” composed of three Judges.

A large Comet was visible from Bloemfontein on the 29th July, 1874, at between 4.30 and 5 a.m., in a South Easterly direction; this erratic visitor caused a great stir amongst the Natives and some others, who were wild with terror, and imagined that the day of reckoning had now come.

The “Revenue” and “Expenditure” of the Postal Service of the “State” had developed almost incredibly since 1856,—two years after the abandonment,—as will be shown from the following “Table of dates” for 18 years, from 1856 to 1873, viz. :—

In the year	1856 :—Revenue, £1,098	Expenditure, £1,102
„	1857 „ 1,207	„ 1,258
„	1858 „ 1,234	„ 1,347
„	1859 „ 1,057	„ 1,171
„	1860 „ 1,155	„ 1,971
„	1861 „ 3,306	„ 2,352
„	1862 „ 2,787	„ 2,619
„	1863 „ 2,624	„ 2,823
„	1864 „ 2,868	„ 2,595
„	1865 „ 2,158	„ 2,635
„	1866 „ 3,064	„ 3,540
„	1867 „ 2,456	„ 3,185
„	1868 „ 3,576	„ 2,971
„	1869 „ 3,918	„ 3,098
„	1870 „ 5,331	„ 3,218
„	1871 „ 6,018	„ 3,856
„	1872 „ 6,082	„ 4,535
„	1873 „ 6,985	„ 4,488

As will be seen, though for several years the difference between “Revenue” and “Expenditure” was in a marked degree in favour of the former, the greatest increase of

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Revenue was in the last year, 1873, the difference amounting to £2,497. Since the introduction of Railways and the levying of “Custom duties,” the Revenue has greatly increased.

“Post Offices” and Postal Agencies have been established in all the Towns and Villages of the State and other “centres”; the money vote for “1899” under this head was £17,449 10s.

There were received in the Post Offices of this State from 1st April, 1873, to 31st March, 1874,—182,732 letters, 165,630 newspapers, and 6,494 parcels; and despatched, 201,650 letters, 181,285 newspapers, and 6,100 parcels; in 1855,—a year after taking over the Country from the British Government,—there were Five Post Offices in the State, in 1874 there were Twenty-Six; the distance travelled over by the Mails every week was 1,200 miles; both Postal Revenue and Expenditure have greatly increased,—the Writer may add, “marvellously.”

House Coal, from Sandriver, was in 1874, somewhat of a “luxury,” which comparatively few could afford; twelve bags of Coal (not of superior quality either) realized on the Bloemfontein Market, on 22nd October, 1874, Twenty shillings per bag of about 200-lbs.; what is known as “Kraal mist,” or patent feul, and “Modder River” Mimosa thorn wood was then the chief “fuel,” former sold at about Ten Shillings, and latter at about £5 and upwards, per ordinary waggon load.

Fires in the Town, though fortunately uncommon, were occasionally witnessed; owing to the scarcity of the water supply, and the total absence of fire extinguishers, fires when they did occur caused considerable alarm and damage. On the morning of the 22nd October, 1874 a large fire broke out in the Stores of “E. P. & Co.,” when, owing to the scarcity of the “precious element,” considerable damage was done, but a great many Townspeople, who were present, rendered ready and effective help in passing buckets of such water as could be got, from hand to hand, and using same to best advantage, and by removing as many of the inflammable goods as could be got away, with such a happy result

that at 4 p.m. the fire was mastered, but much stock was damaged by fire and water, the loss being stated at some £3,000; the firm was, it was said, fully insured. Soon after the fire, in order to keep up the excitement, a succession of thunder storms, which lasted about seven hours, brought down a great quantity of rain accompanied by thunder and lightning, the flats to the West and South of the Town were soon converted into small lakes; the Bloemfontein Spruit rose to the height of a “foaming torrent,” and “Municipal property” to the extent of about £600 was destroyed; some stores and other buildings were swamped, several of these more or less damaged, especially Dr. K.’s “dispensary,” where considerable damage was sustained.

The eminent English Historian and writer, Mr. J. A. Froude, unexpectedly arrived in Bloemfontein early in December, 1874; a Public Tiffin was given in his honour, at 2 p.m. in the old “Town Hall,” which building was tastefully prepared and decorated with flags of all Nations; the President, the Clergy, the Members of the Raad, the head Officials, and a large number of residents were present to do honour to the distinguished guest; the Artillery Corps, under Mr. S. Barrett, discoursed sweet music; the Writer had the honour of occupying the chair; several toasts were given and responded to with great warmth, amongst these being “His Honour, the President,” “The Guest of the Evening,” “Prosperity to South Africa,” the last named “toast” being proposed by Mr. Froude himself, and responded to by Mr. F. Schermbrucker.

In reply to the toast of the evening, our honoured visitor said that he was merely travelling for his own private information, and not in any political capacity, as some seemed to think;—he had long been desirous of visiting some of England’s “Colonial Possessions,” especially those portions thereof having “Responsible Government,” and was going to visit other Colonies too.

He made some amusing references to the prospective “book,” which the Chairman hinted he might peradventure feel disposed on his return home to give to the world, descriptive of his foreign travels, in which, if such a book

appeared, he (the Chairman) thought that perhaps the small “Orange Free State” might find in it a little warm corner; he likewise made some candid (some persons probably thought too candid) remarks about the huge “importation” of foreign goods to the portions of the Cape Colony he had visited,—especially Port Elizabeth and Natal,—and the few products the Colony generally supplied, for its own consumption; the trade with other countries was large and already every thing required for use was obtained from elsewhere; he saw very little land under cultivation, in the Colony, and Natal, and referred to the advantages South Africa derived from having a strong power like England to protect it against “foreign aggression,” as they were not yet able to protect themselves, and said that the English Government would welcome the day when they were strong enough to look after themselves; they came, he said, from two good stocks: the Dutch and English, who had fought, side by side, the great battle for freedom in the 16th century; he spoke humorously of what he had noticed in Port Elizabeth, where almost everything was imported from abroad, the wood for the houses, the coal for the kitchen, furniture, clothing, ironware; even the food, he said, was not indigenous; there was milk from Switzerland, tins of potted meat from Australia, and though there were fine fish to be found in the Bay, the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth preferred potted “salmon” from Scotland, and potted “soles” from London; there was potted game,—potted partridges, potted cabbages, potted hare;—all that he could find in Port Elizabeth, not imported, was a *Kaffir knobstick*; he thought within himself,—if Port Elizabeth was a specimen of South African “preparation,” what would happen to the country if it were blockaded, etc. The great man was evidently in a bantering mood, though his criticisms generally were by no means mythical, for he merely recounted his own personal observations,—may be in somewhat flowery language,—as to the great absence of home-growth, home-cultivation, and home-manufacture. He complimented the “Free State” by saying that he found matters a little different here, and in the Transvaal,—in

these two “States” at least, some real effort was being made to cultivate the soil; there were 15,000 homesteads, occupied by Dutch families where a few acres were enclosed and broken up; he expressed the wish that there were Fifteen hundred thousand of these homesteads, adding: you might then sleep contentedly and know that your liberties were not in danger.

In referring to the more fascinating delving for gold and diamonds at the risk of neglecting the development of Agriculture, and the food supplies of the country, he said,—go on like this in developing your trade and you will no doubt make money, more and more of it; I don’t question that, but at each step in this direction you become more and more dependent, more absolutely at the mercy of any Nation which threatens your defenceless and scanty harbours, adding, that in a land where you have but to scratch the surface and Nature will give you all you ask for, you pay Seven shillings a pound for your butter, and Seven shillings on your Market for a cabbage,—this was a hard hit to some people, who must have felt that though the picture was somewhat over-coloured there was nevertheless a substratum of truth and good advice in this plain speaking of our “candid friend and visitor.”

Mr. Froude wound up by remarking, whilst more directly addressing the company present,—“Keep your independence and make yourselves worthy of it, cultivate your soil, and in cultivating your soil cultivate your own selves and your children.”

Mr. Froude’s speech was kindly received by the great majority of his hearers if not by all; it is however but fair to add that since Mr. Froude’s visit to South Africa, a great change for the better has taken place in the development of the Country’s internal resources, by the starting of “local industries” and factories of different kinds; agriculture, and the cultivation of the soil have likewise made considerable progress, so also have dam-making, water-boring, etc., etc., but there still remains much,—very much,—to be done under above heads.

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At a dinner given at “Westminster Palace Hotel,” London, to Mr. Froude, on 20th March, 1875, at which Mr. W. E. Foster, M.P., presided, Mr. Froude spoke very highly of the Orange Free State, its Government, and its people.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

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Mr. Josiah Slater, a trained teacher, residing in the Cape Colony, who was appointed teacher at the Grey College, arrived in Bloemfontein on the 14th day of January, 1875, and a few months later left Bloemfontein again for Grahamstown, where he is at present editing the "Grahamstown Journal," which had been established for many years by Messrs. Godlonton and Richards, and edited by Mr. Robert Godlonton, one of the early British Settlers of "1820," a gentleman much respected in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, and for a long period a Member of the Cape Parliament.

Mr. George W. Stowe, F.R.G.S., and F.G.S., a well known and able Geologist, who had made many interesting fossil and other geological discoveries since 1843 in the Cape Colony, and who had at a later period fruitlessly proposed to the several South African Governments, the desirability

of implementing a Geological Survey of the whole of South Africa, and whose papers treating of South African “fossil and reptilian remains,” the different “rock formations,” and the interesting old “Bushman Caves” and “Paintings” now fast disappearing,—but a few of which are still found in various parts of the country,—(these containing views of hunting scenes, dances, fights, modes of warfare, and the manners and customs of these people so variously depicted on these paintings with peculiar character and exactitude, considering the low moral and physical type of that degraded race, had been read with great interest, before the “Geological Society” in London, in November, 1858), arrived in this State in “1877” and was employed by the “State Government” to prospect for “Coal” and other “Minerals,” and to make a survey of some portions of the State; in his report to the Government Secretary, dated 18th April, 1878, Mr. Stowe described the result of his researches during a period of Eight months, extending over a considerable area in the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and North Eastern portions of the State; he reported that he had discovered large quantities of bituminous and calcarious deposits, wood and animal fossils, and many traces of “Coal” and sundry other curious and interesting deposits, such as Saltpetre, crude Copperas, Jasper, Agates, Ochreous, and other coloured Clays, well suited for the manufacture of Paints; some of these Minerals, for instance, fossil woods, attesting the former existence in these parts,—ages ago,—of great forest belts, more especially in the Winburg, Cronstadt (now Kroonstad), and Harrismith Districts.

Mr. Stowe traced extensive “Coal” beds, and he had no reason to doubt the presence of other valuable Minerals, in some of the localities he had examined he found certain deposits from which an excellent Cement could be manufactured, and the whole of his report published in pamphlet form was highly interesting, and calculated to afford a great stimulus to the industrious prospector in his search for “hidden treasures.”

It was much to be regretted that the State Government could not, just then, see its way clear in continuing Mr. Stowe's services for a longer period than “Eight months.”

Since 1858, “house Coal” in large quantities has been unearthed in the Winburg District (Ward Sand River) and now, in 1875, sells at from 3s. to 6s. per sack of 200-lbs., according to quality; contrast this with some years ago, when “Coal” sold on the Bloemfontein Market at 20s. the sack of 200-lbs.

As it was found necessary to add by some means, to the Bloemfontein somewhat scanty “Water supply,” tenders were called for enlarging the dam at the back of the Presidency, and on the 29th day of August, 1875, the tender of Mr. John Goodman was accepted for raising and enlarging the bank at £254; this dam has now become useless as a “reservoir” it having “silted up” by sand, owing to the great downward rush of water and sand in rainy seasons, brought down from the higher and sloping ground at the West of the Town; the best use this old and at one time serviceable dam can now be applied to is to assist in the formation of a “People's Park” and “pleasure grounds,” for which the soil is extremely well adapted; if some liberal minded Bloemfontein financier (Millionaire) could but be induced to take the lead, or rather would make the Town such an acceptable gift.

The contract time for the “Government Gazette” and other Government printing work, and the supply of Government stationery, having expired, and tenders having been called on the 14th day of December, 1874, Messrs. White, Barlow & Co.'s tender was accepted for three years from 1st March, 1875; these gentlemen served the Government well, their printing work and the stationery supplied by them being in every way satisfactory.

The Government being naturally desirous of preserving in the Official archives of the Country some reliable historical record or narrative of the late “Orange River Sovereignty,” now “Orange Free State” “Settlement” by whites, more especially in connection with the early “Voortrekkers,” from the time of their first arrival from the Cape Colony and Natal, a Mr. H. J. Hofstede, a Hollander by birth, under-

took the compilation of such a book in the Dutch language under a Government subsidy.

The book contained reminiscences of these early pioneers, gleaned in some cases from the lips of the later ones, also statements under oath, etc., giving interesting details bearing upon their experiences and adventures in this and other portions of our great dark Continent; after labouring assiduously at this work for about two years, and spending several months in travel to obtain information from individual trekkers and their elder children, the book was at length completed, in pamphlet form, in May, 1874; it contained 251 pages,—the letterpress was sent to Holland for publication there.

The book contained seventeen sketches, amongst these were the treacherous murder by the Zulu Chief Dingaan in Natal, of Mr. Retief and his associates, the drinking flask of Mr. Retief, a view of Blood River and the Boer Laager in Natal, the Zulu attack on the Boer laager at Bushman's River, the battle of Boomplaats, the death of Wepener at Thaba Bosigo during the Basuto Wars of 1865—1866, the battle of Mopelie's town, Basutoland, the graves of the four Transvaal burghers, a father and three sons, who were murdered by Basutos on the Drakensberg, on 27th June, 1865, a photo of the Wepener Monument, Bloemfontein, a photo of the late President Brand, two Maps, one of the Orange Free State, and another of South Africa, extending beyond the Zambezie.

The greater portion of the cost of Mr. Hofstede's book was defrayed by the State, and the remainder by public subscription; copies of the book may still be found in the Government Offices at Bloemfontein,—the writer is in possession of a copy too.

The book was badly bound in paper covers, and having never been rendered into English, was not generally read and appreciated as it would otherwise probably have been, for it contained some interesting particulars of the early trekkers and their eventful history.

Some gentlemen in Bloemfontein holding the opinion that there was ample room for another weekly Newspaper

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in the Town, issued a prospectus early in 1874, formed a “provisional Committee” of some thirty members in and around the Town, for the formation of a Company to be called the “Orange Free State Newspaper Company,” with a working capital of £7,500 in fifteen hundred shares of £5, the idea finding favour with a considerable section of the community; the shares were readily taken up, a Meeting of shareholders was called, a directorate chosen, presses and plant ordered from England, and Mr. F. Schermbrucker, late of King Williams Town, formerly of the German Legion, and later a Member of the Cape Parliament, appointed “responsible Editor” and Manager, and a well got up weekly Journal was started under his auspices called the “Express and Orange Free State Advertiser”; the Company purposed carrying on a general Stationery, as well as a Printing business.

The first number of the “Express” appeared in March, “1875,”—the motto of the paper was taken from a few appropriate words of Mr. Froude’s speech in the Town Hall, on 12th December, 1874, i.e. “You got your independence; keep it, and make yourselves worthy of it.”

At a subsequent period several of the shareholders, not quite approving of the somewhat intolerant and one sided Political tone the “Express” had assumed, disposed of their shares at much less than cost price to Mr. C. Borckenhagen, a gentleman, who, in the first instance, was engaged as a Clerk in the concern, and who took over the management after Mr. Schermbrucker left the Town, and it was not long before Mr. B. became possessed of the Company’s entire Plant and Stock-in-trade, and continued the paper on his own account, which he ran very advantageously up to the time of his decease a few years ago.

Mr. B. being a gentleman of an adventurous spirit, and withal of indomitable perseverance, it was not long, after acquiring the business, before he converted his venture into a profitable undertaking, and he succeeded after strenuous efforts in securing the Government tender for printing the Government Gazette, and all the other Government printing work, including the supply of Government stationery, book-binding work, etc., etc.

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For a long period Mr. B. issued a “daily” as well as a “weekly” edition of the “Express,” for which he secured an extensive circulation and advertising business, he also edited and printed some other “periodicals” which had a wide circulation; he built handsome business premises on the site formerly owned by the Company on the Market Square, in which he kept a varied stock of choice and useful goods; in short, he converted the Company’s original languishing and non-paying enterprise into a healthy and well nourished milk producing cow; the business, minus the printing and Government contracting portion, is still carried on by the Estate.

The shock of an Earthquake was distinctly felt in Bloemfontein, on the morning of the 2nd April, 1875, just before 2 a.m., it came from the North-West, and travelled in an Easterly direction, and awoke many persons out of their early morning slumbers; some buildings received rather severe cracks from the vibration, and plaster was loosened off the walls of others, but fortunately Bloemfontein, not being located in South America, or the West Indies, not much damage was done and no human beings were injured.

Intimation reached Bloemfontein from Cape Town of the decease there on the 19th day of May, 1875, of Sir Christofel Brand, the father of President Brand, the first Speaker of the “Cape House of Assembly,” who was knighted by the Queen after his election as Speaker; on receipt of Official information of his demise, the Volksraad then in Session, sent President Brand an address of condolence.

Sir Christoffel having occupied the position of Speaker for a long series of years, the House of Assembly voted him a retiring allowance of £1,000 per annum.

The Foundation Stone of the new Public Offices was laid by President Brand, amidst great public rejoicings, on the 31st day of May, 1875; a procession was formed at the Town Hall in the following order:—

- 1st.—The State Artillery band, bearing the flag.
- 2nd.—Official heads of Departments.

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- 3rd.—Masters of Ceremonies.
- 4th.—Architects and Building Committee.
- 5th.—Members of the Volksraad.
- 6th.—Rector and Teachers of Grey College and Grammar School.
- 7th.—Clergy of the different denominations.
- 8th.—Chief Justice and Judges.
- 9th.—Consuls of different Countries.
- 10th.—Members of the “Executive Council.”
- 11th.—State President and Government Secretary.
- 12th.—Chairman and Secretary of Volksraad.
- 13th.—The general public.

These Offices were completed in “1878” at a cost of £21,000, and comprised a “Council Chamber” and numerous Offices, but the Government a few years later, finding that the accommodation was becoming too cramped, built a substantial “Landdrost Court” and other Offices, and an Office for the Inspector of Public Works, on the spacious grounds awarded by the Municipality to the Government for these Offices, and still later added considerably to the accommodation, besides improving the general appearance of the block, which before had a somewhat squat aspect, by adding another story, and sundry wings to the building; these several additions must have cost an additional £12,000, probably £15,000; the O. R. Colony Government has since the “occupation” extended, and greatly improved, the building.

The grounds are extensive, and well situated, and worthy of a palatial and more imposing edifice.

The Diamond Field (Griqualand West) controversy still kept dragging on, without,—judging from appearances,—the slightest chance of its reference for adjudication to a “Board of arbitration,” or other “Tribunal,” constituted in such a way as to assure the confidence of the State, and result in an impartial investigation and award,—indeed no definite agreement had as yet, notwithstanding months of correspondence, been come to, as to the terms (wording) of the “Deed of Submission”; meanwhile the State could not any longer at least “politically,” in the face of many

complicated international questions continually cropping up, wholly ignore the “quasi” Government, Lieutenant-Governor and Officials stationed at the Fields, but they could at best only be written to under “*protest*,” and besides this, further encroachments were being made on State Territory by a new survey of Land Surveyor Ford, which cut off still more Free State farms.

Under these untoward circumstances, the Volksraad, feeling that the only course *which had now become imperative*, with a view of obtaining a fair hearing of the State’s case, was to despatch an Embassy to London that could lay the matter before the Queen’s Government, and at a special Session of the Volksraad, held on 2nd February, 1876, they passed a Resolution respectfully requesting His Honour the State President to undertake the mission, which he willingly did; a communication was soon after received from Lord Carnarvon, dated 22nd January, 1876, expressing a wish to confer personally with President Brand; this happy coincidence seemed at last to be the means of paving the way to some *final understanding* on this vexed question, and fitted in with the Volksraad Resolution.

The Volksraad granted Mr. Brand leave of absence for this mission, and on the 14th day of March, 1876, accompanied by Mrs. Brand, his eldest daughter, and one of his sons, latter as Private Secretary, he left Bloemfontein for Cape Town, and embarked for England on the 11th April, 1876.

The Volksraad likewise at this Session nominated three members of the Raad, i.e. Messrs. G. du Toit, J. S. Siebert, and the writer, Commissioners, for administering the Government during the President’s absence, and they commenced their duties on the 11th day of March, 1876; the Writer being again appointed Chairman of the Commission.

Mr. J. A. Froude, the Historian, who had been hospitably entertained in Bloemfontein, and who was evidently favourably impressed with the Country and people, in his report to the Colonial Office in Downing Street, for which it was generally thought he was acting as a kind of Envoy to the Cape Colony and Natal, with a view of testing

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popular opinion in regard to Federation, etc., dated 10th January, 1876, had doubtless given Lord Carnarvon some idea of the unsoundness of Waterboer's pretended claims from facts he had been able to gather whilst in Bloemfontein, from which as a keen observer, and a man of great and healthy grasp of mental acumen, he had been able to form his own honest conclusions.

On the 22nd day of August, 1876, advices reached the “Government Commissioners” from President Brand that the Diamond Field controversy had at last been amicably arranged by virtue of a Convention entered into between him and Lord Carnarvon, dated 23rd July, 1876, by which Governor Barkly's Proclaimed boundary lines had been somewhat modified, some farms again reverting to the State, the State was moreover to receive a lump sum in Cash of £90,000, and by way of appendix to the Convention it was further stipulated that, if within five years from 23rd July, 1876, the Orange Free State shall establish a line of Railway to connect with the Natal Railway, or any line of Railway which the Cape Colony may make, Her Majesty's Government would in that case pay the State a further sum of £15,000, but unfortunately the State was not financially in a position to accept the last named sum under the special conditions laid down.

The 11th and 12th days of September were proclaimed days of rejoicing by the Commissioners, in commemoration of the final settlement of this unhappy political squabble, which had done so much to arouse racial animosity and hostile feeling between the two white races, which was until now fast dying out.

The President returned to Bloemfontein in October, 1876, and proclaimed that he had on the 19th of that month taken over the Government from the Commissioners.

It goes without saying that the sum of £90,000 came far short of the actual value in Pounds, shillings, and pence for the loss to the State of the Diamond Fields, and sundry farms which were taken away from the State by Sir Henry Barkly's arbitrary and ill-advised Proclamation, and description of boundary lines—(without even taking into account

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the great monetary expense the country had been put to in vindicating its rights) seeing that soon after the settlement the Kimberley Mine *alone* was sold for, or changed hands, at £100,000, but on the other hand the State was saved the expense of maintaining order over a large and restless white population, which actually broke out in open revolt and for some time gave the British Authorities considerable trouble and expense, and that too not very long after the Convention with Lord Carnarvon had been concluded.

Along with much that from a Free State point of view seemed unsatisfactory and disappointing in the final settlement of the Diamond Field imbroglio, there were on the other hand some encouraging features too, one being that we could now live in peace with our neighbours and the others that the State burghers had the advantages of a good Market provided at Kimberley by others, for a ready cash sale for their produce of all kinds, at the highest prices, and lastly that encroachments upon Free State territory *had at last* been *tacitly* acknowledged by the Imperial Government, though not without a long, weary, and costly struggle by the State, and many heartburnings; however, every one was thankful that we were now friends with those who were so bitterly hostile towards us in Griqualand West, and President John Brand's racy saying, "*Alles zal recht komen,*" was now being verified.

The question now arose as to the best means of disposing most advantageously, in the interests of the State, of the £90,000 received from Lord Carnarvon,—the Volksraad resolved, after hearing several Memorials and suggestions on the subject, to establish a Bank to be styled the "National Bank of the Orange Free State," with a working capital of £100,000, of which £70,000 would be contributed by the Government out of the £90,000, and £30,000 by public subscription, in shares of £5 each,—thus giving the public a considerable interest in the Bank too.

A Commission was appointed to arrange preliminaries, publish a Prospectus, draw up Articles of Association, etc., all of which were confirmed by the Raad; Directors were

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subsequently chosen, the Government being amply represented on the Directorate, and the National Bank, which absorbed the old Boemfontein Bank, was fairly afloat on the “limited liability” principle.

The “National Bank” has financially been a success, and has proved a boon to the State, and now has branches in several Towns of the State, its dividends are welcome too.

The Volksraad made President Brand a handsome “State gift” of £3,000 out of the £20,000 “surplus balance” of the £90,000, in consideration of the valuable services rendered by him to the State, from time to time, and £2,000 was voted towards the erection of a Dutch Reformed Church at Jacobsdal.

The Writer having now concluded his “jottings” of what may be regarded as the most interesting and thrilling period of the Republic’s “life-time,” extending over more than two score years, must, owing to circumstances, for a time at least lay down his pen, but hopes “D.V.” to resume them again on some future occasion, and so bids the reader merely a temporary “Farewell,” or rather, what may be more suitable, “Au Revoir.”



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