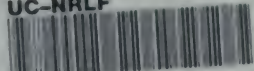


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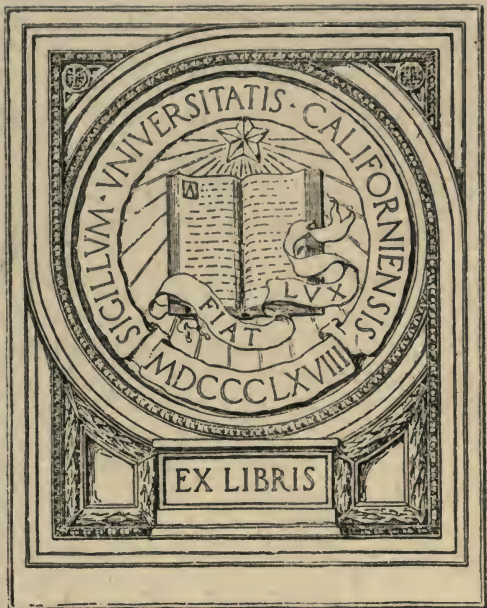


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A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA



W. C. SCULLY



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A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS
TO UNION

BY

WILLIAM CHARLES SCULLY

AUTHOR OF "REMINISCENCES OF A SOUTH AFRICAN PIONEER," "LODGES
IN THE WILDERNESS," "BETWEEN SUN AND SAND," ETC.

WITH 45 MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

We have our record,—light and shade—
Mean—noble—terrible,—inlaid ;
Of such mosaic is history made.
Should captious critics urge our blame,
Ask where that stainless land may be—
Beneath what sky, wash'd by what sea,—
Whose scroll shews not the same.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

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1915

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TO
SIR THOMAS MUIR

K.C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.

FORMERLY SUPERINTENDENT-GENERAL OF EDUCATION
FOR THE CAPE PROVINCE

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED IN
APPRECIATION OF HIS VALU-
ABLE WORK IN DEVELOPING
EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

PREFACE

THIS volume embodies an attempt to supply a want felt as much by the general reader as the student. Hitherto there has been available no single work setting forth South Africa's story in a connected form.

The book does not pretend to be the result of original research. It is almost wholly founded upon the standard histories—more especially those of Dr. Theal and Professor Cory—and Leibbrandt's *précis* of the Archives.

The limitations of space have not only made it difficult to deal adequately with many significant episodes, but have rendered necessary the exclusion of such important subjects as the rise of the great Zulu Power under Tshaka and the dispersal of Bantu Tribes which followed.

The Author's aim has been to produce a concise, consecutive narrative, suitable as an introduction to those voluminous detailed histories in which so much erudition has been displayed and upon which so much industry has been expended.

W. C. S.

AUTHORS' CLUB,
LONDON,
February, 1915.

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CHAPTER I

(To 1510)

Early Exploration and Discovery

The Last Crusade.—It has been well said that the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was an incident in the last Crusade. In the fifteenth century the great struggle for world-domination between Christian and Moslem was at its height. The Saracens had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 711 A.D.; soon afterwards they overran the greater part of what is now Spain and Portugal. In 1346 the Turks entered Europe; fifteen years later they captured Adrianople; in 1453, Constantinople fell before the assault of Mahomet II., and the Byzantine Empire came to an end.

Decline of the Moslem.—But while the power of the Moslem waxed in the east, it waned in the west. In 1492 Granada, his last stronghold in the Iberian Peninsula, fell.

The Eastern Trade.—The Mediterranean was the theatre of the great struggle. One important advantage enjoyed by the Moslems lay in the riches accruing to them through their control of the trade between Europe and Asia. All Asiatic merchandise reaching Europe was carried from Moslem ports, where heavy tolls were levied, by ships belonging to either Venice or Genoa.

Prince Henry of Portugal.—Prince Henry of Portugal, known as "The Navigator," was born in 1394. His father was King John I. of Portugal; his mother was a daughter of John Plantagenet of England, better known as John of Gaunt. After serving with great distinction as a soldier in North Africa against the Saracens, Prince Henry devoted his energies to building ships and fitting out expeditions for the exploration of the west coast of the African continent. It is highly

probable that the main object he had in view was the discovery of a sea-route to the East. Could such be found, not alone might the riches of Asia be wrested from the enemies of the Cross, but those enemies could be attacked in the rear.

Prince Henry's enthusiasm as a Crusader was supplemented by a personal desire for vengeance. A brother to whom he was much attached had been captured by the Saracens, and was languishing in a dungeon. The release of the captive had been offered on dishonourable terms, but was refused with the captive's own concurrence.

An Ancient African Map.—There was reason to believe that a route such as was sought really existed. The Prince was deeply learned in the geographical lore of the period, and had probably heard of a certain map in a Medicean atlas in the Laurentian Library at Florence. This map, although quite wrong in detail, showed, more or less correctly, the general shape and extent of the whole African continent. As to the source of the information from which it was compiled, there exists but the merest conjecture.

Early Ventures down the African Coast.—Farther and farther west and south along the unknown African coast the respective expeditions felt their way, but instead of endeavouring to further their master's lofty aims, the different commanders seem to have made the collection of slaves and gold their principal object. It was their habit to load their ships with these as quickly as possible, and then, much to Prince Henry's dissatisfaction, to return. Thus, when he died in 1460, the vicinity of Sierra Leone was the farthest south his vessels had reached. During the last fifteen years of Prince Henry's life, but little exploration was undertaken, but soon after his death expeditions were again organised. The Equator was first crossed by the Portuguese in 1471.

King John II., who ascended the throne of Portugal in 1481, was a grand-nephew of the Navigator, and inherited the latter's zeal for geographical discovery. In 1484 he despatched a fleet under the command of Diego Cam, which reached the mouth of the Congo. During the following year Cam reached a spot but a few miles north of the site of the present town of

Swakopmund, in German South-West Africa. There he fixed a marble pillar.

Bartholomew Diaz.—In August, 1486, Bartholomew Diaz, an officer who held the appointment of receiver of customs at Lisbon, and who had had some previous exploring experience, started from the mouth of the Tagus with two ships and a small vessel loaded with stores, and made his way southward. The ships were stated to be of fifty tons each. Owing, however, to the different methods of rating then in force, it is probable that they were considerably larger than the figure would imply. In addition to the task of endeavouring to find the southern extremity of Africa, Diaz was instructed to try to open up communications with Prester John, a mythical monarch who was believed to reign in the centre of the continent. For this purpose four negresses, condemned criminals, were handed over to him. These unhappy women, after being charged with messages, had to be landed, separately, at different places on the coast.

Diaz, after the manner of the time, hugged the coast on his southward way. Close to the equator he left the store ship with nine men. He next cast anchor in a bay which he called *Angra Pequena*, close to where the town of Lüderitzbucht stands to-day. Thence he again sailed south to an inlet which he named *Angra des Voltas*, but which cannot be recognised. From here he sailed southward once more, in very heavy weather. After thirteen days, and when the wind had moderated, he altered his course eastward, expecting to see land. He held this course for several days; then, as no land was in sight, he correctly inferred that he had passed the southern extremity of the continent, so laid his course northward. It was not long before he sighted land, and found he was approaching a wide inlet on a coast which sloped steeply, but to no great height, almost from the water's edge. Some distance inland, and running parallel to the coast, was a chain of lofty mountains. Over the pasturage by which the slopes near the sea were covered, were grazing numerous herds of cattle. Diaz named this locality *Angra dos Vaquerros*, or "The Bay of the Herdsmen." But the herdsmen were filled with alarm at sight of the strangers, and fled inland with their charges. Thus it

was found impossible to open communication with them. This bay was almost certainly the one which afterwards came to be known as the watering-place of Sao Bras. But for more than three hundred years it has been called Mossel Bay.

Diaz sailed eastward from the Bay of the Herdsmen until he reached what is called Algoa Bay. Here, on a small rocky island, he caused to be erected a pillar bearing the Cross and the Arms of Portugal. This island is known to-day as St. Croix. A landing was also effected upon the mainland in the vicinity. Here the last of the four negresses was set ashore and left to her fate. One had died on the voyage; the other two had been put on shore at separate places on the barren south-western coast, where they no doubt died of thirst.

The Stormy Cape.—The men of all ranks under Diaz' command strongly objected to going any further. They had been battered by tempests; their health had suffered badly from close confinement and bad food. The stores were almost exhausted, and the voyagers were awed by terror of the unknown seas lying eastward. However, they allowed themselves to be persuaded into continuing the voyage for a few days. The mouth of a large river was thus reached. This was probably the Great Fish River, but it cannot be identified with certainty. But Diaz had now ample proof that he had passed the southern extremity of the continent, for he found a current of warm water flowing in a south-westerly direction. From here the prows of the battered ships were turned homeward. Diaz arrived at Lisbon in December, 1487, after an absence of over sixteen months. It was only on his return journey that what is now known as the Cape Peninsula was discovered. To its southern extremity he gave the name of "The Stormy Cape"—a name changed by the King of Portugal to "The Cape of Good Hope"—for the great problem had now been solved—India could be reached by the Atlantic route.

John Pedro of Cavilhao.—Shortly after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, one John Pedro of Cavilhao, who had been secretly despatched in disguise to India, managed to reach Calicut, and from there to cross the Indian Ocean and visit Mozambique



Emery Walker sc.

Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Bombay & Calcutta.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA.

and Sofala. Thus he was enabled to find out a great deal as to the flourishing trade carried on between the ports of Eastern Africa and those of Asia. Pedro never returned to Europe. Seeking for Prester John, he entered Abyssinia, where he took up his residence, and, having been ennobled by the Negus, there spent the remainder of his life. He wrote a letter to the king, detailing his discoveries. The letter, which was in duplicate, was forwarded to Portugal by the hands of two Jewish Rabbis. There is, however, nothing to show that it ever reached its destination.

Vasco da Gama.— Thus Diaz from the west and Pedro from the east had almost met, for a stretch of only about a thousand miles separates the mouth of the Great Fish River from Sofala. But it was over ten years before the gap was filled. In 1497 a small fleet was fitted out for the purpose of attempting definitely to reach India by the Cape route. It consisted of four ships, two of which were built under the personal supervision of Diaz. These ships were, respectively, about double the size of the ones with which Diaz himself had sailed. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Vasco da Gama, a son of the chief magistrate of the little town of Sinis. Da Gama was an heroic figure; in him were epitomised to a great extent the virtues as well as the vices of his race and of the age he lived in. Brave, energetic, and filled with a keen sense of duty towards his king, he was at the same time unscrupulous, harsh, stern, and easily moved to anger. When enraged he was, as his subsequent career proved, capable of the most fiendish cruelty. When selected for the command he was thirty-seven years of age.

Da Gama's fleet started from Lisbon on July 8, and reached a bay on the coast of what is now the district of Piquetburg, Cape Province, on November 4. This bay he named after St. Helena, and the name has been retained. After a delay of twelve days he again started. Two days later he sighted the Cape of Good Hope, but made no attempt to effect a landing. On November 26 the little fleet cast anchor in what is now Mossel Bay. Here the Portuguese opened friendly communication with the Natives, obtaining from them, by means of barter, sheep and ivory

arm-rings. This friendliness was, however, interrupted, but it does not appear that any blood was shed.



VASCO DA GAMA.

From a Portrait in the possession of
HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE LAVRADIO.

Discovery of Natal.—The store-ship, being no longer needed, was burnt, and the fleet started

eastward. After some very heavy weather Da Gama found himself close to the Bird Islands, in the vicinity of Algoa Bay. From there light and variable winds wafted the voyagers past the mouth of the river which marked the farthest point reached by Diaz; thence a strong current carried them back to Algoa Bay. From here they started with a favourable wind on December 20. As the vessels passed eastward all on board were struck by the attractive appearance of the country, the fertility of which was in strong contrast to the barren western coast, with its interminable wastes of sand. On Christmas Day Da Gama gave the name of Natal to the country then in sight.

From here the ships stood out to sea, and land was not again seen until January 6, 1498, when the mouth of a large river was observed. This river was the one we call the Limpopo. Here the Portuguese for the first time came into contact with the southern Bantu Natives. These were found to be quite friendly and disposed to trade.

Attack on Mozambique.—The mouth of the Quilimane River was the next anchorage. Here the ships were caulked and refitted. While this was in progress scurvy in a severe form broke out among the crew, many of whom died. After weighing anchor once more the fleet again sailed north. It unknowingly passed Sofala and reached the island of Mozambique. Here the Mohammedans were found established. The Governor Zakoeja and his people were at first friendly, believing the strangers to be Turks, but when they found themselves to have been mistaken on this point the demeanour of the people changed and hostilities ensued. Da Gama attacked the islanders with vigour and inflicted so much damage that the Governor sued for peace, which was granted. Mombasa was the next port visited; then Melinda. At each were found ample evidences of a flourishing trade with Asia. On May 16 the coast of India was sighted. Thus success had crowned the long endeavour.

On his homeward voyage Da Gama lost one of his vessels through its striking a shoal, but the officers and crew were transferred to the two remaining. He touched at various places he had visited on the outward voyage and passed the Cape of Good Hope on

March 20. The two vessels parted in a storm, and one, the *Berrio*, reached Lisbon two years and two days after she had sailed on her outward voyage. Da Gama's own ship, the *São Gabriel*, was left at the island of Santiago for repairs, Da Gama finishing his voyage in a hired vessel, in which he reached home on August 29. Of the hundred and seventy persons who sailed with him only fifty-five returned.

Expedition of Pedro Alvarez Cabral.—The next fleet sent out with the eastern coast of Africa as its objective was that of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who started in 1500 with thirteen ships. The main purpose of the expedition was the establishment of a factory, or trading station at Sofala. Cabral was instructed to offer peace and friendship to all he met on condition that they became Christians and consented to trade, but in case of a refusal, war was to be at once declared. In this fleet Bartholomew Diaz held a minor command. As something of the nature of the trade-winds was now beginning to be understood, Cabral shaped his course far to the westward, and, in so doing, incidentally discovered South America. Three weeks after he had set sail from what is now the coast of Brazil, a violent tornado was encountered. In this four vessels foundered with all hands, one being that commanded by Bartholomew Diaz.

Da Gama's Second Expedition.—In February, 1502, Da Gama, who now bore the title "Admiral of the Eastern Seas," started on his second voyage for India. From this period onward many expeditions were despatched round the Cape of Good Hope, for the route to India was now open and the resulting trade was found to be highly profitable. Soon the Mohammedans were dispossessed of all their trading stations on the East African coast. However, as a rule the fleets kept well to the south, for the reason that the vicinity of the Cape was much dreaded by mariners on account of the tempestuous weather which was believed to prevail there almost continually.

Antonio da Saldanha lands at Table Bay.—In 1503 one Antonio da Saldanha landed at what is now known as Table Bay and called it Saldanha Bay, after himself. Thus it was known until 1601, when a Dutch captain substituted its present name. The name Saldanha was

CHAPTER II

(To 1662)

First Colonisation

Wreck of the "São João."—There are but few events to record in respect of the Cape of Good Hope or its hinterland during the sixteenth century. As the fleets or single vessels passed to and fro in pursuance of trade or warfare on the East African or Asiatic coasts, occasional wrecks took place. Among the more notable of these may be mentioned that of the *São João*, a large galleon which ran ashore close to the mouth of the Umzimvubu River in 1552—an event celebrated by Camoens in the "Lusiad."

Sir Francis Drake doubles the Cape.—In 1580 Sir Francis Drake doubled the Cape in the *Golden Hind*, and described it as "the most stately thing and fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the world."

The First English Fleet visits Table Bay.—In 1591 the first English fleet bound for the Indies visited Table Bay. It was composed of three vessels under Admiral Raymond. One of the vessels, the *Edward Bonaventure*, had taken part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada; it was commanded by Captain James Lancaster, who afterwards rose to fame as an Arctic explorer. Four days after leaving the Cape, the Admiral's ship foundered with all hands. Captain Lancaster visited the Cape again in 1601. He was then in charge of the first fleet sent to the East Indies by the English East India Company, which had been established a little more than a year previously.

The First Dutch Fleet for India.—It was in 1595 that the first Dutch ships visited South Africa. Four vessels from the Texel, under the command of an officer named Cornelius Houtman, passed within sight

of Table Mountain and cast anchor in what is now Mossel Bay.

The opening of a sea-route to India was an event of the first importance in the history of world-development. One of its principal results was that Mohammedanism, deprived of a monopoly which was its chief source of wealth, receded before the renewed strength of the Christian nations. Another result was that Venice lost her commerce, and with it her power. The Asiatic trade was transferred to Portugal, which became wealthy and strong.

Death of King Sebastian of Portugal.—Portugal retained her wealth and prosperity until 1578, when she met with a great misfortune. King Sebastian led a large army to North Africa. This army was totally defeated in a battle at Alcazar. The king was slain.

Spain seizes Portugal.—Two years later King Philip II. of Spain took possession of Portugal. One of his first acts thereafter was to seize all the Dutch vessels in Lisbon Harbour.

Origin of the Dutch East India Company.—An important result of this was the formation in Holland of the "Company for Remote Countries." This Company, with several similar ones, eventually merged into the Dutch East India Company, which harried the Portuguese from the southern and eastern seas and, as an incident in the pursuance of its policy of oversea expansion, established the first settlement of Europeans in South Africa. This Company rapidly grew in wealth, power, and world-importance. Within comparatively few years a preponderating share of extra-European trade was in its hands.

Its Constitution.—The Dutch East India Company was a national concern; at one time it was probably more powerful than the State itself. The supreme governing authority lay in the hands of a board which was termed the Chamber of Seventeen, to which the State nominated one. The foreign possessions of the Company, which were vast, rich, and widely scattered, were controlled by a Council of which the Governor-General of India was President, and which met at Batavia, in the Island of Java.

Table Bay becomes a Place of Call.—Gradually the dread which had for so long clustered around the Cape

and Table Mountain was dissipated. Mariners found that except at certain seasons the weather prevailing there was not worse than that experienced on other coasts. Table Bay proved a convenient place of call; a short sojourn there made a delightful break in the long voyage to or from the Indies. The Natives were not unfriendly; sometimes they could be induced to barter cattle and fat-tailed sheep for knives, beads, or other wares.

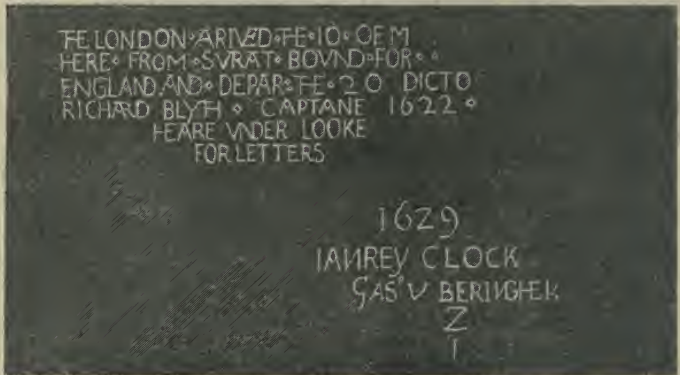
The Ocean Post Office.—The captains of outward-



THE DUTCH EAST INDIA HOUSE IN AMSTERDAM.

bound vessels would deposit letters under a stone and carve on the latter in rough script, "Hereunder look for letters." Such documents would be unearthed by the captain of some vessel homeward bound, who, in his turn, would deposit papers reporting his arrival at the end of the first stage of his voyage, for transmission to Batavia or Ceylon. Several of these stones have been discovered in the foundations of old buildings,—each bearing a date as well as the name of a ship and her captain. One has been built into the wall at

the main entrance of the General Post Office, Cape Town.



INSCRIPTION ON A POST OFFICE STONE, NOW IN THE MUSEUM,
CAPE TOWN.

An English Commodore annexes Table Bay.—In June, 1620, four English ships bound for Surat, under the command of Captain Andrew Shillinge, entered Table Bay. Soon afterwards they were joined by two others, under the command of Commodore Humphrey Fitzherbert, which were bound for Bantam. At the time nine large Dutch vessels were in the Bay; also another English vessel called the *Lion*. The Dutch fleet departed for the Indies, but about the same time another Dutch vessel, the *Schiedam*, arrived. The English Commodore had heard from some of the Dutch officers that the Dutch East India Company intended establishing a settlement on the shores of Table Bay during the following year, so he called his officers together as a council. As a result of the deliberations of this body it was decided to annex Table Bay in the name of the King of England. Accordingly, on July 3 the English flag was hoisted on the Lion's Rump in the presence of a number of men who had been landed from the ships. The captain and officers of the *Schiedam* were also present, but made no objection. However, the annexation was confirmed neither by the English

East India Company nor the Government of King James.



Photo: T. D. Ravenscroft.]

THE BLOCKHOUSE ON THE DEVIL'S PEAK.

Wreck of the "Haarlem."—In 1648 the *Haarlem*, a large vessel belonging to the Dutch Company, was driven ashore on the Blaauwberg side of Table Bay.

No lives were lost; the greater portion of the cargo was saved. The officers, crew, and soldiers removed to Table Valley, where they encamped close to a stream of water; the site of the encampment is believed to be near the centre of the present city of Cape Town. Some ground was brought under cultivation, and in it were sowed vegetable seeds salvaged from the wreck. The result was most satisfactory; the castaways were even able to supply passing scurvy-smitten ships with much-needed vegetables. When, after upwards of five months, the men of the *Haarlem* were released and conveyed to Holland, they gave a most glowing account of the fertility of Table Valley.

✓ **The Dutch East India Company decides to occupy Table Bay.**—After some twenty months of inquiry and consideration, the Directory of the Company decided to establish a victualling station at the Cape of Good Hope. Accordingly, instructions towards the fitting out of an expedition were issued on March 25, 1651. The vessels commissioned were the *Dromedaris*, a man-of-war with high poop and bows, the *Reiger*, and a small yacht named the *Goede Hoop*. The command was offered to, but declined by, one Nicholas Proot.

Jan van Riebeeck.—Jan van Riebeeck, a ship's surgeon, accepted the post. He had travelled considerably, and was a man of great energy and good ability.

The expedition started from Amsterdam on December 24, 1651. The *Dromedaris* carried eighteen heavy guns; shortly after putting to sea, she was found to be so top-heavy that nine of these had to be sent below as ballast. The men composing the expedition numbered about one hundred. There were five women, one of whom was van Riebeeck's wife. Two, Elizabeth and Sebastiana van Opdorp, were his nieces.

Arrival of the Expedition.—The weather experienced by the voyagers was very favourable. On April 5, 1652, Table Mountain was sighted; next evening the little fleet reached the anchorage in Table Bay. The winter rains had not yet fallen, so the country presented a very parched appearance.

Building of the Fort.—Immediately after landing, a site for a fort was fixed upon. This was close behind where the General Post Office stands to-day. The

construction work was begun without delay. The fort was square, each face measuring 78 metres. It was



JAN VAN RIEBEEK AT AGE ABOUT 50. IN THE RIJKSMUSEUM,
AMSTERDAM.

built of earth and had sloping sides; at each of its

angles was a bastion. In the centre arose a stone tower with a flat roof, from which every portion of the rampart was under matchlock fire. The whole structure was surrounded by a moat, which was filled with water from the stream which ran down Table Valley. The governing body of the Settlement was termed the Council of Policy. It consisted of the Commander and three or four subordinate officers appointed by a Commissioner passing to, or returning from, India.

Immediately after their arrival the new-comers came in contact with some of the Natives. Among the latter was one named Harry, who had voyaged to India and back in an English ship, and consequently had some slight knowledge of the English tongue. Harry was employed by the Commander as an interpreter. A relation of his, a young girl named Eva, was taken into the van Riebeeck household.

✓ **The Beachrangers.**—The Hottentot clan to which Harry and Eva belonged numbered only about sixty individuals. These people owned no stock and were in a wretched condition. They became known as the "Strandloopers," or Beachrangers. However, further inland were other clans—nomads—comparatively rich in cattle and fat-tailed sheep. At certain seasons, when the pasturage was rich, these people moved in towards Table Mountain, and it was found possible to purchase cattle and sheep from them, the currency used being tobacco, copper bars, brass wire, and beads.

✓ **Wild Animals.**—At that time the Cape Peninsula swarmed with wild animals; large antelopes of various kinds grazed over what are now known as the Cape Flats. Official huntsmen were appointed for the purpose of supplying the fort with venison, but the game was too wary to permit of its being brought down by the awkward, short-ranged matchlock of the period. Where Church Square is to-day lay a swamp which was frequented by sea-cows. Lions often appeared in the vicinity of the fort. The Commander came face to face with one on an occasion when he was inspecting his garden. Leopards and wild cats made continual attacks upon poultry and domestic animals. Table Bay swarmed with fish of many kinds; whales were especially plentiful.

Hardships of the Settlers.—The settlers suffered

many hardships. Floods washed away a lot of the ground they had prepared for cultivation. The high winds of summer destroyed the promised harvest of wheat and barley when it was almost ripe for the sickle. The Hottentots murdered herdsmen and carried off cattle. These outrages could not be revenged, as the Commander's hands were tied by stringent orders from Holland to the effect that a strictly conciliatory policy was to be pursued towards the Natives.

One great difficulty arose from the inferiority of many of those composing the expedition. During the first few years of the settlement, a number of men had to be discharged and sent home. Van Riebeeck kept a journal in which every event of the slightest importance was recorded; in reading this one realises the extraordinary hardships suffered by all belonging to this distant outpost of civilisation.

The First Farmers.—It was in February, 1657, that the first step in actual colonisation took place. In response to a memorial nine men were permitted to leave the Company's service and take up plots of land along the course of the Liesbeek River, in the vicinity of Rondebosch. It had been noticed that this locality was largely protected from the winds which scourged the plains and mountain slopes in the vicinity of the fort. Soon afterwards similar grants of land were made to other applicants.

Introduction of Slaves.—There were at this time only eleven slaves in the settlement, but during the following year a large number were introduced from the west coast of Africa, and sold on credit to the burghers at prices ranging from £4 to £8 each. Soon the tendency grew to leave the harder and more unpleasant kinds of work to slaves.

Belief in Monomotapa.—Van Riebeeck was a firm believer in the fabled empire of Monomotapa, and eagerly read Linschoten's celebrated book and other supposed authorities on the subject. He also closely questioned the Hottentots as to their knowledge of the regions lying to the north. After collating all he had learnt, the Commander came to the conclusion that Davagul, the mythical capital, lay some 828 miles to the north-east, or about where Pretoria stands to-day.

Exploring Expeditions.—Various exploring expeditions were undertaken. On October 19, 1657, a party consisting of fifteen Europeans and four Hottentots started under the command of Abraham Gabbema, Fiscal and Secretary to the Council. Pack oxen were used to carry provisions and merchandise. This party took a route past the well-known hill called Klappmuts, so called even then on account of its supposed resemblance to a flat nightcap. They reached the Berg River, which was found to be full of sea-cows, and entered a valley, on the right-hand side of which stood a mountain crowned with two immense shining granite domes, which they named respectively "Paarl" and "Diamant." Herds of zebra grazed over the valley pastures and rhinoceroses hurtled through the thickets. They saw but few Hottentots, and these were not inclined to trade.

In February of the following year Sergeant Jan van Harwarden passed with an exploring party to the westward of the Paarl Mountain and reached the gorge where the Little Berg River breaks through the mountain rampart, and through which the railway to the north runs to-day. They climbed a mountain from the summit of which they could gaze north into the Tulbagh Basin, and south-east down the valley of the Breede River. It being the summer season the land looked parched and uninviting. Two of the party died of dysentery. A lion sprang upon another and injured him so badly that he lost his right arm. But the Sergeant bravely placed the muzzle of his matchlock close to the marauder's head and shot it dead.

Culture of the Vine.—The culture of the vine was extended, and maize was introduced from the coast of Guinea. Van Riebeeck set out 1200 vine cuttings on a piece of land called Wynberg, near the source of the Liesbeek. The first wine was made by the Commander himself in 1659.

Each burgher was required, under penalty of a fine, to possess a gun. What might be termed the first germ of representative government was sown in 1659, when the burghers were permitted to nominate four men as burgher councillors. From the four, the Council of Policy selected one.

Trouble with the Hottentots.—Trouble with the

Hottentots arose from time to time. Cattle were stolen, and when slaves ran away it was suspected that the Hottentots harboured them. But the Hottentots, naturally enraged at seeing their best pasture lands appropriated by the Europeans, became actively hostile in 1659. There was no actual fighting, but the natives drove off the farmers' cattle and destroyed crops. In a few instances they killed herdsmen who endeavoured to protect the animals under their charge. But horses and fierce dogs were imported, soldiers were landed, and houses were placed in such a condition as rendered them capable of being defended. Eventually watch-houses were built in a line and connected by a strong thorn fence.

A Plot among the Garrison.—While the settlement was in the throes of this trouble, a serious plot was discovered among the members of the garrison, fourteen of whom had determined to seize a vessel in the bay and escape. Fifteen slaves had agreed to join in the enterprise. The conspiracy was discovered by the surgeon, who was a Scotsman. Five of the conspirators were Scotch, and one was an Englishman. The ring-leaders were sent to Batavia for punishment; the less important culprits were tried on the spot and punished with what would to-day be regarded as terrible severity. One result of this affair was the deportation of all English and Scotch members of the garrison (with the exception of the doctor) to Batavia, "so as to rid the place of such rubbish," as the entry on the subject records.

In April a meeting of the various Hottentot captains took place at the fort. A peace was arranged. Afterwards a dance and a feast were held. A feature of the latter was a large tub filled with a mixture of arrack and brandy. After partaking of this the captains and their followers got so intoxicated that they all had to be carried out of the fort.

In May, 1660, a French ship called the *Marichal* was wrecked in Table Bay. The captain and forty-four of the crew were Huguenots. Of these, thirty-five entered the service of the Company, thus forming an important reinforcement to the Cape settlement.

Further Exploration.—In November, 1660, another

exploring expedition was fitted out, this time with the express intention of discovering Monomotapa. On the way, but somewhat to the westward of the direct route to the supposed city of Davagul, was believed to be another city named Cortado, and this the explorers intended to visit in the first instance. The party, fourteen in number, were volunteers; their leader was one Jan Danckert.

The explorers took a northward course, along the coast belt. They reached a river, on the banks of which a herd of several hundred elephants was seen. This river they named the Olifant, which name it still bears. Here a halt was made. The leader and a few of his men pushed on for a short distance farther. One day they saw smoke arising far ahead. They were informed by Bushmen that this was from fires lit by Namaqua hunters. The expedition returned without having made any discovery of importance.

Almost immediately another exploring party started, following the same route. This party came in contact with a large encampment of Namaquas in the vicinity of the Olifant River, and were by them hospitably entertained. The Namaquas were described as being taller than the other Hottentots, and as being well clothed in karosses made from the skins of various wild animals. They were armed with bows and arrows, with assegais, and with knobbed clubs. They also carried shields so large that a man could be completely hidden behind one.

Van Riebeeck transferred to Batavia.—In 1662 van Riebeeck was transferred at his own request from the Cape to Batavia. He had held the reins of government for ten years and two months. At Batavia he was appointed a member of the High Court of Justice, and Commander of Malacca. Subsequently he became secretary to the Council at Batavia, holding that appointment until he died in 1677, at the age of fifty-eight. His tombstone, or the remaining fragments thereof, have recently been transferred to the Cape.

His Character.—Jan van Riebeeck, although somewhat tyrannical and irascible, was a man of great force of character. He was a most faithful servant of the Company, but was somewhat unscrupulous in his dealings with people not connected therewith. He

had little hesitation in breaking his word or making promises which he had no intention of keeping. He bore the nickname of "Little Thornback."

He had to contend with many difficulties, not the least of which was the want of faith in the value of the new settlement evinced by the Supreme Council in Holland. As a matter of fact, the Council was quite averse to the policy of expansion which the Commander's sanguine temperament prompted him to pursue. As an instance of Van Riebeeck's foresight it may be mentioned that a memorandum he left for guidance of his successor contains a suggestion to the effect that wild ostriches should be domesticated. Ostrich feathers were at the time in great demand in the Indies. It was upwards of two centuries before this suggestion was acted upon.

CHAPTER III

(To 1679)

The Cape Colony under Dutch Rule

MR. GERRIT VAN HARN was nominated as successor to van Riebeeck, but he died on the voyage to the Cape, so Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar was appointed by the Council of India in his stead. The new Commander arrived in Table Bay on April 2, 1662, but did not take up his appointment for more than a month afterwards. He was an elderly man of mediocre ability and impassive mien. A long sojourn in the Indies had weakened his health. Physically and mentally Mr. Wagenaar was as complete a contrast to his predecessor as it is possible to imagine. One of the principal features of his term of office was the number of exploring expeditions which were undertaken. In 1663 a large reservoir was built close to the fort for the convenience of passing ships.

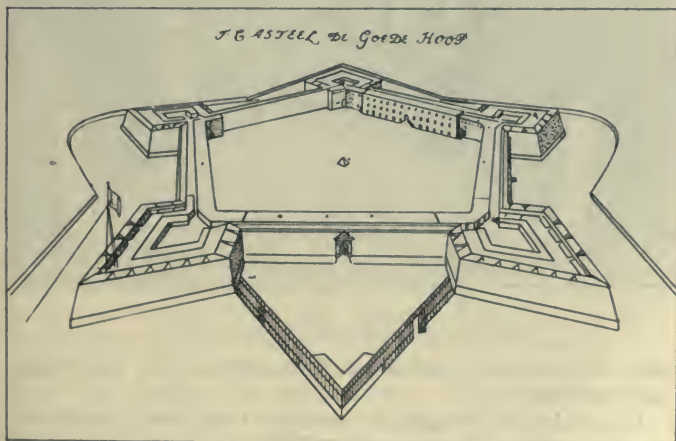
In 1665 the first resident clergyman was appointed to the Cape; this was the Rev. Johan van Arckel. At the same time an ecclesiastical court was established. This consisted of the clergyman, a member of the Council of Policy—who was styled “political commissioner”—deacons and elders. Mr. van Arckel, who appears to have been a model of all that a minister of the Gospel should be, died on January 12, 1666. His body lies buried within the walls of the Castle.

Religious Controversy.—About this time a keen controversy was proceeding within the Dutch Reformed Church in the Indies as to whether or not the children of non-Christian parents should be baptised. The question arose at the Cape. The ecclesiastical court at Batavia and the judicatory of the Church at Amsterdam decided that such children should be

baptised. This decision was only given effect to after considerable opposition.

The First School.—The school opened for the use of slaves in 1658 was closed after a few weeks. In the latter part of 1663 another school—the first in South Africa for European children—was opened. Ernestus Back, the sick comforter, was the master, but he took to drink, and as a comet which appeared was regarded as a sign of the wrath of heaven at his misconduct, he was hurriedly sent to Batavia in a yacht. A soldier named Daniel Engelgraeff took his place. The school was a mixed one. It began with seventeen pupils, twelve of whom were Europeans.

War between England and Holland.—War had again broken out between England and Holland in 1664, so the Cape, which commanded the ocean highway to India, at once became of importance. Its defenceless condition was realised. The Fort was built of earth, and the guns thereon mounted were not capable of hurling shot even as far as the anchorage.



Building of the Castle commenced.—It was accordingly decided to erect a strong stone fortress capable of accommodating a garrison, and to arm it with heavy artillery. The site was selected by Commissioner Isbrand Goske. Three hundred soldiers were landed

from passing ships and set to work quarrying stone. Convicts and slaves were sent to Robben Island to gather shells for lime. On January 2, 1666, four foundation stones of "one of the western land points" were laid, respectively, by the Commander and three of his subordinates. A great feast was held in honour of the occasion, and a poem composed by an amateur



Photo: T. D. Ravenscroft.]

GATE OF THE OLD CASTLE, CAPE TOWN.

was recited and afterwards inscribed in the Commander's diary.

Commander Wagenaar tendered his resignation, so on September 27 he was relieved by Mr. Cornelius van Qualenberg. The latter had arrived by a ship which lost by sickness one hundred and ten men on the voyage. When this ship arrived in Table Bay assistance had to be sent to her from the shore, for every one on board was ill, and the crew were unable to drop the anchor or furl the sails.

Arrival of a French Fleet.—Some three months afterwards a French fleet of twelve vessels arrived at Table Bay. The fitting out of this fleet had caused the greatest uneasiness to the Company, for it was known that France intended opening up trade with the East. Owing to lack of provisions and equipment the French were in great distress. The Commander placed all his stores at their disposal, thus practically exhausting the resources of the settlement. The French Admiral had been instructed to take possession of Saldanha Bay, which he surveyed. He set up landmarks bearing the French arms, but established no settlement. The Council of Seventeen, naturally indignant at the assistance which had been afforded to the rival fleet, passed a resolution dismissing Commander van Qualenberg. He was regretted by none; his selfishness, arrogance, greed, and tyranny had made him generally disliked.

Mr. Jacob Borghorst, the next Commander, arrived at the Cape on June 16, 1668. He suffered from extreme ill-health, so the administration of the settlement was mostly carried on by his subordinates. In the August following the new Commander's arrival a yacht was dispatched on an exploring voyage along the coast eastward. At Mossel Bay Corporal Cruse and a small body of men were put ashore. They came in contact with the Attaqua tribe of Hottentots, who occupied what is now the district of George, and with them carried on an extremely profitable barter. Corporal Cruse arrived at the Fort with several hundred head of stock. The voyage of the yacht was barren of other result.

In 1670 Commissioner Mattheus van der Broeck, who was acting as Admiral in command of the fleet homeward bound from the Indies, visited Table Bay and instituted an inquiry into the condition of the settlement. It is interesting to note that even then the drink traffic was mischievous. The Commissioner considered that the number of liquor shops existing constituted a great evil, and reduced the number to nine. He also raised the price of grain with the view of encouraging more freemen to undertake agriculture.

Commander Borghorst soon resigned his office on account of ill-health. His successor was Mr. Pieter Hackius, another invalid. He reached the Cape in

March, 1670, but died in November of the following year.

Trouble from Beasts of Prey.—At this period, owing, probably, to the growing scarcity of antelopes, beasts of prey became a serious trouble to the settlers. Lions, leopards, and hyænas did so much damage to stock that strenuous efforts towards their extermination had to be undertaken. Hyænas became so bold that they even plundered the graveyards. For lions killed between Table Mountain and the Tygerberg a reward equal to £6 5s. was offered.

Arrival of Emigrants from Düsseldorf.—In 1671 some families of agriculturists from Meurs, in the Rhine Valley below Düsseldorf, were sent to the Cape. The individuals numbered sixty-one. From these several of the foremost Dutch South African families are descended.

After the death of Commander Hackius the government of the Settlement was carried on for a time by the Council of Policy. As hostilities between Holland and France were expected shortly to break out, instructions were issued to the effect that the construction of the Castle was to be accelerated. Mr. Isbrand Goske was nominated for the command of the Settlement and, on account of his high rank, was styled Governor.

Purchase of Territory from the Hottentots.—In March, 1672, arrived Mr. Arnout van Overbeke, Admiral of a homeward-bound fleet. After an investigation he decided to purchase the land surrounding the Settlement from the two Hottentot chiefs who claimed it. Accordingly, two treaties were drawn up. In terms of one, the land between Hout and Saldanha Bays was purchased for merchandise to the value of £800; according to the other, Hottentot's Holland and the land adjacent to False Bay were purchased for a like price. But in despatches on the subject sent to Holland, the value of the goods delivered was given as £9 12s. 9d.

European Coalition against the Netherlands.—When Governor Goske assumed the duties of his office, Holland was in the throes of a desperate struggle against a coalition formed by England, France, and two of the minor German powers. At the commencement

a considerable portion of the Netherlands was overrun. But the Perpetual Edict was repealed, and William of Orange, who afterwards became King of England, was appointed Stadtholder. Soon the tide turned, and by the latter part of 1674 peace had been renewed with England and the Dutch had recovered nearly all their territory. During these troublous times strenuous efforts towards hastening the completion of the Castle at the Cape were made. Several hundred men were landed from passing vessels and set to work. But passing ships were now few, for the trade with India had fallen off considerably, and the Cape suffered in consequence.

During 1673 trouble arose with a Hottentot chief called Gonnema, who had a considerable following. Hunting parties were robbed; in some instances their members being killed. Isolated posts were attacked. In this desultory warfare the Europeans were assisted by various minor Hottentot clans.

The European population of the Settlement at this time numbered about six hundred. The care of orphaned children was placed in the hands of the deacons of the church, who, for the maintenance of such, had a fund of over £1000 at their disposal. An orphan chamber for the purpose of protecting the rights of children who had lost a parent and whose surviving parent desired to re-marry, was now established, and it was enacted that no such parent could re-marry until the rights of minor heirs had been secured. This law, modified in certain respects, is still in force. In cases of intestacy, or where no guardians had been nominated under a will, the Orphan Chamber was constituted guardian.

After peace had been made with England, the Netherlands no longer considered the Cape Settlement of such paramount importance, for they ceased to fear interference with the Indian trade. Consequently Governor Goske was recalled and a junior officer, Mr. Johan Bax van Herenthals, was appointed in his place. The new Governor's installation took place in March, 1676.

Renewed Trouble with the Hottentots.—Soon afterwards trouble with the Hottentots broke out once more. Some men belonging to a hunting party were

slain by Bushmen near the Breede River, and for this crime Gonnema's clan was erroneously blamed. In those days the difference between the Hottentot and the Bushman had not yet been recognised. A punitive expedition failed to overtake Gonnema, who fled inland, but it swooped down upon a petty chief who had, three years previously, destroyed the Company's post at Saldanha Bay. This chief was relieved of all his cattle and sheep.

The First Farmers beyond the Isthmus.—In 1676 a matrimonial court consisting of two officials of the Company and two burghers was established. In 1677 exploration of the coast both east and west was undertaken. In 1678 the Government leased land at Hottentot's Holland to stock farmers. These pioneer graziers numbered five. They were the first Europeans to settle in South Africa beyond the limits of the Cape Peninsula.

In June, 1678, Governor Bax died from the effects of a cold. On his death-bed he appointed the secunde, Hendrick Crudop, to take his place as head of the settlement pending the appointment of a successor by the Company.

Completion of the Castle.—The Castle was now nearing completion, the excavation of the moat being the only item of importance which still had to be carried out. This work was effected by the Company's slaves. On April 26, 1679, the five points of the fortress were named as follows: *Nassau*, *Katzenellenbogen*, *Oranie*, *Leerdam*, and *Buren*. These names denoted titles held by the Stadtholder, and were conferred in his honour.

The Objects of the Company.—In its early stages the Cape Settlement was looked upon merely as a resting-place upon the long sea-route between Europe and India, a place where scurvy-smitten crews might recover their health upon a diet of fresh meat and vegetables. As time went on, its value came to be more and more recognised; in a despatch from the Council of Seventeen it was referred to as "a frontier fortress of India." However, the Company had no intention of undertaking colonisation in the ordinary sense. The granting of arable and grazing lands to freemen and discharged soldiers had but one object—the production of food for the passing fleets.

Disabilities of the Colonists.—But the restrictions upon trade, due to the monopoly system in force, were so galling, that discontent was rife among the burghers. Moreover, every burgher out of gunshot of the fort was almost continually menaced by danger from predatory savages or wild animals.

“The Dutch colonists of the Cape of Good Hope bear the name of free men, but they are so tramedled and confined in all things that the absence of any freedom is but too manifest. The orders and proclamations from time to time issued are so rigid that it would be impossible to carry out the penalties therein, except with the utter ruin of the burghers.” So wrote Commissioner Verburg in 1672, when reporting on the condition of the Settlement.

A Census Taken.—According to the census of 1679 the Settlement contained 87 freemen, 55 women, and 117 children, irrespective of 30 European men-servants. At this time, in addition to the few homesteads scattered around the base of Table Mountain and the seven burgher-holdings beyond the Isthmus, the only outposts of the Settlement were at Saldanha Bay, at Hottentot's Holland, and at the Tygerberg. The coast had been explored eastward as far as Mossel Bay, and westward to about the present district of van Ryn's Dorp.

CHAPTER IV

(To 1691)

The Cape Colony under Dutch Rule

Commander Simon van der Stel.—Simon van der Stel, the successor of Governor Bax, was installed as Commander of the Cape Settlement on October 12, 1679. Twelve years afterwards his rank was raised to that of Governor.

His Character.—A man of strong character and marked individuality, Simon van der Stel left an impress upon South Africa which can never be effaced. He was born at Mauritius, where his father was Commander, in 1639, and received an excellent education in Holland. Although closely connected by marriage with Burgomaster Six—the friend of Rembrandt and a most influential man—he held but a minor post in the service of the Company in Holland, when promotion to the Cape was offered him. He was small of stature and of dark complexion; he had a winning personality and much common sense. Among Simon van der Stel's strongest characteristics was an intense love of Holland, conjoined with a conservative adherence to Dutch models in all spheres of activity.

Juffrouw van der Stel remained with her friends in Holland; why, is not known. She and her husband never again met. His four sons accompanied the Commander to the Cape.

Origin of Stellenbosch.—Within a few days of his arrival the new Commander made a tour of inspection to Hottentot's Holland and its vicinity. While on his homeward journey, on November 6, he camped in a valley well wooded and watered, the beauty and fertility of which captured his imagination. Here he determined to found a village, and to name it after

himself. By the following May nine families had settled there. This was the beginning of the present flourishing town of Stellenbosch.

The Company's Garden.—Soon afterwards the Commander took in hand the Company's garden. This had hitherto been cultivated for the production of vegetables for use of the passing fleets and the garrison. However, vegetables were now being produced in fair quantity by the burghers who had taken up land upon the Liesbeek River, so the garden was laid out anew, and mainly filled with the most beautiful local and exotic trees, shrubs, and flowers. In this work one Hendrick Oldensand, a skilled botanist, rendered valuable assistance. The garden became celebrated throughout the civilised world. Its site was that of the Cape Town Botanic Garden of to-day.

Namaquas visit the Cape.—In 1681 the Commander sent a message to the Namaquas, suggesting that some influential men of the tribe might visit the Cape. Near the end of the year a Namaqua deputation arrived at the Fort. The men were accompanied by their wives; all were mounted upon pack oxen. They brought with them their huts, which consisted of long wattles and rush mats. The thick ends of the wattles would be stuck in the ground in a circle some fifteen feet in diameter; then the thin ends would be bent inwards till they overlapped, thus forming a beehive-shaped cage. Over this the mats were laid. This form of architecture was afterwards adopted by the Europeans, and is in use to-day among the Trek Boers of Bushmanland.

The Namaquas brought with them some rich specimens of copper ore, of which they said a mountain existed in their country. They were closely questioned about Monomotapa, Vigiti Magna and the river Camissa. Of these fabulous entities the Namaquas, of course, knew nothing. However, they gave a correct account of the Gariiep, that great river which was afterwards named the Orange, and which flows almost across South Africa from east to west.

Prosperity of Stellenbosch.—In spite of occasional failures of crops the village of Stellenbosch prospered; more and more people settled there. A magisterial board to adjust trivial disputes was appointed in 1682.

In the following year the first school was established. The Commander took a strong personal interest in the place, and usually spent his birthdays there. Each birthday was kept as a general holiday, and made the occasion of a feast. Shooting matches were encouraged with the view of making the burghers skilled in the use of firearms. From 1686 annual fairs were held early in the month of October. A separate church congregation was established in 1686, and a church was built the following year.

In 1682 the work of the High Court of Justice—the president of which was the Commander—had increased to such an extent that an inferior court, styled the Court of Commissioners for Petty Cases, was established. It was composed of two of the Company's officials and two burghers. In the same year and the year following respective expeditions were despatched with the view of investigating the copper deposits of Namaqualand, but neither succeeded in carrying out its object.

Extended Stock-farming.—In 1683–4 stock-farms were established at Klapmuts and various other convenient places, a few soldiers being placed in charge of each. The Company now owned an abundance of cattle. This was largely owing to its having taken into its employment a Hottentot captain named Klaas, who traded with certain of the interior tribes and received a percentage of the stock which he acquired. In 1684, twenty-five sacks of rye were despatched to India. This was the first grain exported from South Africa.

A Commission of Inquiry.—In the same year the Chamber of Seventeen decided to send a commission to investigate the condition of India and Ceylon. The commissioners were three in number; at their head, as High Commissioner with extensive powers, was Hendrick Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakenstein, Lord of Mydrecht. The commission was instructed to visit the Cape Settlement and report upon the state of affairs there. It arrived at Table Bay on April 19, 1685, and remained until July 16. A notice was published to the effect that persons having complaints might bring such forward.

Reforms.—Various reforms were enacted. The

Camdeboo or the Sneeuwberg Mountains in the present district of Graaff Reinet. Several Hottentot tribes were met with. On the return journey a horde of Bushmen, which had recently been plundering the Hottentots of cattle, was encountered. Thirty of the Bushmen were shot, and the booty found in their possession was returned to its owners, the Hottentots.

Growth of the Colony.—In the mean time the population of the settlement was increasing. The Commander continually endeavoured to induce suitable men found on the ships of the homeward-bound fleets to settle at the Cape. New names of burghers added to the records from time to time show that in this endeavour the Commander had some success. When men of this class happened to be married, their wives and families were brought from Holland free of charge. With the view of providing the unmarried burghers with wives it was suggested that young women should be sent to the Cape from the larger orphanages of the Netherlands. Forty-eight were immediately required. The orphan guardians at Amsterdam and Rotterdam favoured the proposal, but very few of the orphans would consent to emigrate. During 1685 and several succeeding years, various small parties of suitable girls were sent out; such parties were, however, never more than seven or eight in number. All married within a few weeks of arriving.

Oak Planting.—In the early days of his administration Commander van der Stel was struck by the ruthless damage to the natural forests, which had so richly clothed the bases of the mountains in the vicinity of the Settlement. Having noted that the indigenous timber was of slow growth, he tested the qualities of a number of exotic species, and thus satisfied himself that the oak was the most suitable for reforestation purposes. Accordingly he encouraged the burghers by every possible means to grow oaks, and eventually enacted a law in terms of which every landholder had to plant at least one hundred. In 1687 there were between four and five hundred young oak trees bearing acorns on the Peninsula and at Stellenbosch, while in the nurseries were some fifty thousand ready for transplanting.

Registration of Title Deeds.—In 1686 a registration

of title deeds to land took place; all such deeds had to be produced at the castle and copied. A complete registry of titles has ever since been kept, and the South African system of land registry is admitted to be the best in the world.

Sumptuary Laws.—Sumptuary laws were enacted with the view of checking extravagance in dress and a tendency towards display. Among other prohibitions the wives of mechanics were forbidden to carry sunshades.

An Epidemic.—In 1687 a virulent fever broke out; of this many—Europeans, slaves, and Hottentots—died. Among the victims were the Rev. Johannes Overney, the clergyman of the Settlement, and Captain Hieronymus Cruse, who was noted as an explorer. To the Hottentots the disease was especially fatal.

Occupation of the Drakenstein Valley.—In October of the same year the Drakenstein Valley was surveyed, and lands therein were granted to approved applicants. Some fifty men of the homeward-bound fleet applied for grants, but on account of the difficulty of providing wives, only the applications of those who were married (about one-third) were approved. The name of the present naval station, Simon's Town, dates from this year. The anchorage there was found to be good, and the advantages of the spot as a port of call in the event of war were recognised. The Commander's Christian name was given to the inlet, which had previously been known as Yselstein Bay.

Arrival of the Huguenots.—King Henry IV. of France enacted a decree in 1598, which permitted freedom of worship to the Protestants of his kingdom. This decree was known as the Edict of Nantes. It was revoked in 1685 by King Louis XIV. Then the Huguenots, as the French members of the Reformed Religion were called, were treated with atrocious cruelty. Thousands of them were slaughtered in endeavouring to escape, for they were forbidden to leave the country. Nevertheless, many succeeded in reaching the Netherlands, where they were kindly treated. All this had an important bearing upon South Africa, for the Company arranged to despatch a number of the Huguenots to the Cape. The first consignment, numbering twenty-two, sailed from

Delftshaven in a vessel named the *Voorschoten* on December 31, 1687. Four other vessels with Huguenot emigrants for the Cape left the Netherlands within the few months following. The total number who at this period came to South Africa was one hundred and seventy-six. They were accompanied by one of their pastors, the Rev. Pierre Simond. All were required to take the oath of allegiance. To prevent the possible preponderance of Frenchmen in the vicinity of the Settlement, an approximately equal number of Dutch emigrants were despatched about the same time.

These French immigrants were of a superior class; many were skilled agriculturists. Some had knowledge of wine-making and other industries which the burghers had had but scant means of acquiring. A few of them belonged to the noblest families of France. Nearly all were penniless; only four heads of families and three unmarried men were found to be not in need of assistance.

The distressed strangers were most generously treated. Out of their own scanty resources the burghers and other residents of the Settlement contributed money, stock, and grain; the Company sent out stores of provisions as well as planking for the construction of temporary houses. Six wagons were supplied by the authorities at Cape Town, and six more by the heemraaden at Stellenbosch for the purpose of conveying the families to their respective destinations.

Their Distribution.—A few of the Huguenots were granted land at Stellenbosch, but the greater number were located at Drakenstein, and at another spot in its vicinity which came to be called French Hoek. It was the wise policy of the Commander to separate these people, to mix them up with the Dutch burghers and thus secure the merging of the two races. To being so separated the Huguenots—as was natural under the circumstances—strongly objected. It was, moreover, arranged that Pastor Simond should preach on alternate Sundays at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and that on the occasions when he was absent from one or other of the meeting-places, services should be conducted for the Huguenots in Dutch.

Within a few months of their arrival the Huguenots at Drakenstein, with the approval of the Commander,

established a school under one Paul Roux, who was familiar with both the French and Dutch languages. In 1690 the Church Consistory at Batavia sent a sum equal to £1250 for distribution among the strangers. This was distributed after an inquiry had been held by commissioners. The sums allotted varied between £52 and £3 10s.

In 1689 a number of Huguenots presented to the Council of Policy a request for permission to establish a church of their own. A similar request was preferred to the Chamber of Seventeen. The Commander was much enraged. This episode was for some time the cause of bitter feeling between Dutch and French. Eventually, however, the Company sanctioned the establishment of a Huguenot Consistory, but under conditions which secured the Commander's authority therein.

They become merged in the Dutch Population.—The process of amalgamation through intermarriage went on, however, so rapidly that before two generations had passed the French language was dead in South Africa.

✓ **Dealings with the Hottentots.**—The Hottentot clans do not appear to have resented to any marked degree the encroachments of the Europeans. The hinterland of the Cape Settlement was so vast and so little inhabited that there was so far plenty of room for everybody. But the clans had become much impoverished from three causes, one being their almost perpetual intertribal feuds, another the depredations of the Bushmen, and the third their willingness to trade away their cattle to the Europeans for strong drink, tobacco, and other articles for which they had acquired a taste. They submitted voluntarily to being controlled by the Europeans; for instance, when a chief died the Commander appointed a successor, furnishing him with a staff which had a copper head. On one side of this was engraved the escutcheon of the Company; on the other the new chief's name. Staffs like these were looked upon as necessary symbols of authority, and were applied for by chiefs of clans far beyond the bounds of the Settlement. But it seems to be a law of human nature that whenever a weak race comes into contact with a strong one, the former must wither.

However, judging by comparison, on the whole the dealings of the Company's government with the *Hottentots* was humane, lenient, and considerate. It cannot be called strictly fair, but so far history records very few instances of strictly fair dealing on the part of civilised men towards savages with whom they have come into contact.

Building of a Hospital.—One urgent need at the Cape was an hospital adequate to the needs of the port. In the very early days of the Settlement a small hospital had been erected close to the site of the present railway station. This, although faulty in every respect, was the only institution of its kind existing until 1699, when the new hospital, the foundation stone of which had been laid in 1694, was completed. It was designed to hold five hundred patients, but could accommodate seven hundred and fifty in an emergency. Its site was close to where St. George's Cathedral stands to-day.

The Ravages of Scurvy.—The ravages of scurvy were terrible. It was not very unusual for more than half of a ship's company to die in the course of one or other of the long ocean voyages from west or east. In 1693 three ships, the *Bantam*, the *Goude Buys*, and the *Schoondyk*, sailed from the Netherlands for India, *viâ* the Cape. The first lost 221 men. The number of men on board the second was 190; of these all died except seven, who went ashore with a boat near St. Helena Bay. In the case of the third, 134 died before reaching Table Bay, and every one of those remaining was sick. In 1695 a fleet of eleven ships arrived with 678 men so ill that they were unable to walk.

Piracy.—Between 1692 and 1697 seven important vessels were wrecked in the vicinity of the Cape. Pirates were now an additional danger to the navigator. Using Madagascar and Delagoa Bay as bases, these ruffians infested the Indian Ocean towards the end of the seventeenth century. Several pirate craft were seized in Table Bay.

Prosperity of the Settlement.—The Settlement was in a prosperous condition. No one was rich, but every one who cared to work could live in comfort. The burghers appear to have been contented with the

government. Travellers of various nationalities all bear witness to the generally satisfactory condition of the people; that is, the people who were free. But the slave provided a background of misery to this generally satisfactory picture. The spirit of the age failed to recognise that he possessed any more rights than did the beasts of the field.

Nevertheless, we can agree with Dr. Theal when he says: "Assuredly the men who built up the European power in South Africa were, in those qualities which ought to command esteem, no whit behind the pioneers of any colony in the world. They brought to this country an unconquerable love of liberty, a spirit of patient industry, a deep-seated feeling of trust in the Almighty God; virtues which fitted them to do the work marked out for them by Providence in the land that to their children was home."

Statistics.—The following statistics are taken from Dr. Theal's "History":—

(a) In 1691 the whole Settlement contained—

1000 Europeans of all ages and sexes—permanent residents.

300 European men, not permanent residents.

50 free Asiatics and negroes, with their wives, and from 60 to 70 children.

285 male slaves.

57 female slaves.

44 slave children.

(b) Of stock the burghers possessed—

261 horses.

4198 cattle.

48,700 sheep.

220 goats.

More than 400 muids of wheat were raised the previous season.

(c) During the period 1672–1700, inclusive, 1227 ships put into Table Bay. Of these, 976 were Dutch and 170 English.

Governor Simon van der Stel retired from the Company's service, and spent the remainder of his days under his own vine and fig tree on the farm Constantia, overshadowed by the eastern crags of Table Mountain. He died on June 24, 1712.

CHAPTER V

(To 1750)

The Cape Colony under Dutch Rule

Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel.—The Assembly of Seventeen, in recognition of Simon van der Stel's services, appointed his son, Wilhem Adriaan, as Governor of the Cape Colony and its dependency, the Island of Mauritius. The appointment of Councillor Extraordinary of India was conferred upon him concurrently. Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel had, during the previous ten years, held various public offices in Amsterdam. He was installed as Governor at the Castle, Cape Town, on February 11, 1699.

The new Governor followed the good example of his father in several respects. Soon after his arrival he caused a number of the deforested gorges in the vicinity of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein to be filled with young oaks. He took keen interest in the Company's garden; in it he established a museum, and a small menagerie. He also caused to be therein erected a lodge for the entertainment of visitors of distinction. This, enlarged and altered, is the house which the Governor of the Cape Colony occupied previous to the Union.

The Land of Wavern.—Within a few months of his arrival the Governor made a tour of inspection through the outlying parts of the Settlement. After visiting Stellenbosch and Drakenstein he went northward along the course of the Berg River, and then crossed the mountain range which, on account of its having been the haunt of Bushmen, had been named the Obiqua. To the eastward of this lay that valley now known as the Tulbagh Basin, a locality famed for the grandeur of its scenery as well as for the beauty and variety of its wild flowers. The basin was named the Land of

Wavern, in honour of an influential family of Amsterdam, and the lofty range bounding it to eastward was named the Witsenberg, after Nicolaas Witsen, then Burgomaster of the same city. This range and the Obiqua are connected by the Great Winterhoek, which marks the northern limit of the Tulbagh Basin. During the following year the Wavern tract was occupied by a number of graziers and their families.

Prohibition of Trade with the Hottentots.—The old law of 1658, prohibiting trade between the burghers and the Hottentots, fell gradually into disuetude. In 1697, however, complaints having reached Governor Simon van der Stel to the effect that some of the traders had treated the Hottentots harshly and with injustice, he issued a placaat re-enacting the prohibition under severe penalties. But the Company disapproved of this, and the cattle trade was thrown open upon certain conditions.

European Population breaks Bounds.—It is to this period that one may trace the birth of the "trek" habit—of that "wanderlust" which made the South African Boer the most efficient pioneer that civilisation has ever known. In strong, heavy, lumbering wagons, constructed according to a well-known type in use in the Netherlands, these people pressed farther and farther inland, accustoming themselves to rigorous conditions and developing great hardihood.

Inevitably, there were lawless and unscrupulous members of the "trekking" fraternity, and at the hands of such the Hottentots no doubt often experienced most unfair treatment. Instances of this having been proved, the old prohibition was, in 1703, once more put into force. But those who had once tasted the manna of the wilderness had lost their taste for the bread of civilisation. In spite of heavy threatened penalties, the trekking and trading went on.

The First Commando.—As the Colony expanded, as settlers took up land farther and farther from the shores of Table Bay, trouble with the Bushmen arose more frequently. Many serious depredations took place in 1701. Small posts, each manned by a few soldiers, were established at several more or less remote points, but the protection thus afforded proved quite inadequate. Pursuit of the depredators by soldiers seldom

resulted in the thieves being overtaken. The Hottentot clans were as badly plundered as were the burghers. In the instances when stolen stock was recovered, such of it as belonged to the Hottentots was restored to them. One, Gerrit Cloete, after having been twice robbed, assembled a commando of Europeans and Hottentots, and with it swept the Obiqua Range. For this he was arrested and prosecuted for waging unauthorised war, but the prosecution fell through.

First Church.—In 1678 the foundation of a church had been laid, but the construction was not proceeded with. In 1700 the plan was abandoned and another foundation stone was laid by the Governor. The building, all but the tower, stood finished by the end of 1703. Hitherto divine service had been held in one of the halls of the Castle.

Character of Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel.—Over the character of Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel controversy has been keen. The rights and wrongs in respect of his conduct as Governor have almost become a political question. The truth seems to be that he was an able man with certain good administrative qualities, but that he was inordinately fond of money, and made use of his position to fill his pockets—largely at the expense of others. With those who opposed him he dealt as a tyrant. Some of the charges made against this Governor were undoubtedly false; many others were as undoubtedly true.

His Acquisitions of Land.—Commissioner Valckenier, who held delegated authority from the Council of India, sojourned at the Cape, in passing, in 1700. By him Governor van der Stel was granted 400 morgen of land at Hottentot's Holland. To this grant the Governor added another of land adjoining, under suspicious circumstances. Neither grant was registered in the ordinary way, nor reported to the Directors.

“Vergelegen”—**His Farming Operations.**—The two tracts conjoined formed a splendid estate, to which was given the name of *Vergelegen*. Here the Governor put up extensive buildings and laid out gardens, orchards and pleasure grounds. The vines on the estate numbered half a million. Most of the work was done by the paid servants and slaves of the Company; a considerable quantity of the material used came from the

Company's stores. The Governor owned all the woolled sheep in the Colony, and had ten cattle-posts among the mountains. He regulated prices of produce to suit himself, and entered into competition in the markets with the farmers, many of whom were in poor circumstances.

General Dissatisfaction.—The result was much dissatisfaction, mainly among the burghers of Stellenbosch. This was expressed in a memorial with a schedule of complaints, one copy of which was sent to



Photo: T. D. Ravenscroft.]

WILHEM ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL'S HOUSE, VERGELEGEN.

the Council of India, another to Amsterdam. When the Governor heard of this he caused a number of persons concerned in the preparation of the document to be arrested.

Adam Tas.—One, Adam Tas, was in prison for fourteen months. The Governor then prepared a testimonial in his own favour, and sent it by a party of armed men from house to house for signature. Some of his opponents he deported to Batavia; others to Mauritius; four he despatched to Amsterdam.

Departure of Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel.—Eventually, in 1707, on the report of a commission of

inquiry, Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel was relieved of his office and ordered to leave the Settlement. The secunde, Samuel Elsevier, the Rev. Petrus Kalden and Landdrost Starrenburg of Stellenbosch, shared the Governor's fate. *Vergelegen* was confiscated, and a grant of the farm *Zandvliet*, which had been made in favour of Mr. Kalden, was cancelled.

The newly appointed secunde, Johan Cornelis D'Ableing, assumed duty as Acting Governor pending the arrival of Louis van Assenburgh, who had been appointed to succeed Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel. The new Governor arrived early in 1708. He had served in the army of the German Emperor, and was a soldier with a good reputation. It was said that at the Cape he developed an undue taste for wine. Nevertheless, he gave satisfaction to the colonists as well as to the Company—a task no doubt somewhat difficult of achievement. On one occasion he created some scandal by entertaining the principal residents of the town with a fight between bulls and dogs on Sunday afternoon.

Regulation as to Emancipation of Slaves.—In 1708 Commissioner Simon, who held large powers delegated by the Council of India, sojourned at the Cape during the passing of the homeward-bound fleet. He enacted an amendment to the law regulating the emancipation of slaves. It had been found that old and worn-out slaves were occasionally emancipated so as to free their respective owners from the burthen of their maintenance. Moreover, slaves emancipated in the ordinary manner were usually unthrifty in their habits and were apt in their old age to become a burthen on the community. The new enactment was to the effect that no slave might be freed without security being given that for a period of ten years he would not have to be supported out of the public funds.

In the same year the Council of Policy issued a notification that in future nominations of Church officers, as well as other official communications from the Drakenstein Consistory, should be in the Dutch language instead of in French.

The Island of Mauritius was now abandoned by the Company. For some years it had been a source of great trouble owing to its having become a haunt of pirates.

Such would land in unexpected places, and a heavy garrison had to be kept on the island for the purpose of protecting the colonists. The latter were given the choice of being conveyed to Batavia or to the Cape. Nine families chose the latter alternative.

Conflagration at Stellenbosch.—In December, 1710, a disastrous fire occurred at Stellenbosch. Through it were destroyed the church, the landdrost's office, all the other buildings belonging to the Company, and twelve dwelling-houses. The fire originated from a faggot carried by a slave, in a high wind. Fortunately the public records were saved.

Governor van Assenburgh died on December 27, 1711, after a long illness; he had been confined to his room for eight months. The secunde, Willem Helot (he had succeeded Johan D'Ableing when the latter was transferred to India, in 1710), was chosen by the Council of Policy to act as head of the Settlement.

Expansion.—"The town at the Cape," as Cape Town was then termed, had grown—chiefly to westward of the Company's garden. It contained, in addition to the Company's buildings, about one hundred and seventy private houses. The colonists had also forced their way further inland. From *Wavern* graziers had followed the course of the Breede River, taking up land and building homesteads as they went. From Hottentot's Holland the mountain had been crossed by what to-day is known as Sir Lowry's Pass, and pioneers were in occupation of the wide valley of the Zonder Ende River.

Small-pox.—In 1713 the scourge of small-pox fell on the Settlement. Some people on board a ship from India had been smitten by the disease, but had recovered. After the ship arrived at Table Bay the clothing of these people was sent to the slave lodge to be washed; those who handled it took the infection. This happened in the month of March. The disease spread to all classes; in June hardly a household had escaped. So many died that no more planks were available, and bodies had to be interred without coffins. Public business ceased; the courts of justice suspended their sittings. It is estimated that one-fourth of the inhabitants of the town perished. It was only when the hot weather returned that the scourge ceased to smite. The disease spread

to the country, but the mortality there was not so great.

Mortality among Hottentots.—Among the Hottentots the effect of the disease was frightful; whole villages died out; tribes disappeared, either through death or disruption. The remnants of some clans fled inland, only to be slaughtered by others of their own race. But the slayers took the infection, and passed it on. As a people, the Hottentots practically ceased to exist.

Mauritz Pasques de Chavonnes, who held the rank of Councillor Extraordinary of the Indies, was appointed Governor of the Cape Settlement in the place of Governor van Assenburgh. He had held a commission as lieutenant-colonel in the army of the Netherlands. His installation at the Castle took place on March 28, 1714.

The revenue of the colony was then about £8000 per annum; the expenditure, irrespective of the expenses connected with passing fleets, about £14,500. With the view of bringing about an equalisation, an impost of £2 10s. 0d. per annum was laid upon cattle-runs, and stamp duty was charged upon transfers of land and slaves; also upon wills, contracts of marriage, trading licences, and legal documents. Moreover, an excise of four shillings and twopence was imposed upon every leaguer of wine produced.

Laws in Force.—In 1715 the Council of Policy applied the Statutes of India to the Cape, but placats locally issued were still held to be in force. The legal situation might thus be described: Local placats took precedence; where such did not apply, the laws of India prevailed. But in cases in which neither of the foregoing applied, the ordinary laws of the Netherlands were recognised.

The Bushmen.—In 1715–16 the Bushmen committed many depredations. It was at this period that the commando system had birth. Formal permission having been obtained, thirty mounted burghers assembled under one Hermanus Potgieter and pursued a gang of Bushman marauders. Fugitive slaves were also a source of annoyance. Members of the unhappy servile class, undeterred by the ferocious punishments inflicted upon those who were recaptured, deserted and formed themselves into predatory bands.

The Question of Slavery.—In 1716 the question was

raised by the Directors as to whether free labourers would not be preferable to slaves at the Cape. The Council of Policy, with one exception, declared in favour of slave labour. The exception was Captain Dominique Pasques de Chavonnes, Commander of the garrison, and a brother of the Governor. This man—enlightened far in advance of his time—argued eloquently in favour of free labour, and described the slave element in the local population as being “like a malignant sore in the human frame.”

At the same time the Directors invited opinions as to the feasibility of establishing local industries—wool, silk, tobacco, indigo, and olives being suggested as products likely to repay cultivation. The olive had already been experimented with on various occasions, but always unsuccessfully. Tobacco, grown in the vicinity of the Cape, produced but an ill-flavoured leaf. Farming with woolled sheep was not successful—probably because no adequate means of dealing with scab had been discovered.

Disease among Stock.—In 1714 a malignant disease, fatal to both cattle and sheep, broke out. During the following ten years stock for slaughter purposes was scarce and dear, and the supply of oxen and sheep to strangers was prohibited. In the early part of 1719 horse-sickness made its appearance for the first time. It took a severe form. Before the frosts of July stopped the epidemic, between 16,000 and 17,000 horses had perished.

Table Bay as a Port of Call.—After the twelve years' war between Holland and France had been concluded by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, the Company decided to build a large number of ships and enlarge its commerce with the East. During the first fifteen years of the century, the average number of ships which visited Table Bay was sixty-seven. Of these, about forty-two were Dutch, and nineteen English. During the following ten years, the average number was eighty-seven. Of these the Dutch average had increased to sixty-four, while that of the English remained stationary. It was at this period customary for all the ships of the homeward-bound fleets, starting from different ports in the Indies, to assemble at Table Bay and then set sail together.

Life in Cape Town.—In the early days of the eighteenth century the life of the European in South Africa must have been an enviable one. On the southern shore of Table Bay stood the growing town, the “tavern of the eastern seas,” as it came to be called. Labour was cheap; bodily or mental exertion on the part of members of the dominant race was unnecessary. The spacious, white-walled houses—roofed now with tiles instead of with reeds as in earlier days—sheltered many sea-wearied guests, men grateful for a respite from the cramped discomforts of the long ocean voyage. Some of the old, blackened wainscotes still standing must have echoed to many-tongued gossip of doings on the shores of the seven seas. Shelf and cupboard often held store of curious things,—porcelain from Cathay, grim fantastic weapons from Malaya, grotesque idols from looted Indian temples. Along the clean streets, almost void of wheeled traffic, strolled bearded seamen, around whose eyes the ice-blink and the flaming sun of the tropic had graved wrinkles.

Condition of the Burghers.—At Stellenbosch, Hottentot’s Holland, and along the western base of the Drakenstein, and the ranges forming its continuation, the solid burghers prospered. In their large homesteads, with well-filled byres, barns and cellars attached, they dwelt in patriarchal fashion. The wedding, the christening, and the funeral,—the occasional visit to the town for the purpose of selling produce or buying supplies,—these summed up the tale of their experiences, their activities. All, dwellers in town as well as farmers, married young, and usually had large families. Their religion—an unemotional Calvinism—although formal, was sincere.

Pioneer Adventurers.—But there was a third class—one formed of the percentage in whom the leaven of desire for adventure worked—the restless spirits who gazed longingly at the mountain rampart beyond which lay the wonderland of the unknown. To such the voice of the veld, the call of the wide, unmapped, untrodden waste, was an imperative command. In heavy, strong, lumbering wagons, accompanied by mate and brood, these people went forth and subdued the wilderness. Only two things linked them to the conventional world: their weapons and their Bible.

Naturally, the ideals of these wanderers diverged from the ideals of those who remained behind. Unfortunately, on the track of those who adventured for adventure's sake, went others—men who acknowledged no law and practised no restraint. By such, robbery and murder were occasionally committed, the unhappy remnants of the Hottentot clans being the victims.

Shipping Disasters.—The year 1722 proved a disastrous one to the Company's shipping. In January two large vessels, full of merchandise, foundered in a gale off the South African coast. On June 14 there were seven Dutch and five English vessels at anchor in Table Bay. A north-east gale set in; next day this had somewhat lessened, but on the day following the wind blew with increased violence. When night fell the vessels were still riding at anchor. When morning broke there was not a single vessel afloat, all were lying heaped upon the shore. Six hundred and sixty lives were lost, and an enormous amount of property destroyed in this catastrophe.

Export of Grain.—In 1705 it had been found possible to export grain; in that season, and in those succeeding, several thousand muids were sent annually to Batavia. But the Company found that grain could be produced in several parts of India at a cheaper rate than that fixed at the Cape, so the price was reduced to 10s. 8d. per muid. As the Company was expected to purchase all produce, the directors issued instructions to the effect that no more ground was to be put under cultivation for cereals without permission. As there was also a superfluity of wine, a similar prohibition was enacted in respect of vineyards. However, before long it was found that owing to variable seasons, the amount of foodstuffs produced at the Cape was a very uncertain quantity.

Governor de Chavonnes died in his seventieth year, on September 7, 1724. Jan de la Fontaine, the acting *secunde*, assumed temporary command of the Settlement.

Delagoa Bay.—Its Tragic History.—The history of the ten years' occupation of Delagoa Bay by the Dutch East India Company (1721–30) is an exceedingly tragic one. It had been long believed that gold was to be obtained from the hinterland. In February, 1721, an

expedition, the members of which numbered 113, was sent from the Netherlands. It left Table Bay in three small vessels. Delagoa Bay was reached at the end of March. The Bantu inhabiting its shores were found to be friendly; by permission of the Chief, Maphumbo, a pentagonal earthen fort was erected. It was named Fort Lagoa. Within six weeks more than two-thirds of the Europeans, including the commander and the engineer, were dead of fever. Soon, however, the garrison was strengthened by eighty soldiers.

In April of the following year three pirate ships, flying the English flag, entered the bay. They attacked the fort; effective resistance was out of the question. An officer, Jan van de Capelle, escaped with eighteen men, and sought a temporary asylum with a Native clan. The fort was plundered. Eighteen of the soldiers joined the pirates. The garrison was again reinforced. Expeditions to the interior were organised. A certain amount of ivory, some copper, a few slaves, and a little gold and ambergris were obtained. The Company still believed in the existence of Monomotapa, and issued instructions once more to institute a search for that shadowy kingdom.

Fort Lagoa being too small for the increased garrison, a larger one, appropriately called Fort Lydzaamheid, was constructed. The foreshore of the Bay was acquired by purchase from the various petty Native chiefs interested. In the summer of 1726 the annual outbreak of fever was more than ordinarily malignant; the commandant and thirty-seven of his men died. The directors in Holland ordered that search should be made for a healthier site farther north, so an expedition was despatched accordingly. When this returned it brought intelligence that a Portuguese vessel was at Inhambane. A number of the garrison, which was composed of Germans of an unruly class, plotted to desert and march overland so as to endeavour to escape in this vessel. Sixteen started, of whom thirteen reached Inhambane, but the Portuguese captain, although he assisted the fugitives by supplying them with trade goods, refused to receive them on board his ship. They marched on with the intention of reaching Sofala, but perished on the way.

In 1728 a number of the garrison, rendered desperate

by the misery of their lot, formed a conspiracy to seize the fort, kill those who refused to join them, and proceed northward to the nearest Portuguese settlement. The plot was betrayed; within a few hours one-third of the inhabitants of the fort were in prison.

The prisoners were arraigned before a special tribunal which had been hastily assembled. More than half were sentenced to death. Some were permitted to indulge in a ghastly gamble; lots were drawn, the alternatives being death in a cruel form, or long terms of servitude in chains. Twenty-two were executed. Some were bound to crosses, and had their limbs broken previous to being beheaded. Others were half-suffocated and then hanged. This terrific exhibition of brutality was probably due to what had been described as "tropical frenzy," and was, no doubt, the result of prolonged suffering and nervous strain.

During the following year an officer and twenty-nine men forming an expedition to the hinterland were slain by Natives. In 1730 the disastrous venture came to a close. Delagoa Bay was abandoned, the fort was destroyed, and the garrison and stores removed to the Cape. In 1787 the Portuguese resumed possession and erected another fort. This was destroyed by the Matshangana in 1833, the entire garrison being massacred. A few years later the Portuguese reoccupied Delagoa Bay, and they have held it ever since.

Failure of Silk Culture.—In the second quarter of the eighteenth century strenuous efforts were made by the Company towards establishing silk culture as an industry at the Cape. It had been found that the mulberry flourished well; in other respect conditions appeared to be favourable. Nevertheless complete failure resulted. The worms, just before the stage at which the cocoon is formed, died of some mysterious disease. After an eight years' trial the project was abandoned.

Death of Governor Noodt.—The successor to Governor de Chavonnes was Pieter Gysbert Noodt, a director of fortifications, who had eight years previously visited Table Bay in connection with a scheme for improving its defensive works. He had then been the occasion of a great deal of unpleasantness through quarrelling with the secunde over the question of precedence. Governor

Noodt seems to have fallen out with every one with whom he came in contact. A little over two years after his installation he died suddenly in the Pleasure House in the Company's garden. The accounts once current which described this Governor as a ferocious tyrant have no foundation in fact. He was most probably nothing worse than merely disagreeable.

The secunde, Jan de la Fontaine, was appointed Governor in Noodt's place. This was in response to a recommendation made by the Council of Policy.

Decline of Prosperity.—The Cape Settlement was no longer in a flourishing condition. Owing to foreign ships not being permitted to obtain supplies, very few vessels except those belonging to the Company visited Table Bay. This, naturally, caused a serious shortage of ready money. Moreover, the prosperity of the Company began to decline. The English and French were capturing the Eastern trade by wholesale. Many of the trading stations which had previously contributed handsome profits were now run at a loss. The Directorate fell into the hands of a few powerful families. The Government of Holland had the right to inspect the Company's affairs, and to correct abuses. But the influence exercised by the Directorate in the States General prevented this being adequately done.

Corruption.—Corruption, which had always existed, increased rapidly. The most profitable possessions of the Company were too remote to admit of adequate supervision being exercised. Shameless oppression was common. It seemed, indeed, as though every official endeavoured to fill his own pockets and disregarded the interests of the corporation that employed him. The corruption did not extend in any great degree to the Cape. This may have been due to the comparative poverty of the Settlement as well as to the growing independence of the colonists.

In June, 1734, Governor de la Fontaine visited Mossel Bay. One of the Company's ships homeward bound from India had put in there in distress. The ship was relieved, a number of farmers having brought wagons to remove a portion of the cargo. The Governor's party proceeded farther eastward, and visited the Outeniqua forests. Thence they were obliged to turn back, owing to heavy rain. One result

of this trip was the establishment of a small military post at Rietvlei, to the eastward of the present site of Swellendam. Shortly afterwards a temporary post was established at St. Helena Bay.

More Shipping Disasters.—In July, 1728, six ships were at anchor in Table Bay. Of these three were driven ashore in a gale. One, the *Haarlem*, was afterwards refloated and sent to Saldanha Bay for repairs. She returned early in December, when an unseasonable north-west gale sent her ashore once more; she then became a total wreck. In May, 1737, out of nine ships in the Bay, seven were driven ashore. Of their crews 208 were drowned. The beach was strewn with wreckage and cargo. Four unfortunate men caught pilfering this were hanged and their bodies exposed on the sands.

Hunting Expeditions Eastward.—Parties of elephant hunters had now for some time been in the habit of penetrating the country, which must have been explored far to the eastward. But such explorers were averse to giving information as to the regions they had traversed, so general geographical knowledge was not increased through their discoveries.

In 1736 two parties of hunters united and proceeded towards Natal. In Pondoland they found three Englishmen who had been wrecked many years previously, and were then living among the Natives. They had wives and large families. At the kraal of Palo, then paramount chief of the Amaxosa, the party divided; one division went on while the other remained behind. The members of the latter were treacherously murdered by the Natives. The goods were scattered and the wagons burnt. During the burning three kegs of gunpowder blew up, killing and wounding a large number of the savages. The Europeans of the other division escaped, but only with great difficulty, and after abandoning their wagons and stores.

Governor de la Fontaine retired in 1737, and was succeeded by the secunde, Mr. Adriaan van Kervel. The latter died on September 19, three weeks after his installation. The next secunde, Mr. Hendrick Swellengrebel, and the Independent Fiscal, Mr. Daniel van den Henghel, were both candidates for the Acting-Governorship. A somewhat awkward situation was

created, for neither would give way, and the votes of the Council of Policy were evenly divided. However, it was decided to settle the question by the expedient of drawing lots, and chance declared in favour of Mr. van den Henghel. This proceeding was subsequently annulled by the directors; Mr. Swellengrebel was appointed Governor, and Mr. Ryk Tulbagh, Secunde. The new Governor was a South African by birth.

Illicit Traders cause Trouble.—In 1739 it was reported by the Namaquas that the servants of a party of Europeans who had been trading with them for cattle, had returned and looted the kraals of the tribe of all cattle remaining. The traders, ten in number, were summoned before the landdrost of Stellenbosch to answer for their infraction of the often enacted law against private trading with Hottentots. At the same time all their cattle were seized. The traders refused to appear. They were then cited before the High Court of Justice. This summons they also disregarded.

Sedition of Estienne Barbier.—Considerable excitement among the burghers ensued. It was the general opinion that the Government had acted harshly. One Estienne Barbier, an ex-sergeant, who had deserted from the army, appeared before the church at the Paarl with eight mounted followers. He read a document, which he termed a placaat, to the congregation; the latter happened to be emerging from the church after Sunday service. This document accused the Acting-Governor and the Landdrost of tyranny and corruption; after being read it was affixed to the wall of the building.

Those concerned with Barbier in his sedition were subsequently pardoned on condition that they joined a commando against the Bushmen, who were then committing serious depredations. Barbier was captured and sentenced to suffer a cruel death. His right hand was cut off, and then he was beheaded.

The Bushmen.—In 1740 various commandos operated against the Bushmen, with the result that about a hundred of the latter were killed. Afterwards several leaders of these savages, with a few of their followers, visited the Castle, where they were entertained and

presented with gifts. For some time thereafter depredations were not so frequent.

Destruction of Game.—Between 1742 and 1753 some efforts were made towards limiting the destruction of wild animals, which were being rapidly exterminated. But, except in the immediate vicinity of the Settlement, there existed no machinery for enforcing the laws enacted on the subject, so the destruction of game went on practically unchecked.

The Moravian Society.—In 1736 the Moravian Society sent a missionary named George Schmidt to South Africa for the purpose of endeavouring to convert the Hottentots to Christianity. Schmidt came with the sanction and approval of the Chamber of Seventeen.

George Schmidt at Baviaan's Kloof.—He established himself at Baviaan's Kloof (now Genadendal) in the present district of Caledon. One of the conditions imposed in respect of this missionary's work was to the effect that converts had to be presented to the clergyman at Stellenbosch for baptism.

After labouring for five years, Schmidt ventured to baptise five converts. For so doing he was called strictly to account. It was held that his orders were invalid, and that consequently he could not administer sacraments. Moreover, the farmers in the vicinity of Baviaan's Kloof disapproved of his evangelising work and enticed a number of his people away. Feeling that under the circumstances he could do no good, this first missionary to South Africa requested the Council of Policy to provide him with a passage to Europe. The request was granted.

Establishment of New Churches.—In 1744 the only churches existing in the Settlement and its vicinity were those at Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and the Paarl. New churches were now established at Wavern (now Tulbagh) and Zwartland (now Malmesbury). In 1745 a commission fixed the boundaries of the five parishes—a proceeding looked upon with grave suspicion by the Directors. A petition from the Lutherans, asking for permission to establish a church, was refused.

Simon's Bay.—In view of the serious losses occasionally sustained by the Company's shipping during the winter season, it was resolved by the Directors that

between the 15th May and the 15th August fleets should cast anchor in Simon's Bay instead of in Table Bay. In 1743 Governor-General van Imhoff, passing with one of the homeward-bound fleets, selected a site for a magazine, hospital, and barrack. In the same year the construction of a mole or breakwater in Table Bay was begun. It was hoped thus to protect the shipping from the terrible north-west gales. After nearly three years' work, however, the construction was abandoned.

Swellendam established.—In 1746 the magistracy of Swellendam was established, the name being given in honour of the Governor and his wife, whose maiden name was Ten Damme. A boundary was defined between the new district and that of Stellenbosch, but, as usual, no limits were stated in respect of the northern and eastern sides. At this time the graziers had taken up land as far east as the Gamtoos River. Efforts were made to induce them to withdraw to the western bank of the Great Brak River, but without success.

A Visitation of Locusts.—In 1746 a severe visitation of locusts occurred. The wheat crop had fortunately been harvested, but every other crop—in fact, every blade and leaf in the Settlement and its vicinity—were destroyed. Owing to lack of pasturage, enormous losses of stock were sustained. The seasons following were, however, favourable, and the average export of wheat to India was over 7500 muids. Of wine, 384 leaguers were sent to Batavia. This was irrespective of what was supplied to passing ships. For their ordinary wine, the farmers received about £5 5s. 0d. per leaguer, net. In the case of Constantia wine the demand was far in excess of the supply.

In 1747 the Prince of Orange—once more Stadtholder of the Netherlands—was made Chief Director and Governor-General of the East India Company. The fortunes of the State were largely bound up with those of this vast concern, and it was considered that placing the Stadtholder at the head of the latter would give it stability. This expectation was not, however, realised. The general sentiment at the Cape was monarchical rather than republican, so the appointment was made the occasion of great rejoicing.

Governor Swellengrebel retired from the Company's service in 1751, and took up his residence at Utrecht, where he died in 1763.

During the period 1726-50, 1883 vessels cast anchor in Table Bay. Of these 1508 belonged to the Company, whilst 284 were under the English flag.

CHAPTER VI

(To 1784)

The Cape Colony under Dutch Rule

Governor Ryk Tulbagh.—The secunde, Mr. Ryk Tulbagh, was appointed to succeed Governor Swellengrebel. He had come to the colony as a clerk at the age of seventeen, about thirty-five years previously. He had a distinguished career.

His Character.—Not alone were his honesty, industry, and thoroughness in his capacity as a public servant proverbial, but he possessed a high character and a cultivated mind. In an age when speculation on the part of men in his position was taken as a matter of course, Ryk Tulbagh was strictly honest. As he had no personal business interests, he was able to prevent the officials under his control from trading—a practice then productive of much evil. Bribery and corruption, which were rife when he assumed office, within a short period were completely put down. His wife was a sister of his predecessor.

Visits of the Abbé de la Caille.—In 1751 the Abbé de la Caille, a distinguished French astronomer, visited the Cape, where he remained for two years. During this time he was engaged in measuring an arc of the meridian and making a sidereal chart of the southern skies.

A Census.—According to the census taken in 1754, the number of Europeans within the jurisdiction of the Company is given as 5510. This number presumably does not include those who had wandered far inland, and who must have been fairly numerous. The number of slaves was 6279. For many years the horrible traffic in human beings had been growing. The ships engaged in it were principally English, Madagascar and the

East Coast of the African Continent were the principal sources of supply. To judge by entries in the "Journal" kept at the castle, large numbers of slaves were brought from Delagoa Bay, and the mortality among these must have been frightful.

Slavery and its Effects.—As the number of slaves increased, the Europeans became more and more averse to performing hard or disagreeable work. As Dr. Theal says: "The introduction of slaves had caused every white man, no matter how humble his birth, to regard himself as a master, and unless paid at an extravagant rate, he expected to be served instead of serving others."

Horrible Punishments.—In 1754 a Slave Code was enacted by Governor Tulbagh, and its cruel provisions, although no doubt lenient by comparison with contemporary methods, bring the harshness of the time into vivid contrast with the humanitarian ideas of to-day. Any slave, male or female, raising a hand against master or mistress had to be put to death without mercy. Any slave,—man, woman, or child,—was liable to be severely flogged for loitering near the entrance of a church when the congregation was leaving, or for being found within the churchyard at the time of a funeral. For many offences slaves could be flogged summarily by the officers of justice *without trial*. And this in terms of a code compiled and enacted by a man who was distinguished in his generation for charity and kindness.

The punishments inflicted upon these unhappy captives were almost incredibly horrible. Here is a list of sentences passed on one day, Nov. 11, 1730—

Three slaves to be broken.

Three to be hanged.

One female slave to be scourged and branded, and fixed to a block all her life.

One slave to be scourged, branded, and placed in irons for ten years.

One male and one female slave to be scourged and branded.

One male slave to be scourged and so sent home.

One male slave to be scourged, branded, and placed in irons for his whole life.

This brutality was not peculiar to the Cape. The

foregoing list could easily be paralleled from contemporary records of St. Helena, then governed by the English East India Company.

Sumptuary Laws.—In 1755 the sumptuary laws of India, modified to suit local conditions, were enacted at the Cape. Ladies whose husbands were below the rank of junior merchants were forbidden to wear silk dresses or embroidery or diamonds. All women, without distinction, were forbidden to wear trains. The dresses of brides and bridesmaids were dealt with. Other regulations related to servants, carriage-horses, etc. Heavy penalties were enacted should more than one undertaker be employed at a funeral, or should dust be strown before the house door as a sign of grief, unless the deceased were a governor or a member of the Council of Policy.

“Father” Tulbagh (as he was, no doubt, deservedly called) could treat his children with severity on occasion. A certain widow refused to send her progeny to school. The Governor summoned the lady before the Council of Policy, and ordered her, should she remain obstinate, to be flogged.

Small-pox introduced.—In 1755 small-pox was again introduced into the Settlement, this time by some vessels from Ceylon. So malignant was the form taken by the disease that in Cape Town practically every adult who was attacked succumbed. During the month of July 489 Europeans, 33 free blacks, and 580 slaves died. The epidemic lasted six months. Altogether 963 Europeans and 1109 black and coloured persons died. Property of all kinds became unsaleable; business came to a standstill. In the country the mortality was not so heavy among Europeans, but the wretched Hottentots suffered severely. The pest spread northward into Great Namaqualand, and eastward into Kaffirland, as far as the Bashee River. During the following year it was discovered that leprosy existed in the Settlement. A European and his daughter, who were found to be affected with the disease, were isolated. Leprosy existed among the Hottentots, but not to any great extent.

Nucleus of the South African Library.—In 1761 a gentleman named Joachim Nicolaas van Dessin, a native of Rostock, in Germany, died in Cape Town. He

bequeathed to the Colony his library, which consisted of 3800 volumes and a number of manuscripts. He also bequeathed the sum of £208 as an endowment. This collection formed the nucleus of the present South African library.

First Crossing of the Gariep.—The first European to cross the Gariep, since named the Orange River, was an elephant hunter, named Jacobus Coetsee, who went northward from his farm near Piquetberg, in 1760. In Great Namaqualand he heard of the Damara Tribe as occupying country ten days' journey beyond the farthest point he had reached. These people were said to have long hair, and to dress in white linen garments. Captain Hendrik Hop, of the Burgher Militia, offered to lead an exploring party northward. The Governor approving, volunteers were called for. The expedition, the members of which numbered seventeen Europeans and fifty-eight coloured drivers and servants, started in August, 1761. It included Jan Andries Auge, a distinguished botanist. The train consisted of sixteen wagons. The Orange River was crossed, probably at the ford now known as Ramon's Drift. The farthest point reached was in latitude $26^{\circ} 18' S$. The season was now summer, and the heat was intense. On December 7 the return journey was begun, in the course of which many hardships were endured. On one occasion thirty oxen were looted by Bushmen. The Namaquas were found to be suffering severely from the depredations of these marauders. A halt for the purpose of resting the worn-out cattle was made at the Orange River. The water rose suddenly one night, and it was only with difficulty that the wagons were saved from being swept away. It was not until April 27, 1762, that Captain Hop and his followers reached Cape Town. The results of the enterprise were unimportant. Some giraffes had been shot, and the skin of one of these, the first ever sent from South Africa, was presented by the Governor to the University Museum at Leyden. The first information as to the Bechuana Tribe was obtained. Some Namaquas had been observed smelting copper ore and working the metal into ornaments.

Small-pox again.—In 1767 there occurred another epidemic of small-pox. The infection was brought from

Europe in a Danish ship. Although in not nearly so virulent a form as in the case of the previous epidemics,—each of which ended with the advent of summer,—the infection on this occasion persisted for two years. Altogether 179 Europeans and 396 black and coloured persons succumbed. There were very few cases outside the limits of the town.

The Hottentots.—The surviving Hottentots, pathetic waifs from a once-numerous people, hovered on the fringes of the tracts occupied by Europeans, or wandered aimlessly over the great inland plains. They had hardly any property, for the Bushmen depredators were never far off. Except in the matter of endorsing the appointment of “captains” of the depleted clans, they were not interfered with by the Government in their relations with each other. In their relations with the Europeans the laws of the latter were applied. These people gave little or no trouble. They were often harshly and even cruelly treated by those Europeans who had penetrated beyond the settled areas, but there is evidence that when wrongfully used within the jurisdiction of the courts, the Hottentots received full protection. However, owing to their nature and to the circumstances obtaining, the “unfit” Hottentots were bound to succumb. Even had the White Man never landed in South Africa, the Hottentot would inevitably have been crushed between the Bantu, who was rapidly advancing from the north-east, and the Bushman. There is, in fact, evidence to the effect that some Hottentot clans had already been overwhelmed by the Bantu wave, and their remnants absorbed.

Eastern Boundary defined.—In 1770 the first definition of an eastern boundary of the Colony was made. Brintjes Hoochte, in the present Somerset East District of the Cape Province, and the Gamtoos River were proclaimed as the colonial limit. The commission which fixed this boundary found that for many years past Europeans had been trading with the Bantu for cattle to a considerable extent.

Wine-making Industry.—Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century wine-making had grown to be the most important colonial industry. Occasionally the supply was in excess of the demand; then distress ensued. But as the rivalry of the English and French

developed in the East, more and more ships visited Table Bay, and consequently wine came into increasing demand. The French, who occupied Mauritius after the Company abandoned it, were especially good customers. But there were continual complaints as to the inferior quality of the wine made. In 1762 the demand was so great that the producers declined to sell to the Company, owing to their being able to obtain higher prices from strangers. But a placaat prohibiting the sale of wine to any customer but the Company was issued, and this left the farmers helpless. However, this placaat, having had the desired effect, was withdrawn within four weeks of its issue. In 1769 a shipment of horses, purchased by English officers for remount purposes, was sent to Madras.

Death of Governor Tulbagh.—Governor Tulbagh died on August 11, 1771, after having held his office for upwards of twenty years—longer, in fact, than any Governor before or since. For some years he had suffered much from illness. His deathbed was a desolate one, for he was childless, and he had survived his wife and all his near connections. The mourning for this admirable man was sincere and general.

Captain Cook's Description of Cape Town.—During Governor Tulbagh's term of office Cape Town was much enlarged and improved. Captain Cook, after his visit, during the year in which the Governor died, wrote of it as follows:—

“The only town which the Dutch have built here is, from its situation, called Cape Town, and consists of about a thousand houses, neatly built of brick, and in general whited on the outside; they are, however, only covered with thatch. . . . In the principal street there is a canal [the Heerengracht, where Adderley Street now is] on each side of which is planted a row of oaks, that have flourished tolerably well, and yield an agreeable shade.

“A much greater proportion of the inhabitants are Dutch in this place than in Batavia; and as the town is supported principally by entertaining strangers, and supplying them with necessaries, every man, to a certain degree, imitates the manners and customs of the nation with which he is chiefly concerned. The ladies, however, are so faithful to the mode of their

country, that not one of them will stir without a *chaudpied* or *chauffet*, which is carried by a servant that it may be ready to put under her feet whenever she shall sit down. This practice is the more remarkable, as very few of these *chauffets* have fire in them, which, indeed, the climate renders unnecessary.

“The women in general are very handsome; they have fine clear skins, and a bloom of colour that in-



Photo : T. D. Ravenscroft.]

WESTERN PROVINCE FARM-HOUSE AT GROOT CONSTANTIA.

dicates a purity of constitution and high health. They make the best wives in the world, both as mistresses of a family and mothers, and there is scarcely a house that does not swarm with children.”

Governor van Plettenberg.—Baron van Oudtshoorn, the secunde at the Cape, who happened to be in Europe at the time, was chosen by the Directors as successor to Governor Tulbagh. Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, the fiscal, was appointed secunde. But the Governor-

designate died on the voyage to the Cape, and then Mr. van Plettenberg was appointed Governor, and Mr. Willem Cornelis Boers, fiscal. Baron von Oudtshoorn probably had some premonition of his near-approaching death, for he brought a leaden coffin with him. In this his body was placed. It was conveyed to Cape Town, and buried with due ceremony under the floor of the church.

Building of New Hospital.—In 1772 the foundation stone of the new hospital, which was designed to accommodate 1450 patients, was laid. The Directors issued orders to the effect that the vessels bringing the construction material from Holland should be loaded with return cargoes of Cape produce. Wheat, barley, rye, wine, and tallow were the articles thus exported. For some years an average of over one hundred leaguers of ordinary wine was sent to Europe. The profits, at the prices fixed by the Company, were found to be satisfactory. At the same time the export of produce to India, in fairly considerable quantities, was continued. However, owing to the irregularity of the South African rainfall, supplies occasionally failed.

Wreck of "De Jonge Thomas."—In June, 1773, an Indiaman, named *De Jonge Thomas*, was torn from her anchorage in Table Bay during a gale from the north-west. She ran ashore near the mouth of the Salt River and began to break up.

Woltemaade.—Although those on board were in imminent danger, no efforts towards rendering them assistance appear to have been made until one Wolraad Woltemaade, a dairyman, arrived on the scene. Mounted on a powerful horse, he dashed into the waves, and after two of the shipwrecked men had caught hold of the horse's tail, returned to the shore. Seven times he performed this feat successfully; in the eighth attempt his horse became exhausted, and the brave rescuer was overwhelmed and was drowned. The Governor refused assistance to Woltemaade's children, but such was subsequently given by the Company. The heroic Woltemaade has ever since occupied a niche in the South African temple of fame. Within a few years after his death the Company named an Indiaman after him, but it had the misfortune to be captured by the English in the war which broke out in 1780.



THE WRECK OF THE "YOUNG THOMAS."

Extension of Eastern Boundary.—In 1775 the boundary of the Colony was extended eastward to the upper reaches of the Fish River. In the vicinity of the coast, however, the Colonial limits were as yet undefined. At this time Europeans had taken up land in the Kamiesbergen, the Hantam, the Nieuwveld Mountains, and the Sneeuwbergen.

Increased Shipping.—As the general trade of Europe with the East developed, more and more ships called at the Cape. During the nine years which ended in 1780, the annual average of vessels which touched at either Table Bay or Simon's Bay was 117. Of these 52 were Dutch, 21 French, and 18 English. There was accordingly an increasing demand for foodstuffs at more than double the rates paid by the Company. Consequently, discontent prevailed.

Governor van Plettenberg's Tour.—The Governor decided to visit the outlying parts of the Colony to eastward and north-eastward. Some burghers dwelling in those regions had petitioned for the extension of the only two civilising agencies possible under the circumstances—the church and the landdrost's court. The petition was signed by thirty-four heads of families. It is incidents such as this which tend to disprove the idea that the original pioneers were men whose only desire was to place themselves beyond the sphere of law and order—who sought licence in the name of liberty. That these remote dwellers were under some control is evinced by the circumstance that their attendance at the yearly drill at the nearest drostdy was enforced under penalty of a substantial fine. The attendance of men dwelling in the Hantam and north of the Sneeuwberg, at Swellendam or Stellenbosch, must have involved well-nigh intolerable inconvenience.

On September 3, 1778, the Governor's expedition started. The course taken was through the Hex River Pass, and thence across the Great Karoo to the foot of the Sneeuwberg Range. At a spot near the present site of Graaff Reinet a camp was formed; here most of the wagons were left.

The Northern Beacon.—Then the expedition proceeded to the vicinity of where Colesberg stands to-day, and on a ridge close to a point on the Zeekoe River, a beacon bearing the Company's monogram and the

Governor's name, was set up. This was to indicate the north-eastern limit of the Colony. The Zeekoe River must have then contained much more water than it now does, for in one day the party killed twenty hippopotami in it. From there the party returned to the Sneeuwberg, whence they travelled to the farm of one Prinsloo, where the town of Somerset East stands to-day.

Meeting with Kaffirs.—Within a few miles was a Xosa kraal, the inhabitants of which belonged to the Amagwali clan. A number of these people came to the Governor's encampment, and were there entertained. Through some of them presents were sent to Rarabe, an important chief of the Xosa tribe. This was the first occasion upon which any of the Dutch officials of South Africa came into contact with the Bantu. The Governor then took a course towards the sea. West of the Bushman's River Bantus were found; these formed the first ripple of that wave of migration which had been sweeping south-westward so strongly. Algoa Bay was reached and an inspection made of its shores. Then the expedition crossed the Gamtoos River and travelled up the Long Kloof in the direction of Knysna. The inlet, since known as Plettenberg's Bay, was visited, and a pillar bearing an inscription set up there. This pillar is still standing.

The Orange River.—Captain Gordon, a Scotsman in the employ of the Company, was a member of the expedition. He had, during the course of a trip undertaken the previous year, reached the Gariep, close to its confluence with the Caledon. In 1779 he travelled through Little Namaqualand to where the Gariep flowed into the Atlantic. He then named it the Orange River, in honour of the Stadtholder.

The Fish River Boundary.—In 1780 the Council of Policy resolved that the lower course of the Fish River should be the eastern boundary of the Colony. This was in terms of an arrangement the Governor had entered into with the Xosa Chiefs he had met with in the course of his tour, two years previously.

A Lutheran Minister appointed.—In the same year the Directors consented to the appointment of a minister to the Lutheran congregation at Cape Town. It was made a condition that such minister should be

by birth a native of the Netherlands. Six years previously one Martin Melk had built a church and presented it to the Lutherans. This church is the one in Strand Street which is still used by Dutch Lutherans. A notable event of 1780 was the discovery of the celebrated Congo Caves, in the district of Oudtshoorn.

Official Corruption.—It was not long before Governor van Plettenberg lost the confidence of the people whom he ruled. His neglect to exercise supervision over the officials opened the door to almost intolerable abuses. Governor Tulbagh had controlled his subordinates with a firm hand, and he had an eye so searching that such things as private trading or bribery were quite impossible. But under his successor the officials traded openly, and it was soon found that no business in which the Government was in any way concerned, could be transacted without bribes being given.

The Fiscal, Willem Cornelis Boers, whose ostensible function it was to keep all Company's servants, from the Governor downward, in the strait and narrow path of official rectitude, was one of the most corrupt of men. His position as controller of trade gave him opportunities of fraudulently manipulating the prices paid for produce. A given product, such as corn or wine, was paid for at a certain rate if sent to Holland, at another if sent to India, at a third if sold to a passing ship. It lay with the Fiscal to decide in each case as to the destination of a given item. Herein lay plentiful opportunities for corrupt dealing, which were cynically and shamelessly used. And there were numerous other modes by which the corrupt officials were enabled to prey upon the public.

General Discontent.—The general discontent reached a pitch of considerable intensity when a certain burgher named Buitendag was arrested in his house, dragged through the streets by black scavengers and placed on board a ship bound for Batavia. The deportation was perfectly legal, but the circumstances under which it was carried out rendered it odious. The authorities at Batavia gave Buitendag permission to return to the Cape at once, but he died on the voyage. At a meeting of the Council of Policy held on March 30, 1779, a written request was presented. This was signed by

three Burgher Councillors and four of the Heemraden of Stellenbosch, and was to the effect that the signators had been asked by four hundred burghers to apply for leave to elect four delegates for the purpose of proceeding to Holland and voicing the general discontent to the Directors. The Council refused the request, but stated its willingness to redress any grievances that might be substantiated.

A Deputation to Holland.—Undeterred by this refusal, the discontented burghers elected the four representatives; these took to Holland a long memorial in which the grievances were detailed. Such mainly related to trading and corruption on the part of the officials—more especially on that of the Fiscal. The deputation pleaded their cause in person before the Assembly of Seventeen, which appointed a commission to collect evidence and frame a report. A copy of the memorial and its annexures was sent to the Cape.

What was called "Freedom."—The Governor and the Fiscal replied at length. The memorialists had, in certain instances weakened their case by complaining of the exaction of certain fees which not alone were really legal, but had all along been charged. The Governor was enabled to frame a more or less effective reply by virtue of the circumstance that there stood unrepealed in the *placaat* book many laws of oppressive stringency which had (even if ever enforced) fallen into complete disuse. Thus he endeavoured to show that he had in certain instances foregone the right to play the tyrant. He practically denied that the burghers had any rights whatever except what had been granted to them by the Company's grace. This peculiar view he based upon the terms of the discharge certificate granted to soldiers and sailors who were permitted to leave the Company's service and become burghers, completely ignoring the circumstance that many of the burghers were immigrants who had never been in such service. The following is a specimen of the charters of burghership issued to men leaving the Company's employ:—

“Joachim van Plettenberg, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, greeting: Whereas Johan Hendrick Gans, of Lippolsberg, who arrived here

in the year 1770, with the ship *Veldhoen*, as soldier at the pay of nine guilders per month, hath by petition particularly requested of us to be discharged from the service of the Honourable Company and to be appointed as burgher, having duly served the Honourable Company.

“Wherefore, we graciously grant his request to earn his livelihood here, or elsewhere within the colony, with his handicraft as a tailor; but that he shall not be allowed to abandon the same, or to adopt any other mode of living, unless he shall first have obtained special permission thereto from this Council, and that he shall not petition for any grant of land from the Honourable Company, which specially reserves the right and power, at any time when it may be deemed necessary, or whenever his conduct shall not be proper, to take him back into service in his old capacity and pay, and to transport him hence, if thought fit, further submitting him to all such placats as have already, or may in future be enacted regarding freemen.

“Done at the Castle of Good Hope,

“September 5, 1780.

“J. VAN PLETTENBERG.

“O. M. Bergh, Secretary.”

The contention that burghers who had previously been in the service of the Company could be forced back into such service, or deported, was thus in accordance with law, but Fiscal Boers contended that the condition imposed upon the father could be extended to the son, and as the Fiscal was the highest local legal authority, this contention was acted upon in the case of men who made themselves inconvenient to the Administration. In his reply to the memorial, in dealing with this particular point, Mr. Boers wrote—

“I sacredly confess, that I cannot discern wherein the fine distinction and high preference of the rights of children above those of parents can reside.”

War having broken out between England and the Netherlands, the replies of the accused officials could not be transmitted for upwards of a year. Both the Governor and the Fiscal had requested permission to resign their respective posts. The resignation of Mr.

Boers was accepted at once, but he was required to furnish bail to the amount of £100 should he leave the colony before the charges made against him had been adjudicated upon.

Recall of Governor van Plettenberg.—Towards the end of 1783 the committee which had been appointed by the Chamber of Seventeen furnished its report. Its terms were to the effect that the complaints had been made by only a section of the burghers, that the charges against the officials had not been proved, and that no changes either in the laws or in the methods of administering the affairs of the Colony should be made. Naturally, this caused great indignation. Other memorials embodying complaints were sent in. Eventually, in 1785, Governor van Plettenberg was recalled, on the pretext that an officer of military experience was required to fill the post of Governor of the Cape Colony.

The First Kaffir War.—In 1779 there arose strife among the Bantu clans beyond the colonial boundary. A result of this was that several of these clans crossed the Fish River and took possession of large tracts in what is now the district of Somerset East, and in Lower Albany. Several commandos took the field against the intruders, defeated them, and captured large numbers of their cattle. However, the expulsion was not complete; moreover, additional numbers of Natives poured in. In October, 1780, the Council of Policy appointed an experienced frontiersman, named Adriaan van Jaarsveld, as Commandant of the Eastern Frontier. In May of the following year van Jaarsveld collected a commando and took the field. He formed two laagers, and then with a force of ninety-two burghers and forty Hottentots attacked the Bantu, utterly defeated and drove them across the boundary. This engagement took place on July 19. Over five thousand head of cattle were captured; these were divided among the burghers. After some hesitation the Council of Policy endorsed this proceeding, but notified at the same time that their having done so was not to be taken as forming a precedent. Thus the first Kaffir War came to a close. Van Jaarsveld's expedition marked the inception of the commando system as employed against the Bantu.

A Defence Force enrolled.—In the mean time important events, the effect of which was to be felt in South Africa, had been taking place in Europe. In December, 1780, England declared war against Holland and France. This only became known at the Cape on March 31 of the following year. The defences of the colony were in but a poor condition. The garrison nominally consisted of 530 soldiers, but upwards of one-fourth of these had been permitted to take service with farmers, and many were so far off that they could not be recalled to the colours without considerable delay. At Cape Town there were a number of civil servants, tradesmen, and free blacks who, though almost undrilled, were at least capable of bearing arms. The burghers at a distance were too constantly engaged in protecting their families and their property from Bushman marauders to admit of their reinforcing the Cape garrison. Moreover, the Bantu clans never for long respected the arrangement in terms of which they had to remain to the eastward of the Fish River. Force, or persuasion backed by force, had continually to be exercised towards expelling them. But the burghers of Stellenbosch—a district very much more extensive then than it is now—responded to the Governor's call to arms, in spite of their hostility to him and to the local officials. Half of the Stellenbosch contingent joined the garrison for a month, and was then relieved by the other half.

In the mean time—in anticipation of an attempt being made by England to seize the Cape—six Indiamen were sent for supposed safety to Saldanha Bay. Several other vessels were removed to Hout Bay, at the mouth of which a battery of twenty guns was mounted for their protection.

French and English Fleets.—In May came definite intelligence that a French fleet and a strong force of troops were to be sent to protect Cape Town from the common enemy. It had been made known in France by a spy that an expedition to the Cape on the part of the English was in course of preparation. In March, 1781, this expedition, under the command of Commodore Johnstone, set forth. It consisted of forty-six sail—men-of-war, transports, storeships, etc. It put into Porto Prayo, in the Cape Verde Islands, for the purpose of

getting a supply of water. While so engaged it was surprised by a French fleet under Commodore de Suffren. The English were taken by surprise, but made a gallant fight. The result was practically a drawn battle. The French got away on their course to the Cape, and the English were unable to overtake them.

Capture of Indiamen in Saldanha Bay.—When near the Cape the English Commodore captured a Dutch Indiaman, which, in addition to a valuable cargo, contained £40,000. He then swooped down upon Saldanha Bay, and captured the Indiamen which had there taken refuge. These had been fired and abandoned by their crews. In the case of five, the fires were put out without any difficulty. The sixth was destroyed. These vessels were richly laden, and their loss was a severe blow to the Dutch East India Company. Commodore Johnstone, feeling unable to attack the Cape with any chance of success, returned to England with his prizes. The troops belonging to the expedition were sent to India under strong convoy. The French garrison occupied the Cape until 1784, when it was transferred to Mauritius. In the same year a treaty of peace was concluded between England and Holland. The ocean route to India was now formally thrown open to the English.

Wreck of the "Grosvenor."—Among the many wrecks with which the coast of South Africa has been strown, none have appealed more pitifully to the general imagination than that of the *Grosvenor*. This vessel belonged to the English East India Company. She sailed from Trincomalee on June 13, 1782, with 150 people on board, inclusive of the crew and passengers. Among the latter were several ladies and children. On August 4 the vessel struck a rock on the coast of Pondoland and became a wreck. All on board, with the exception of fourteen, managed to reach the shore. The men had no weapons, except a few cutlasses, so were unable to resist the attempts made by the natives to rob them. Breaking up into small parties, the unhappy waifs endeavoured to walk to the Cape. Nearly four months later, six of the sailors reached Algoa Bay. Upon intelligence of the disaster arriving at Cape Town, the Council at once organised an

expedition to search for survivors. Near the Fish River three more sailors and a lascar were met with. Beyond the Kei River the expedition had to turn back on account of hostility on the part of the Tembus. Before doing so, however, six lascars and two black female servants of the lady passengers were found. From the accounts gathered, there can hardly be any doubt that all the others had either been slain by the natives or else had died of hunger and exposure.

Unknown White Women found among the Bantu.—Eight years afterwards a report reached Cape Town to the effect that some white women were living among the natives near the Umzimvubu River. It was assumed that these were survivors from the *Grosvenor*, so an expedition was sent to rescue them. At a large village occupied by people of mixed blood, three ancient European women were found. But they could speak no intelligible language except the Kaffir, and had no idea as to their history. One was named Bessie, so the inference is that they were English. But the mystery as to what wrecked vessel had cast them ashore could not be solved. As they expressed no desire to return with the expedition, they were left at the kraal where they were found.

CHAPTER VII

(To 1805)

The First British Occupation

Governor van de Graaff.—A military officer, Colonel Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff, was appointed to succeed Governor van Plettenberg. He assumed duty in 1785 and held office for six and a half years.

His Character.—This Governor appears to have been unfitted in almost every respect for his post. He was of a grasping nature, but most extravagant where the resources of the colony were concerned. He was violent, arbitrary, and headstrong, and possessed little or no business capacity. The growing needs of the Colony were ignored; the inevitable expansion north-eastward called imperatively for administrative changes—for measures to meet the new conditions—but the call was unheeded.

Another Deputation to Holland.—In 1785 another deputation was sent to Holland for the purpose of explaining the situation to the Supreme Executive and obtaining redress, but the members of the deputation quarrelled among themselves and thus weakened their influence.

Cape Town Garrison.—In 1787 the Amsterdam Battery in Table Bay was completed and received its armaments; on the first trial of the latter a gun burst, killing two men and wounding several others. Towards the end of the year a regiment of mercenaries, two thousand strong, which had been recruited in Würtemberg, arrived at the Cape and relieved a Swiss regiment, which was transferred to Ceylon. The strength of the garrison at the castle was then about three thousand; the artillery was believed to be more than ordinarily proficient, more especially in the use of red-hot shot.

Graaff Reinet founded.—In 1786 the new district of Graaff Reinet, named in honour of the Governor and his wife, was formed. It was of immense extent, comprising some twenty present existing districts. It included all the country on the coast between the Gamtoos to the Fish Rivers, and extended westward to the Zwartbergen and the Nieuwveld Ranges. Its only definite northward boundary was the beacon which had been planted near the present site of Colesberg by Governor van Plettenberg; the drostdy, forming the nucleus of the new village, was erected on an irrigable plain a little over two square miles in extent, which lay in a loop of the Sundays River, almost surrounded by high, abrupt mountains. The soil here proved exceedingly productive and soon supported a thriving vineyard industry. It was not until 1792 that a minister of religion was appointed to the settlement.

The Bushmen.—The conditions under which the European inhabitants in the district of Graaff Reinet existed were difficult in the extreme. The wide bounds contained many lofty and rugged mountain ranges, in the fastnesses of which lawless bands of Bushmen lurked. These people were true Ishmaelites; they preyed indifferently upon European, Bantu, and Hottentot. Having no tribal organisation, and consequently no central authority, they could only be dealt with through the process of extermination. No farmer ever dared to leave his homestead unprotected; people never ventured abroad unarmed.

Trouble with the Bantu in the Zuurveld.—Fresh troubles soon arose with the Bantu, whose almost continuous series of south-westward migrations coincided with the European expansion towards the north-east. In March, 1789, a horde of Kaffirs of the Xosa tribe, under their chiefs, Langa and Cungwa, violated the agreement which had been entered into in 1778 by crossing the Fish River and seizing the Zuurveld. The European farmers occupying that region fell back, but were unable to avoid losing a considerable number of their cattle. The landdrost of Graaff Reinet instructed the burgher captain, Daniel Kuhne, to assemble a commando for the defence of the district, and reported the circumstances by express

to Cape Town, requesting at the same time that one hundred soldiers might be dispatched to his assistance. But the Council decided against hostilities and censured the landdrost for the most justifiable measures he had taken. Captain Kuhne had actually driven the invaders back to the Fish River, when imperative instructions to abandon the campaign reached him. He accordingly retreated with his followers, who were indignant and almost mutinous. None of the cattle which had been looted were recovered. For some time the Kaffirs refused to retire; then a rumour gained ground to the effect that the Swellendam burghers were going into laager, so the Kaffirs suddenly fled—not alone across the boundary, but into the fastnesses of the Amatole Mountains. However, a few months later they returned to the Zuurveld, where they remained under tacit permission.

The Second Kaffir War.—In 1793 the farmers remaining in the Zuurveld adopted the desperate expedient of asking aid from Ndhlabi, the Bantu chief located east of the Fish River, against the clan of Langa. In the operations which followed, eight hundred head of cattle were captured and divided between Ndhlabi's people and the farmers; but reinforcements for Langa poured in from eastward, and eventually Ndhlabi changed sides. The result was the abandonment of over one hundred farms east of the Kowie River, and the loss to the farmers of immense numbers of stock.

A Futile Campaign.—Commandos were again called out both from Swellendam and Graaff Reinet, and a fresh campaign was undertaken. This, however, ended in almost complete failure; but little of the looted stock was recovered, and the commando eventually dispersed, leaving the greater part of the Zuurveld in possession of the enemy.

Loss of Confidence in the Administration.—Under such circumstances it was inevitable that the administration at Cape Town should rapidly lose its hold on the country districts. Crushing monopolies, paper money which was practically non-negotiable, neglect and general misgovernment had their inevitable results. Taxes remained largely unpaid and general lawlessness became rife. A spirit of mistrust of all central authority

became deeply ingrained in the people; traces of this spirit are still to be seen to-day.

French Revolutionary Ideas gain Ground.—The inhabitants of all the outlying districts became imbued with revolutionary sentiments, which they imbibed from French and Netherland emigrants. One noted exponent of the philosophy of Voltaire and Rousseau was Mr. Honoratius Maynier, secretary for the district, who subsequently held the appointment of landdrost. Mr. Maynier held the erroneous view that all the depredations of the Bantu were due to aggression on the part of the farmers. This opinion later became a lasting obsession with an influential party and was productive of much mischief for more than half a century.

Decline of the Dutch East India Company.—In the mean time the Dutch East India Company was sinking more and more hopelessly towards insolvency. The Cape had never paid its way; now it was costing the depleted Central Exchequer over £90,000 per annum. The Revenue had risen from about £17,000 in 1788 to nearly £29,000 in 1791, but at this rate of increase there was no prospect of overtaking the deficit, for the expenditure was also growing. Work on the fortifications was stopped; the Würtemberg Regiment was removed. Other drastic measures of retrenchment followed. On June 24, 1791, Governor van de Graaff, who had been recalled, after long hesitation obeyed the orders of the Company and left Cape Town for the Netherlands. During the ensuing year the government of the colony was carried on by the secunde, Johan Isaac Rhenius. According to a census taken in 1781, the European population of the Colony, exclusive of soldiers and their families, amounted to 13,523. The slaves of all ages and sexes numbered 17,392; of the latter upwards of 11,000 were adult males. At this period the average annual number of ships which called at the Cape was about 164.

Expedition to Namaqualand.—In September, 1791, an exploring expedition, under one Willem van Reenen, traversed Great Namaqualand and reached a point considerably farther north than had been previously attained by any European. It was this expedition which first came in contact with the Damaras and the Berg Damaras, the latter being Bantu waifs, whose

habits were those of Bushmen and who spoke a Hottentot dialect.

Copper Ore.—The ostensible object of the expedition was a search for gold. No gold was found, but deposits of copper ore, specimens of which were taken to Cape Town, were discovered. In 1793 another expedition was sent by sea northward along the Namaqualand coast, and a beacon, bearing the arms of the Company, was set up on Possession Island.

Commissioners Nederburg and Frickenius.—In June, 1792, two Commissioners, Advocate Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburg, and Captain Simon Hendrick Frickenius, of the Netherlands Navy, were sent to the Cape under a commission empowering them to correct abuses, institute reforms, and organise a scheme of retrenchment. Further, they were instructed to assume the administration of the colony. The Commissioners found affairs in a very critical condition. Upon arrival they were met by the Burgher Councillors, who voiced the general discontent, and demanded that certain taxes should be repealed. Memorials to the same effect poured in. Drastic retrenchments and a readjustment of taxation followed. Certain items in the schedule were very unpopular, more especially a tax on the proceeds of auction sales. For a month after the imposition of this import all such sales were suspended, but eventually they were resumed.

Retrenchment and Taxation.—The result of the readjustment of revenue and expenditure was to reduce the annual deficit from £92,000 to £27,000, but the wholesale retrenchment reacted severely on the general prosperity. Property became practically valueless and people were unable to meet their liabilities.

Paper Money.—To relieve the distress, a Loan Bank was established; paper money, to the face value of over £135,000, was issued and declared a legal tender, but such being inconvertible, although it eased the pressure upon individuals in some instances, did not bring about any general improvement.

One flagrant instance of the purblind policy of the Company towards those under its sway, was in connection with the whaling industry. In this many English and American vessels were employed, while the colonists were precluded from engaging in it. In

1792 colonists were permitted, under various monopolist restrictions, to capture whales and export the resultant oil.

Moravians again at Genadendal.—In December, 1792, a tract of land at Baviaan's Kloof was granted to the Moravian Society. Three missionaries established themselves at a spot which they named Genadendal, on the site where George Schmidt had laboured sixty years before. A very old Hottentot woman, who came tottering to the first service, turned out to be one whom Schmidt had baptised as a young girl; she was still in possession of the Bible that he had given to her. This relic is still reverently preserved by the Society. The Consistory at Stellenbosch was strongly opposed to Genadendal and approached the Council of Policy with complaints as to its alleged misdeeds. One grievance was that the ringing of the church bell at Genadendal disturbed the devotions of the Stellenbosch congregation. This complaint resulted in an order prohibiting the use of the Genadendal bell on Sundays. The two places are, as the crow flies, upwards of thirty miles apart.

Commissioner Sluysken.—In September, 1793, the Commissioners-General departed for Java. Before leaving they handed over the charge of the colony to Mr. Abraham Josias Sluysken, an official of the Company, who had been stationed at Surat, but who was now proceeding to Europe for the benefit of his health. He was given the title of Commissioner-General. Mr. Sluysken was a sound business man of grave demeanour and considerable taciturnity; he had had no military experience.

Jacobinism.—It was a difficult environment in which the Commissioner found himself. Jacobinism and the gospel of "The Rights of Man" had penetrated to South Africa and largely leavened the mass of the European inhabitants. The misgovernment under which the people laboured, the absence of any protection for the frontier, and the general financial depression, brought public feeling to a pitch at which an explosion was inevitable.

Insurrection at Graaff Reinet.—An insurrection broke out at Graaff Reinet in 1795. The district contained some three thousand inhabitants—men, women,

and children—urban and rural. The great majority were opposed to the Government and dubbed themselves the “Nationalists.” A “National Assembly” was founded with one Adriaan van Jaarsveld at its head; tricolour badges were assumed. The district of Swellendam also declared its independence. There a body termed “The National Convention of the Colony of Swellendam” came into being. From both Graaff Reinet and Swellendam the Company’s officials were expelled and local men appointed in their places. Stellenbosch seethed with revolutionary feeling, but did not follow the lead of the outlying districts.

Arrival of an English Fleet.—When excitement was at its greatest height, the English Fleet arrived and cast anchor in Simon’s Bay.

France at War with Great Britain and the Netherlands.—The French Republic, which succeeded the monarchy destroyed by the Great Revolution, had declared war upon Great Britain and the Netherlands in 1793. This declaration, it was explained, was against the kings, but not the peoples, of the respective countries.

Political Division in Holland.—In Holland a great political change had taken place; the people became divided into two parties. One adhered to the House of Orange; the other became Republican. The members of the latter dubbed themselves “The Patriots.” This party, with the assistance of the French, gaining the upper hand, the Republic of the United Netherlands was abolished, and the Batavian Republic established in its stead.

Flight of the Stadtholder.—The Stadtholder fled to England.

He hands Cape Colony over to Great Britain.—The British Government determined that the Cape of Good Hope—the gate to the East—should not fall into the hands of the French. The Stadtholder, by his mandate, handed the Cape Colony over to British keeping.

Expedition under Elphinstone and Craig.—In pursuance of this mandate the British Fleet, under Admiral Elphinstone, was despatched to Table Bay. It carried a military force of some 1600 men, under General Craig.

Muster of the Burghers.—Commissioner Sluysken

refused to obey the Stadtholder's mandate. The forces available for defence amounted to about 1250 men, commanded by Colonel Gordon. These included mercenary European troops as well as a corps of "Pennists" (clerks and Company's officials), and "Pandours" (coloured men enrolled and drilled). The burghers were called up and responded to the call. Swellendam sent its contingent, but Graaff Reinet was too remote and too much exposed to attacks from Bantu and Bushmen to admit of men being despatched from there.

Arrival of British Reinforcements.—Some desultory fighting, of no particular significance, ensued. In August British reinforcements of infantry and artillery came from St. Helena. On September 3 a fleet of transports with 3000 troops, under General Alured Clarke, arrived.

Capitulation of Cape Town.—End of the Dutch East India Company's Rule.—Resistance was now hopeless. On September 15, 1795, the Dutch authorities capitulated. The rule of the Dutch East India Company of South Africa was at an end.

Administration of General Craig.—Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig conjointly assumed the reins of Government on September 16, and held them for a month. Then Major-General James Henry Craig assumed sole command. One of his first administrative acts was to guarantee the paper currency, of which a little more than a quarter of a million was in circulation. A rate of exchange was also fixed. A Board, termed the Burgher's Senate, was established in place of the Committee of the High Court of Justice, which was abolished. This Board consisted of six members, and exercised generally the functions of an executive council. A proclamation was issued enacting a modification of the tariff of dues payable upon auction sales.

Submission of the Burghers.—These measures were popular and tended to reconcile the colonists towards the change. The burghers of the Cape and Stellenbosch soon accepted the new regime. Upon an amnesty being offered, Swellendam submitted. Graaff Reinet, however, still insisted upon maintaining its independence.

An oath of allegiance to the King of England—"for

so long a time as His Majesty shall remain in possession of the colony"—was imposed upon officials. Those unwilling to take the oath left the country.

Attempt to retake the Cape.—In February, 1796, a fleet of nine ships of war, under Admiral Lucas, was despatched from Texel for the purpose of retaking the Cape from the British. A fortnight later a French squadron set sail from Rochefort. It was intended that these forces should act in concert. But the French vessels completely outsailed the Dutch, and after picking up a few minor prizes in the vicinity of the Cape, proceeded to Mauritius.

Dutch Fleet captured at Saldanha Bay.—The Dutch Fleet put into Saldanha Bay for water. Intelligence of its arrival was conveyed overland to the Cape, where the British naval force had been considerably augmented. A strong military contingent was sent to Saldanha Bay overland and a fleet of fourteen warships despatched at the same time. The Dutch Fleet was now hopelessly outnumbered; moreover, the crews of several of the ships were in a state of mutiny. So Admiral Lucas surrendered. The effect of this failure was to dishearten thoroughly those of the colonists who desired the Netherlands connection.

Submission of Graaff Reinet.—Graaff Reinet, cut off from its stores of ammunition supplies, and after a military expedition had been sent to coerce it, abandoned the idea of independence and submitted to British rule—but further trouble arose there from time to time.

Another Insurrection.—Van Jaarsveld.—Two years later Adriaan van Jaarsveld, who had been prominent in the previous insurrection, having been arrested for defying a summons to appear before a court of law on a criminal charge, was rescued by a commando of his friends. Again a number of people took up arms and defied the Government, but the rebels were compelled to surrender to a military force. The prisoners taken on this occasion were kept for fifteen months in the Castle before being brought to trial, and were treated with great severity. Eventually some were sentenced to death and others to banishment. The death sentences were remitted; the other sentences were kept in suspension until after the retrocession of

the colony to the Batavian authorities in 1803. Van Jaarsveld died in prison.

Lord Macartney as Governor.—Lord Macartney was appointed Governor of the Cape Colony shortly after intelligence of its capitulation had been received. He assumed duty on May 5, 1797, and held office until near the end of the following year. In this appointment the British Administration made an unfortunate choice.

His Tyrannical Administration.—The new Governor was an old man and suffered from bad health. He was one who shared to the full the convictions of those who were most passionately opposed to all—good as well as evil—that the French Revolution stood for. Liberalism in any form he regarded as rank Jacobinism, a thing to be mercilessly crushed. Persons suspected of Republican tendencies were punished by having soldiers billeted upon them. Speech was less free during the administration of this Governor than under the most arbitrary of his predecessors. A new and unqualified oath of allegiance was substituted for the qualified one imposed at the time of the capitulation. Those who objected to taking it were, when not banished from the country, subjected to the dragonnade.

Extravagance.—The promises made by General Craig to the effect that free trade would be established and that monopolies should cease, were not fulfilled. The administration was most costly and extravagant. The Governor's emoluments amounted to £12,000 per annum. Seven of his immediate subordinates drew stipends aggregating to a similar amount. However, one most salutary change was made: minor Government officials were given regular salaries instead of being constrained to remunerate themselves by means of fees.

The Third Kaffir War.—On the eastern frontier matters remained in a most unsatisfactory condition. The Bantu Natives continued their encroachments. The mistaken policy of conciliation was followed. This was correctly regarded by the Bantu as evidence of weakness. The third Kaffir War broke out in 1799. It arose out of a quarrel between the Xosa chief, Gaika, and his uncle, Ndhlabi. The latter crossed the Colonial boundary and, joined by a number of Hottentots, ravaged the eastern portion of the Colony as far

as the Long Kloof in the present district of Humansdorp. Once more the unfortunate frontier farmers were murdered, pillaged and plundered. Once more a force was despatched against the invading Bantu; again a settlement was arrived at without any satisfaction being obtained from the enemy.

Building of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay.—One result of this outbreak was the erection of a stone



From Cory's "The Rise of South Africa." By permission.]

THE BLOCKHOUSE BUILT IN ALGOA BAY BY GENERAL VANDERLEUR
IN 1799.

fortress which was named Fort Frederick, on a high bluff overlooking the mouth of the river and the landing-place at Algoa Bay. Here 150 soldiers were stationed. Fort Frederick still stands, its outer walls intact. This building is of considerable interest, as being the first permanent stone structure erected in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony.

More Turmoil at Graaff Reinet.—Mr. Honoratius Maynier arranged the terms of peace. He it was who

had held the post of landdrost at Graaff Reinet with such unfortunate consequences. In the terms of the settlement, the Bantu were allowed to occupy the lands they had invaded. As a reward for his supposed services Mr. Maynier was appointed Commissioner for the districts of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet—a most important post, but one for which he was totally unfitted. The result of this step was renewed turmoil at Graaff Reinet, which culminated in the usual insurrection. This only subsided upon the Commissioner being removed.

Attempt at Settlement of Bushmen.—In 1798 an attempt was made to effect a settlement between the Europeans and the Bushmen. A number of the latter agreed to occupy the land which was beyond the north-eastern boundary of the Colony and devote themselves to stock-breeding. Towards this end a number of sheep and cattle were contributed by farmers and handed over to the wild men. But the experiment failed; the Bushmen, having no tribal organisation, could not be controlled. Only those individuals who actually owned stock would abide by the agreement. The experiment came finally to an end when the Bushmen stockowners were plundered by the wilder Bushmen from the north.

The London Missionary Society.—In 1799 the London Missionary Society began its operations in South Africa. The celebrated (or notorious) Dr. van der Kemp was one of the first missionaries. He endeavoured to establish himself in Gaika's country, but, finding the difficulties there insurmountable, proceeded to Graaff Reinet and laboured at christianising the Hottentots. Dr. van der Kemp some few years afterwards purchased a black slave girl and married her.

Dr. Van der Kemp.—Graaff Reinet at this time had become an asylum for Hottentot waifs. These unhappy people, between the upper and the nether millstones of the European and the Bantu, were in a sorry case. Dispossessed of their land, unfitted by their exclusively nomadic life for a settled existence, it is not to be wondered at that they took to marauding. Later, in 1802, the Government granted a site in the vicinity of Algoa Bay to the London Missionary Society, and

thither Dr. van der Kemp, accompanied by two other missionaries, named Read and van der Lingen, proceeded with several hundred Hottentots. Thus the mission station at Bethelsdorp came to be established. It was a spot destined in after years to become a storm centre of conflicting ideals. Whatever mistakes Dr. van der Kemp and his colleagues may have made, there can be no doubt that their unsuccessful attempts to conserve the remnants of the Hottentot race were dictated by the purest philanthropy. However, the adoption of settled industrial pursuits was quite foreign to the nature and proclivities of the Hottentot. Even while on the road to the new settlements most of the men of the party deserted and recommenced marauding.

Hostilities with Hottentots and Bantu.—In February, 1802, an attack was made by a Swellendam commando upon some Hottentot marauders kraalled near the mouth of the Sundays River. The Bantu of the Zuurveld joined the Hottentots. Once more the Border blazed, and the country was soon laid waste as far westward as the site of the present village of George.

Sir George Young as Governor.—In November, 1798, Lord Macartney left the Colony and handed over the reins of government to Major Dundas, who held office as Acting-Governor until December, 1799, when Sir George Young arrived and took the oaths of office.

His Misdemeanours.—No one less suited to the post ever held the position of Governor of South Africa; in April, 1801, he was dismissed; subsequent investigations convicted him of corruption and many other misdemeanours. One of the most serious of the latter was connected with the issue of letters of marque to a privateer vessel. The inquiry into this matter was advisedly abandoned before the bottom had been reached, but enough was revealed to show that something not very different from piracy had been practised under the Governor's authority.

Lord Glenbervie was appointed to succeed Sir George Young, but as he never assumed the duties of his office, Major-General Dundas held the appointment of Acting-Governor until the retrocession of the Colony

to the Batavian authorities in 1803. During this period conditions on the frontier did not materially improve, and it is a matter for marvel that the Europeans, neglected, hampered, misunderstood and misgoverned as they were, managed to hold their own.

Captain Adam Kok.—One result of the Bantu and Hottentot depredations on the eastern frontier was a scarcity of meat in Cape Town: With the object of tapping a fresh source of supply, an expedition, under the joint command of Mr. Pieter Truter, a member of the High Court of Justice, and Dr. Somerville, started from Cape Town in October, 1801, and penetrated the Bechuana country as far as Lithako. The party returned to Cape Town in April, 1802, with 212 head of cattle. On their course the travellers had come into contact with various wandering hordes of Hottentots and half-breeds. One of these was led by a man called Adam Kok, who subsequently rose into prominence as a Captain of the Griqua Clan.

Afrikaner's Freebooters.—Under his command an expedition was organised against a band of robbers led by one Afrikaner, who for some years had been carrying on serious depredations from his lair among the islands of the Orange River. The robbers escaped, but over three hundred head of cattle, as well as other spoil, was recovered from them.

Early in 1802 the Treaty of Amiens was signed, and in accordance with its terms a proclamation was issued at Cape Town on February 20, 1803, releasing the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance to the British King. At this time the inhabitants of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts and of the western portion of the district of Swellendam enjoyed a sufficient degree of prosperity. The breeds of horses and cattle had been much improved. Young farmers took great pride in their riding horses and their long teams of draught oxen, each team composed of animals of the same colour. Most of the Europeans lived in sober comfort. Luxury was hardly known; simplicity was the rule of life. Hospitality, sincere and unostentatious, was almost universally practised.

Commissioner de Mist.—In anticipation of the formal act of retrocession, Mr. Jacob Abraham Uitenhage de Mist, a distinguished advocate at the Netherlands

Bar, was sent to the Cape in a warship named the *Bato*. Mr. de Mist had been entrusted with the work of drawing up a plan of government for the Cape Colony. He was thereupon appointed Commissioner-General to take the Colony over and to instal as the Governor Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens, who, with a staff of officials, accompanied him. Transports carrying troops with store-ships and escort were despatched at the same time; other transports followed later.

Retrocession of the Cape.—The *Bato* arrived at Table Bay on December 23, 1802, and arrangements were made for the handing over of the Castle to the Batavian authorities on the evening of the 31st. But at noon on that day a British sloop of war arrived with a despatch, instructing General Dundas to delay the transfer. A very awkward situation was thus created, and matters remained in a condition of painful suspense until February 19, when a further despatch arrived, with instructions that the transfer was to be proceeded with. Accordingly the Batavian soldiers relieved the British guards on the evening of the following day, and on the 21st the Batavian flag flew over the Castle.

Governor Janssens.—On the morning of March 1 a service of thanksgiving for the restoration of the Colony was held in all the churches. At noon the new Governor was installed in the hall of the Castle. An amnesty in respect of political offences was proclaimed; this did not include the Graaff Reinet rebels, who, however, were released on the last day of the month, after spending nearly four years in prison. Officers of the public service retained their posts.

He visits the Eastern Districts.—On April 3 the new Governor left for the eastern districts. He proceeded to Algoa Bay, where Major von Gilten and 150 men had arrived by sea and were occupying Fort Frederick. Here the Governor endeavoured to effect a settlement in connection with the Hottentots. Towards this end he made a formal grant of the site of Bethelsdorp, which is about four miles from Algoa Bay, to the London Missionary Society. A meeting with Ndhambi and the other Xosa chiefs occupying the Zuurveld was held at the Sundays River. Thence the

Governor proceeded to the Kat River and had a conference with Gaika. Efforts were made towards adjusting the differences between the latter and his uncle, Ndhambi. These two were at deadly enmity, and this was one of the causes of the constantly recurring trouble on the frontier. After this meeting the Governor proceeded northward. When close to the present site of Colesberg, he was overtaken by a despatch with news of the fresh rupture between Great Britain and France. So he hastened back to Cape Town for the purpose of organising the defences of the colony in view of probable contingencies.

Districts of Tulbagh and Uitenhage founded.—In October Commissioner-General de Mist started on a state tour, in the course of which he visited the Tulbagh Basin, Genadendal, Algoa Bay, and Graaff Reinet. It was decided to form two new districts, one the district of Tulbagh, embracing the immense tract lying north of the district of Swellendam; this extended to the northern boundary of the Colony and included the area lying between the Atlantic coast and the course of the Gamka River from the Nieuwveld Mountains to the Zwartbergen. The other new district was formed out of an extensive tract which included nine field cornetries, five taken from the southern portion of Graaff Reinet and four from the eastern portion of Swellendam. This district was named Uitenhage, in honour of the Commissioner. A farm about twenty miles from the mouth of the Zwaartkops was purchased as a site for the new drostdy.

Beneficial Reforms.—The administrative measures under the new regime called for nothing but praise. Agriculture was encouraged, and the breed of sheep was improved by the introduction of Spanish rams; an expert in wine-making was brought from Europe. Liberty of conscience in religious matters was secured by an ordinance, and the preposterous law, in terms of which persons desirous of marrying had to attend at Cape Town—even from the most remote parts—was modified. Thenceforth any landdrost with two heemraden formed a Matrimonial Court. An attempt was made to establish a system of secular education, but this had to be abandoned owing to opposition on the part of the farmers—who absolutely refused to

countenance any system of instruction not based on religion—to lack of funds, and to the difficulty of obtaining teachers.

Reforms in the administration of justice were also introduced, through enactments defining, amplifying, and regulating the powers and functions of landdrosts, their honorary assistants, the heemraden, and the field cornets. The latter were officers placed respectively in charge of the wards into which the various districts were divided, and who, in addition to the duty of mustering the burghers when required for military duty, acted as intermediary between the landdrost and the people and assisted generally in the administration of the laws. A weekly post was established between Cape Town and the drostdies of Stellenbosch and Tulbagh. Post-bags were also sent to the other drostdies when the occasion demanded. The northern boundary of the Colony was now more or less accurately defined.

A Census.—According to the census of 1805, the European population of the Colony, exclusive of soldiers, was 25,757; the number of slaves was 29,545; Cape Town contained 1258 houses and stores and had a population of 6273 Europeans, 1130 Asiatics and free blacks, 9129 slaves, and 452 Hottentots.

CHAPTER VIII

(To 1814)

The Second British Occupation

War again between Great Britain and France.—Within three months of the retrocession of the Cape Colony, hostilities between Great Britain and France broke out anew. The Batavian Republic and France were now so closely connected that war against one inevitably meant war against the other.

British Expedition to the Cape.—Accordingly, in July, 1805, Lord Castlereagh, who was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, despatched a force, under Major-General Sir David Baird, to take possession of the Cape. The number of troops of all arms was 6654. This force was conveyed and convoyed by sixty-one vessels in all, under the command of Commodore Sir Home Popham.

General Janssens, anticipating Great Britain's action, had done his utmost towards placing the defences of the Colony upon an effective footing. But the means at his command were very meagre. The garrison was quite inadequate—a circumstance which he had forcibly pointed out to his Government; money was scarcer than ever. However, the burghers were assiduously drilled. Hottentots were enrolled in an infantry regiment six hundred strong. A number of Malays and other Asiatics in Cape Town were formed into an artillery corps. At the end of 1805 there were over fifteen hundred European troops available.

During the later days of December, intelligence received from various sources made it clear that the arrival of the British expedition might be looked for any day. On January 4, 1806, the hostile fleet arrived. It anchored between Robben Island and the eastern

shore of Table Bay. Next day the surf ran so high that it was almost decided to land the force at Saldanha Bay; in fact, two regiments, one of infantry and the other of dragoons, were despatched there. But in the afternoon the sea became less rough, so the main force, instead of following, landed at Melkbosch Point, near the foot of the small range of hills known as the Blaauwberg. There was only one serious mishap: a boat capsized, and the thirty-six men of the 93rd Regiment which it contained were drowned. One man was killed and four wounded by a small detachment of burghers firing from the sandhills.

Battle of Blaauwberg.—Next morning the British, some four thousand strong, started on their march round the curve of the Bay towards Cape Town. As it descended the southern slope of the Blaauwberg, the Dutch force could be seen extended inland from the shore across the whole front, awaiting the British attack. The action began with a discharge of artillery from both sides. The regiment of Waldeck, which had been recruited mainly from Austrian and Hungarian prisoners, gave ground before it had suffered a single casualty; some other infantry followed this cowardly example. The remainder of the Dutch force fought well, but when the Highland Brigade charged with the bayonet, General Janssens, seeing the futility of further resistance in the face of overwhelming odds, ordered a retreat. The British loss was fifteen killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded; that of the Dutch was probably more, but it has not been accurately ascertained. General Janssens retired to Hottentot's Holland and instructed Colonel von Prophalow, the Commandant of the Castle, to capitulate on the best obtainable terms. In the mean time British detachments had taken possession of Stellenbosch and the Roodezand Kloof. On January 18 the Dutch General surrendered upon honourable conditions, in which the interests of the troops under his command were, so far as possible, safeguarded.

General Janssens took his departure from Cape Town in the *Bellona* transport. In his farewell letter to General Baird occurs a certain passage which is worth transcribing—

“Allow me, sir, to recommend to your protection the inhabitants of this Colony, whose happiness and

welfare ever since I have been here were the chief objects of my care, and who conducted themselves during that period to my highest satisfaction. Give no credit in this respect to Mr. Barrow nor to the enemies of the inhabitants. They have their faults, but these are more than compensated by good qualities. Through lenity, through marks of affection and benevolence, they may be conducted to any good."

Had the spirit of the foregoing animated all subsequent rulers of South Africa, much blood and many tears might have been saved. Thus finally passed South Africa from the dominion of Holland to that of Great Britain.¹

Administration of General Baird.—General Baird assumed office as Acting-Governor of the Colony and held the position for a year. He permitted most of the officials to retain their posts. With the exception of two, all the judges of the High Court resigned, and the vacancies had to be filled by men who were not trained lawyers and who could be removed at pleasure. However, pending the issue of instructions by the Secretary of State, but few changes were made. The administration of this Governor was characterised by tact, sympathy, and good sense. The colonists with whom he came into contact held him in strong regard. Although the great majority of the people regretted the transfer of the Cape to Great Britain, there was no manifestation of discontent—all quietly accepted the new situation.

The Earl of Caledon appointed Governor.—In 1807 Du Pré Alexander, Earl of Caledon, was appointed Governor. He arrived in May, accompanied by his Colonial Secretary, Mr. Andrew Barnard, who had previously served at the Cape as Secretary to Lord Macartney. General the Hon. Henry George Grey was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He had already arrived at the Cape and temporarily taken over the reins of government from General Baird.

His Large Powers.—Power was now more centred in the hands of the Governor than had ever previously

¹ It has been calculated by Dr. Godee-Molsbergen that in 1806, the blood in the veins of the colonists was composed approximately as follows: Dutch, 50 per cent.; German, 27 per cent.; French, 17 per cent.; other, 5 per cent.

been the case at the Cape. Under the Dutch rule, appeals in criminal cases were heard before the High Court of Justice at Batavia; now, however, the Governor, with two assessors, appointed by himself, formed the final Court of Appeal. He had also in his administrative capacity the power to mitigate or suspend sentences passed by any of the courts. Jointly with the Lieut.-Governor, he was the Judge of Appeal in civil cases, when the amount in dispute exceeded £200. He could suspend or dismiss any government official except those appointed by the Secretary of State, without any reason assigned; he could fix the prices of produce required by the army and determine the quantity to be supplied by any individual. In these and all other matters the Governor acted entirely according to his own will and judgment. He was not restricted by any Council, and was responsible only to the distant Secretary of State.

Slavery.—In 1807 the British Parliament enacted that, from May 1 of that year, no more slaves should be conveyed to or from any part of Africa in British ships. Between 1807 and 1811 the slaves owned by the Government at the Cape were gradually got rid of, and the Slave Lodge at the upper end of the present Adderley Street, after alteration, was put into use as public offices—a use which it still subserves. In 1808 a slight rising among the slaves in the Malmesbury district took place; no bloodshed occurred and the trouble soon came to an end. Four of the ringleaders, including an Irishman named Hooper, who was probably actuated by motives similar to those of John Brown of Harper's Ferry, were hanged; seventeen others were flogged or imprisoned for life in chains.

Development of Uitenhage.—During the period of Batavian rule, the condition of affairs on the eastern frontier somewhat improved. This was probably in a measure due to the judicious methods employed by Captain Alberti, the Commandant of Fort Frederick, who also acted as Landdrost of Uitenhage. This officer exercised considerable vigilance, and several times each year visited the clans of Bantu, in the Zuurveld. He also visited Gaika from time to time. To fill the vacancy caused by the removal of Captain Alberti, Sir David Baird appointed Captain Jacob Glen Cuyler. The first endeavours of this officer were directed

towards developing a township around the unfinished Uitenhage drostdy. Plots of ground were offered to people free, on condition that suitable buildings were erected thereon within a given time. As a result, in 1810, there were 461 male inhabitants between the ages of fifteen and forty-five reported as being able to bear arms in defence of the place.

Bethelsdorp.—Friction had arisen between the Bethelsdorp missionaries and Captain Alberti; this became intensified after Captain Cuyler arrived. Dr. van der Kemp objected to being subject to the landdrost. He took up the position that the Bethelsdorp Institution was under the Governor, and no one else. To this missionary the supposed interests of the Hottentots were paramount. It is hardly too much to say that in his opinion the Hottentots could do no wrong, and the European could do no right.

Mischievous Influence of Exeter Hall.—English sentiment, exalted under the generous impulses which led to the abolition of the slave traffic, was prone to give credence to specious tales of oppression inflicted upon weaker races. Exeter Hall exercised a strong and growing influence upon Downing Street; reiterated assertions to the effect that the Black was persistently ill-treated by the White were taken as proof. Thus the generous but mistaken indignation of a group of ill-balanced enthusiasts weakened a righteous cause, and sowed tares in the field of the future.

More Trouble on the Frontier.—Troubles thickened on the frontier soon after Captain Cuyler began his duties. Bushmen depredations became more frequent; plunder on the part of the Bantu recommenced. Regulations were enacted forbidding the farmers to follow up stolen stock. So long as Ndhambi remained in the Zuurveld no security was to be hoped for. That crafty chief was visited by Captain Cuyler, but without satisfaction being obtained. Gaika was also visited; he was then a fugitive after a devastating raid by his uncle, and begged for Government protection.

Discovery of the Caledon and Kraai Rivers.—Shortly after his assumption of duty as Governor, the Earl of Caledon despatched a Colonel Collins with an expedition on a tour through and beyond the frontier districts. In the course of this two considerable

streams, tributary to the Orange River, were discovered. The one flowing from the north was named the "Caledon;" that from the south the "Gray," which name was subsequently corrupted to "Kraai." Colonel Collins paid a visit to Hintza, the paramount chief of the Amaxosa, and on the return journey calls were made upon Gaika and Ndhambi. The latter and his son Umhala declared that they had no intention of leaving the Zuurveld. Afterwards Colonel Collins proceeded to Algoa Bay, and held an investigation into the conditions at Bethelsdorp. His subsequent report upon that settlement was most unfavourable.

The Magna Charta of the Hottentots.—In 1809 a proclamation was issued enacting certain regulations with regard to the Hottentots. Every one of that race was now required to have a fixed place of abode, which had to be registered in the Office of the Landdrost of the district. The conditions under which the Hottentots could take service with farmers were defined. In terms of these, the Hottentots were satisfactorily insured against unfair or oppressive treatment. This proclamation came to be known as the "Magna Charta of the Hottentots."

District of George formed.—In 1811 as much of the district of Swellendam as lay east of the Gouritz River was formed into a new district, which was named George, in honour of the reigning king. At the same time a tract of land on the eastern side of the district of Stellenbosch was added to Swellendam. In respect of this period, several signs of development may be noted. In 1808 the Loan Bank at Cape Town was empowered to receive deposits and discount bills. Waterworks were constructed. These were completed in 1812, and water in iron pipes with taps was laid along the principal streets. Several of the latter were lit with oil lamps in 1809.

Governor Sir John Cradock.—In 1811 the Earl of Caledon resigned his Governorship and proceeded to England. He had used his almost despotic power so fairly and judiciously that his reputation among the colonists stood high. He was succeeded by Sir John Cradock, a distinguished military officer, who had held a high command in Portugal during the Peninsula War, and had later been Governor and Commander-in-

Chief at Gibraltar. Lady Cradock was a daughter of the Earl of Clanwilliam.

Bantu Depredations.—At the time when the new Governor took the oaths of office the relations between the Europeans and the Bantu in the district of Uitenhage had reached such a critical stage that serious hostilities were inevitable. Cungwa, chief of the Gunukwebe Clan—next to Ndhambi's following the most important clan west of the Fish River—forced his way across the Gamtoos River in 1808. He promised to return, but instead of doing so established himself among the mountains east of the Sundays River, and began plundering far and wide. Ndhambi also moved westward; when ordered by Major Cuyler to retire, he flatly refused compliance. Herdsmen were murdered and cattle lifted. These events happened before the departure of the Earl of Caledon, but he, in view of the Secretary of State's strongly emphasised desire to refrain from war, was unwilling to sanction formal hostilities. During 1811 the number of outrages increased. Several farmers and a number of Hottentot farm servants were murdered; many herds of cattle were driven off.

Murder of Landdrost Stockenstrom.—Towards the end of the year a military force was assembled under Lieutenant-Colonel Graham. It consisted of over one thousand regulars of all ranks and a number of burghers. Landdrost Stockenstrom, of Graaff Reinet, whose high character was proverbial, and whose consistent fairness and good feeling towards the natives was well known, when marching with a small contingent of burghers near Brintjes Hoogte, met a party of Xosas and engaged in conversation with them. The Natives, who had surrounded the Europeans, made a sudden attack, and the landdrost and eight of his companions were killed.

The Fourth Kaffir War.—The campaign which ensued was quite successful; Cungwa was killed; a number of cattle were captured, and the Zuurveld was cleared of the enemy. By the end of March every Xosa had been driven to the eastward of the Fish River, and the fourth Kaffir War was at an end.

Establishment of Military Posts.—For the purpose of preventing the Xosas from returning, a chain of

military posts, reaching from the sea north-westward to the second mountain range, was constructed. Sir John Cradock decided to station a permanent military force—the Cape Hottentot Regiment—in the Zuurveld, so he instructed Colonel Graham to select some locality suitable for its headquarters, and at the same time to offer facilities for settlers.

Founding of Grahamstown.—Thus the present city of Grahamstown came to be founded. On August 14, 1812, the Governor, by notice in the *Gazette*, appointed a landdrost to the new station, which still formed a portion of the district of Uitenhage. In 1813 a deputy landdrost was appointed to a locality on the Achter Sneeuwberg, called Buffels Kloof. An existing farmhouse was made the drostdy. This was the nucleus of the present town of Cradock.

Levy of War Contributions.—In December of the same year a proclamation was issued assessing a war contribution upon those districts which had not suffered from the hostilities. The assessment was as follows:—

	Ryksdollars.
Cape Town	15,000
Cape district	10,000
Stellenbosch	12,000
Swellendam	10,000
Tulbagh	10,000
George	4,000

Serious Charges against Colonists.—In 1808 the Reverend James Read, of Bethelsdorp, a colleague of Dr. van der Kemp, and who had himself married a woman of Hottentot race—wrote a letter which was published in the “Transactions” of the London Missionary Society, in which he charged a number of Dutch farmers with most appalling crimes committed upon Hottentots. Specific cases of murder and the application of most fiendish torture were alleged. The Secretary of State at once communicated with the Governor on the subject; and Major Cuyler was instructed to summon Mr. Read before him and take his sworn statement. This was done; the evidence of certain Hottentot witnesses was also taken, but the statements proved to be vague and based upon hearsay. However, in view of the

gravity of the charges, the Governor instructed the Fiscal to take the matter up.

A delay of several months apparently caused the Bethelsdorp missionaries to believe that the matter had been allowed to drop, for both Mr. van der Kemp and Mr. Read again wrote making further charges and accusing Major Cuyler of gross partiality in the matter of the investigation. One of Mr. Read's statements was as follows :—

“Upwards of one hundred murders have been brought to our knowledge in this small part of the colony.”

Lord Liverpool, who was now Secretary of State for the Colonies, at once instructed the Governor to hold an inquiry, and if the charges made were proved to be true, to take drastic action.

The Black Circuit.—In the mean time the Fiscal had been at work in connection with the former charges. Lord Liverpool's letter arrived when Messrs. Read and van der Kemp were in Cape Town, where a special commission of the judges was engaged in taking their depositions. Shortly afterwards Dr. van der Kemp died. It was now decided that a commission of four judges should hold a special Circuit Court to deal with cases arising out of the charges, and that the trials should take place at Uitenhage, Graaff Reinet and George. This came to be known as “The Black Circuit.” Mr. Read, now on his mettle, was extremely active in raking up evidence. As a result, sixteen charges of recent murders and fourteen charges in respect of matters which took place either before the last surrender of the Colony or upon unknown dates, were formulated. Over one thousand witnesses were summoned; the result was that one individual was found guilty of assault and six of violence. In several of the cases, although guilt was not actually proved in a legal sense, it was made clear that cruelty and oppression had been practised.

Without attempting to excuse such things, it may be pointed out that brutality was much more common one hundred years ago than it is now, and that the lot of those in subjection was everywhere hard. From the report upon the circuits made by the judges to the Government, the following may be quoted :—

“If the reformers, Messrs. van der Kemp and Read, had taken the trouble to have gone into a summary and impartial investigation of the different stories related to them, many of those complaints which had made such a noise as well within as without the Colony, must have been considered by themselves as existing in imagination only.”

In reporting on Bethelsdorp, the six judges said:—

“The late Dr. van der Kemp established such an overstrained principle of liberty, as the groundwork, that the natural state of the barbarians appears there to supersede civilisation and social order.

“Laziness and idleness and consequent dirt and filth grow there to perfection.

“It is certainly not to be denied but that some of the Bethelsdorp Hottentots in former times suffered injuries from some of the farmers.

“It is not the less true that there are many Hottentots at Bethelsdorp who have had a considerable part in plundering, robbing, setting fire to places, and even murdering the inhabitants.”

The “Black Circuit,” coming as it did after a long period of ruinous struggle, strongly embittered the Dutch farmers against British rule. Many of the most respectable residents on the frontier had been charged with serious crimes upon utterly flimsy evidence, and subjected, not only to great anxiety and inconvenience, but to heavy expenditure which they could ill afford. It was also noted that whereas complaints of Hottentot and Bantu depredations, extending over a long series of years, had been taken but little notice of, the charges made by the missionaries—charges in the large number of instances patently preposterous—were the occasion of immediate and vigorous action on the part of the British Government. This episode was one of the causes of the “Great Trek” which took place some twenty years later.

Establishment of Circuit Courts.—In 1811 a most salutary change in the manner of administering justice was introduced. Hitherto all important cases had to be tried in Cape Town, to the great inconvenience of every one concerned; now, however, circuit courts were established. Twice each year one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice held a court at the drostdy

of each district and dealt with all cases beyond the jurisdiction of the landdrost. Such judges also inspected the district accounts and reported generally upon local affairs.

Fixity of Land Tenure.—In 1813 fixity of tenure in respect of land was introduced. Hitherto any vacant land could be taken up, its size being a circle, the periphery of which was not more than half an hour's walk in every direction from the central beacon. These holdings were called "loan places," for such an annual rent of twenty-four ryksdollars was paid. The leases were for one year; however, according to established usage, they could be indefinitely extended by mere payment of the rent. Now, however, these "loan places" were surveyed, their size being limited to 3000 morgen. A moderate annual quit-rent, varying according to the quality and situation of the land, was imposed, and a definite title-deed issued in each case. In the same year the tract of country, hitherto known as the Zuurveld, was named "Albany," and deputy landdrosts were appointed to what are now the districts of Caledon and Clanwilliam.

A Punitive Expedition.—In October, 1813, Sir John Cradock undertook a tour through the Colony. He took the opportunity of holding an inquiry into the relations between the frontier farmers and the Xosas. In the course of this trip, having ascertained that further depredations had been committed by the Xosas, the Government called out a commando of Graaff Reinet and Uitenhage burghers and swept the forest country near the source of the Kat river. Between 2000 and 3000 cattle were captured; the expedition had no other results.

The Governor's Testimony to the Frontier Farmers.—Upon returning to Cape Town the Governor published a statement in the *Gazette* from which the following is an extract:—

"His Excellency has had the further satisfaction and proof of the good and unoffending conduct of the inhabitants of the frontier towards the Kaffir tribes, the faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the peace and prosperity of this colony."

Sir John Cradock resigned the governorship and departed for England on May 1, 1814. He was a fair,

just and open-minded man, and proved one of the best Governors who ever ruled the Cape Colony. One of his most useful measures was the establishment of free schools in the principal centres for poor European and coloured children.

CHAPTER IX

(To 1827)

The Cape Colony under British Rule

Lord Charles Somerset.—Lord Charles Henry Somerset was installed as Governor on April 6, 1814, and with an interval of ten months, during which he was absent on leave, retained his post for about twelve years. He was the second son of the Duke of Beaufort, and was related to, or connected with, a number of the most influential families in England. He was appointed by a Tory ministry which drew its support largely from his relatives and friends.

His Character.—It is not too much to say that Lord Charles Somerset was eminently unfitted for his post. Proud, arrogant, and conceited, he regarded opposition to his will as the unpardonable sin, and acted as a tyrant towards all who dared to think independently. Nevertheless, he occasionally showed correct insight in gauging the needs of the Colony—more especially in matters affecting the border districts.

In October, 1814, after the Prince of Orange had landed at Scheveningen and once more taken his place as Sovereign, a Convention was signed between Great Britain and the Netherlands, in terms of which the latter received back all its dependencies except the Cape of Good Hope, Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. One of the provisos of this Convention was to the effect that Great Britain had to pay a sum of six millions sterling towards certain appropriations consequent upon the international settlement after the first downfall of Napoleon. The transaction has been somewhat erroneously described as a sale of the Cape Colony for the sum specified.

One of the first administrative acts of the new Governor was the establishment of an experimental farm at the foot of the Boschberg, on the site of the present town of Somerset East. The farm was supposed to be managed by a board consisting of farmers and officials, but Lord Charles Somerset soon dismissed the board and assumed the management himself. The finance connected with this institution was the occasion of much scandal. The farm was suddenly closed down in 1824, just before the arrival of the Commission which was sent out to investigate certain charges against the Governor. One useful thing which Lord Charles did was to import at his own expense some very superior horses. These undoubtedly improved the South African breed, and made possible in after years the export to India of excellent remounts.

Establishment of a Mail Service.—In 1815 the first regular mail service was established between England and the Cape. Sailing vessels were despatched monthly to India *viâ* the Cape and Mauritius. These carried—as well as mails—passengers and cargo. The rate of postage was 3s. 6d. per half-ounce. The voyage to the Cape took several months. To catch the trade wind outwards the vessels had to approach the coast of Brazil.

Bezuidenhout's Case.—In 1813 a charge of ill-treating a Hottentot servant was laid before the landdrost of Cradock, against a farmer named Bezuidenhout, who dwelt in the valley of the Baviaan's River in the present district of Bedford. Bezuidenhout and those of the same vicinity were hardy, turbulent men, who had spent most of their lives in defending their property against Native marauders. They were, like many of those living near the frontier, imbued with a contempt for the Government and with a hatred of Natives. Although repeatedly summoned, Bezuidenhout, while excusing himself civilly in writing, refused to appear before the landdrost. Eventually in October, 1815, the matter was reported to the judges on circuit at Graaff Reinet, who ordered Bezuidenhout's arrest. A curious feature of the case at this stage is, that the Hottentot who laid the series of complaints against his master, several times returned voluntarily to the latter's service.

At this time the farmers were still much embittered

over the "Black Circuit." Moreover, there was considerable irritation over the retention of the Hottentot Corps on the frontier. As Bezuidenhout was known to be a dangerous character, the civil authorities requested military assistance towards affecting his arrest, and the only force available was a detachment of the Hottentot Corps. Accordingly a party, consisting of a corporal and fourteen troopers, under two European commissioned officers and a sergeant, were sent with the Under Bailiff to affect the arrest. On the approach of the party, Bezuidenhout, with two of his friends, seized their guns and took refuge in a cave. Here they were attacked; they fired on the attacking party, but did no damage. Bezuidenhout was shot dead; his companions were made prisoners. This happened on October 16.

Treasonable Overtures to Gaika.—At the funeral of Frederick Bezuidenhout next day, his brother Jan vowed vengeance. The friends and relatives who were in attendance met afterwards and planned an insurrection. One Cornelis Faber and four others were sent to interview Gaika, and to offer that chief liberal reward in the shape of territory, cattle, and goods if he would consent to help the insurgents against the Government. But Gaika, after hearing what Faber had to say, refused to assist the conspirators. The disaffection spread; the authorities were duly informed of what was happening and took steps accordingly. A spot near Slaughter's Nek, close to the junction of the Baviaans and Fish Rivers, was the rendezvous of the insurgents. Here some sixty of them gathered together on November 17. Next day Colonel Cuyler arrived with a force of thirty burghers and forty dragoons. All but a few of the rebels surrendered. There is no doubt that a certain number had joined the revolutionary movement under a misapprehension. When ordered to turn out they believed that the order had emanated from the lawful authorities.

Flight and Death of Jan Bezuidenhout.—Jan Bezuidenhout and two of the more desperate of the rebels fled to the Winterberg. Travelling in wagons and accompanied by their families, the course they decided to take was located. On November 29, after the wagons had halted and the oxen been released from the yokes, a band of Hottentot soldiers, under a European

officer, arose from an ambush a few yards away. There was also a party of burghers close at hand. One of Bezuidenhout's companions was shot down; the other fled, but was overtaken and captured. Bezuidenhout, with high courage, faced his foes and refused all demands that he should surrender. With his wife and fourteen-year-old son at his side, this intrepid man determined to sell his life as dearly as possible. Mrs. Bezuidenhout loaded guns and passed them to her husband to fire. After he had fallen, mortally wounded, she hastily bound up his hurts and continued the fight. Eventually she and her son were shot down. One Hottentot soldier was killed. The women in the other wagons surrendered.

Slaghter's Nek.—Thirty-nine of the rebels were brought to trial before a Special Commission of the High Court of Justice; six were condemned to die. Of those one was afterwards reprieved. The others were sentenced to various minor punishments. The sentence on the doomed five was ordered to be carried out at Slaghter's Nek, where the rebels' muster had taken place. The circumstances of the execution were gruesome in the extreme; the ropes by which four of the men were suspended broke; the unhappy creatures pleaded for their lives, and the plea was seconded by the spectators in pitiful terms. It is perhaps as well that the details of the dreadful tragedy which followed are not fully known.

Technically these men deserved death; possibly the carrying out of the sentence was in accordance with the spirit of the age. It is, however, much to be regretted that the Governor did not remit the death penalty. None of those executed had shed any blood; the two Bezuidenhouts, who were the original causes of the disturbance, were dead. Had mercy been shown it would have averted much subsequent bitterness.

The Griquas. Messrs. Anderson and Kramer.—In the barren country lying between the somewhat indefinite boundary of the Colony and the Orange River, a number of people of mixed race had wandered for many years. In them the Hottentot and European strains predominated, but in their veins ran Asiatic and Negroid blood which originated from escaped slaves. These people came to be known as the Griquas;

why, it is not quite clear. Two missionaries, the Reverend Mr. Anderson, who was sent out by the London Missionary Society, and a Mr. Kramer, joined these nomads in 1801. Three years later the missionaries induced the Griquas to settle down at a place called Klaarwater, north of the Orange River and west of where it is joined by the Vaal. Here a strong stream gushed forth suddenly from underground; this was used for irrigation.

Founding of Griquatown.—The settlement flourished; it eventually came to be called Griquatown. In 1819 the Griquas used to bring down their ramshackle wagons loaded with wheat to Beaufort West. Later the settlement became a source of trouble.

Coenraad Buys.—Other communities of nondescripts migrated and settled in the more or less adjoining vacant lands; some of these were mere freebooters. One mischievous gang was under the leadership of a European ruffian, named Coenraad Buys, who had formerly lived among the Xosas, where he had taken the mother of Gaika as wife.

Bands of Freebooters.—Although Griquatown was beyond the colonial boundary, Sir John Cradock, when forming the Hottentot Regiment, called upon the Griquas to provide a contingent. Mr. Anderson endeavoured to induce compliance; this the Griquas refused. Mr. Anderson journeyed to Cape Town to explain matters. Buys used the opportunity for completely destroying the missionary's influence. Mr. Anderson was obliged to leave his post. Large numbers of the Griquas joined Buys, who raided extensively among the Bechuana tribes to the northward. The tracts beyond the Orange River became more and more lawless and disturbed, and a flourishing contraband trade in guns and ammunition sprang up.

Formation of Beaufort West and Worcester Districts.—With the view of improving matters a northern district was formed in 1818 with its drostdy near the Nieuwveld Mountains. It was named Beaufort West. In 1819 the village of Worcester was founded, and a deputy to the landdrost of Tulbagh stationed there.

Census of 1819.—According to the census of 1819 the population of the Colony was as follows:—

Europeans	42,217
Slaves	31,696
Hottentots	24,433
Free Blacks	1,883
Negro apprentices taken from captured slaveships.	1,428

The Governor visits the Frontier.—In 1816 the London Missionary Society was permitted to establish a station on the Kat River close to the present site of Fort Beaufort, within about fifteen miles of Gaika's kraal. Here was stationed an excellent missionary named Williams. Depredations on the part of the Xosas had recommenced. Kraals were built close to the eastern bank of the Fish River, and from there the Xosas raided anew into Albany. Again the shadow of impending war fell upon the border districts. The Governor decided to visit the frontier. He left Cape Town on January 27, 1817, and proceeded to Lower Albany. He found that out of 145 Albany families 90 had fled westward, and that the remainder were preparing to follow. He decided to enter Kaffirland and visit Gaika. A force was assembled to escort him. This included 100 dragoons, 350 burghers, and detachments of infantry, of artillery, and of the Cape Regiment. An officer was sent forward to prepare Gaika for the visit.

Meeting with Gaika and Ndhlabi.—The meeting took place at a spot on the western bank of the Kat River. Gaika was accompanied by Ndhlabi and a large following; he paused on the eastern bank of the river and hesitated before trusting himself among the white men. A number of his followers were so alarmed that, when they caught sight of the Governor's camp, they fled. However, eventually the two chiefs, accompanied by several of their subordinates and with a body-guard of three hundred men, armed with assegais, crossed the river and entered the camp. A long conference followed. Gaika declared that the stealing and other outrages complained of took place without his knowledge; this may have been true, for the control exercised by a Kaffir chief was always uncertain and inadequate. A proposal embodying an important new administrative departure was made by the Governor and agreed to by the chiefs.

The Spoor Law.—This was the famous "Spoor Law," which threw collective responsibility on the inhabitants of any village to which the tracks of stolen cattle happened to be traced. In such a case the inhabitants had either to trace the spoor farther or else make good the loss. This system obviously was capable of abuse, and there can be no doubt that in certain instances it came to be abused. However, it was in accordance with a well-known principle of native law. Gaika was presented with a fine grey horse and a number of other gifts, with which he was childishly delighted.

More Military Posts established.—One result of this tour was the establishment of a double line of posts along the Fish and Sundays Rivers, but within a week of the Governor's return to Cape Town the Xosas had passed through this line, and were once more raiding the Zuurveld. In May, Gaika sent to Grahamstown a number of stolen horses which he had recovered, but the messenger who brought them was afterwards ascertained to be a spy in the service of Ndhambi. Just about this time the British Government, upon grounds of economy, made the mistake of transferring a number of troops from the Cape Station to India, and thus reducing the garrison.

Unbearable Condition of Frontier.—In 1818 the outrages perpetrated by the Xosas became almost unbearable. Gaika protested innocence, clamoured for more presents, and gave permission to have his country searched for stolen stock. Ndhambi, whose following had increased by the defection of a number of his uncle's people, would give no such permission.

A Punitive Raid.—A party of burghers entered Kaffirland. They returned with eighty-three head of cattle and a horse, which had been stolen. A number of other stolen animals had been seen at Ndhambi's village, but delivery of these was refused. A small force traversed the country between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers; then it visited the area between the latter river and the Kat. At many of the kraals of petty chiefs stolen stock was found. A collection of over two thousand cattle was made; of these upwards of six hundred were recognised by their owners; the balance was distributed among those

who had lost stock, as part compensation. Gaika made indignant remonstrance; he held that only Ndhlabi's sub-chiefs should have been dealt with. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the seizure of these 1400 unclaimed cattle was certainly justifiable. War, hunting, and cattle-lifting were looked upon by the Bantu of the period as the only pursuits worth following, and there was probably hardly a Xosa within fifty miles of the border who had not participated in the plunder to which the farmers had for so long been subjected. It was well known that in killing cattle for feasting purposes, the Natives as a rule slaughtered the animals they had stolen and spared their own. Anarchy now supervened; murder and pillage once more became the ordinary incidents of frontier existence.

Growth of Ndhlabi's Power.—In the meantime the power of Ndhlabi had been steadily increasing. The support and recognition which Gaika had received from the Europeans tended to weaken his influence over his own people. Legitimacy counts for a great deal with the Natives, and Gaika was undoubtedly Ndhlabi's superior in rank, but Ndhlabi was by far the stronger man, and he received considerable support from two sources. Dushani, one of his younger sons, had been adopted into another "house," and had hitherto stood aloof in the disputes between his father and Gaika. Dushani had quarrelled with his father; now, however, a reconciliation was effected. He was a man of considerable ability and strong character, and his clan had become powerful under that process of accretion which was so often evident when a minor Native chief showed signs of conspicuous ability.

Makana, the Prophet.—But even a greater source of strength to Ndhlabi was a man named Makana, a prophet or visionary who, in spite of his not belonging to any of the great "houses," exercised a powerful influence upon all with whom he came into contact. Makana must have been a man of genius; he was, moreover, a firm believer in his own mission. He strove hard to heal the differences between Gaika and Ndhlabi, and when this was found to be impossible he gave his full support to the latter. His grand idea was to drive the white men into the sea. Although not a

Christian, he had listened carefully to the missionaries' teaching, and was strongly impressed by certain of its aspects. It was Makana who induced the Xosas to substitute burial of the dead for exposure, which had been the immemorial tribal practice.

Gaika attacks Ndhlabi.—Gaika, fearing an onslaught, sent an appeal to Government for help, but before a reply was received, Ndhlabi declared war by seizing the cattle of one of his uncle's sub-chiefs. This stung the pride of Gaika's followers. They assembled in council and decided upon retaliation. Gaika also had a prophet, one Ntsikana, the composer of that well-known rhapsody known as "Ntsikana's Hymn." He strongly opposed the attack on Ndhlabi, and foretold disaster, but hostilities had been irrevocably decided upon, so the army of Gaika marched forth from the chief's "Great Place," in the Tyume Valley, crossed the Keiskamma River and marched to Debe Nek, near the south-western limit of the Amatole Range. Here it met the foe.

Battle of Amalinda.—Total Defeat of Gaika.—The main body of Ndhlabi's army, which had been reinforced by a strong contingent of Gcalekas sent by Hintza from beyond the Kei River, lay for the time being in concealment. Gaika's army was in the first instance attacked by the young men of the hostile force—the "Roundheads," as they were termed. These were easily overborne. Then Ndhlabi's veterans, their heads adorned with the sign of their rank, the feathers of the blue crane, swept up from where they were hidden, and a fiercely contested battle ensued. The combat began shortly after midday; at sundown the Gaikas were driven headlong from the field. The slaughter lasted until darkness made further pursuit impossible. Then the victors returned to the scene of the great struggle, kindled large fires at different parts of the field, and by the light of these sought out and slaughtered their wounded foes. Thus was fought what is known as the Battle of Amalinda—the latter word being the Kaffir term for some unusual depressions occurring in the ground in the vicinity.

Colonel Brereton's Expedition against Ndhlabi.—Fifth Kaffir War.—Gaika took refuge in the Winterberg,

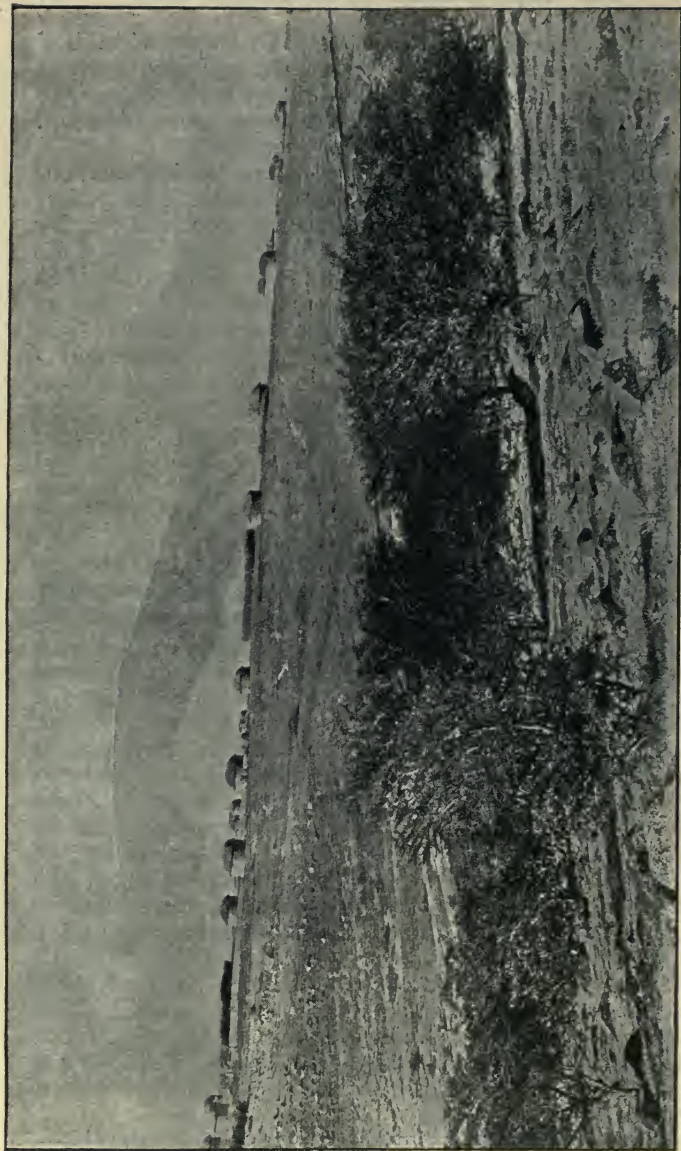


Photo : F. Pym, King William's Town.]

[From Cory's "The Rise of South Africa." By permission.

DEBE NEK, WHERE THE BATTLE OF AMALINDE TOOK PLACE.

whence he sent an account of his misfortunes to one of the military posts. His country was harried, large numbers of his cattle were taken, his kraals were burnt, and the corn looted from his pits. Lord Charles Somerset decided that it was necessary to break Ndhlabi's power. Accordingly, in December, 1818, he assembled at Grahamstown a force which took the field under Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton. From Graaff Reinet and Uitenhage six hundred burghers were called up. Commandos of burghers from other districts also assembled. The force included regular infantry and a contingent of the Hottentot Corps. Gaika's warriors, thirsting for revenge after their terrible defeat, acted as an auxiliary force. Ndhlabi and his allies retired and took refuge in the jungles of the Keiskamma. Their cattle, some 23,000 head, were captured. But the savage cruelty of Gaika's people towards those of the enemy who fell into their hands caused Colonel Brereton to withdraw from the pursuit before Ndhlabi's power was broken, so the force returned to Grahamstown. The captured cattle were distributed and the burghers dismissed to their homes.

Eastern Districts laid waste.—Ndhlabi now recognised that his opportunity had come, and he used it. He rallied his forces, fell upon Gaika's people, and scattered them like chaff. Then he carried fire and spear through Albany and the eastern part of the Uitenhage district. Again the long-suffering burghers were called out, but a severe epidemic of horse-sickness for a time prevented mobilisation. In the meantime Ndhlabi decided to attack Grahamstown.

Battle of Grahamstown.—The garrison there consisted of 333 men, including 121 Hottentots of the newly enrolled Cape Corps. Makana commanded during the attack; he had become acquainted with the exact strength of the defending force through a spy. The attacking Xosas numbered from 9000 to 10,000; they assembled on the hills surrounding Grahamstown on the afternoon of April 21, 1819. Makana sent notice of his intention of attacking, or, as he expressed it, "of breakfasting" with Colonel Willshire, the Commandant, next morning. Preparations for resistance were made; sixty men defended the East Barracks, afterwards known as Fort England. The remainder of the force

was extended eastward in a line through the valley to where the railway station stands to-day. The attack was made at sunrise. The enemy, uttering fierce yells, swept down from the hills and rushed against the attenuated line of defenders. They were allowed to come within thirty-five paces. Then a volley rang out and brought them to a standstill. Being unable to sustain the murderous fire at point-blank range, they broke and retired when the defenders arose and advanced towards them.

Makana personally led the attack on the barracks, which was pressed home to the very muzzles of the guns. The Xosas had broken the handles of their assegais off short so as to use them as stabbing-spears instead of as javelins. But all their fierce bravery was useless against the white men's weapons. When the attackers drew off they left about one thousand dead behind them. The European loss was three killed and five wounded.

Fate of Makana.—In May an infantry regiment arrived at the Cape, and by the third week in July a force of regulars, burghers, and Hottentots, nearly three thousand strong, was ready to take the field. This force was divided into three separate columns. Soon the enemy was driven with heavy losses eastward from the jungles of the Fish River, and ultimately across the Kei. Thirty-two thousand head of cattle were captured. The power of Ndhlabi was completely broken; he lost his influence and became a fugitive. Makana surrendered, as he said, "to restore peace to his starving people." He was sent as a political prisoner to Robben Island. A year afterwards he escaped, with thirty companions, in a whaling boat. All the others succeeded in landing on the shore at Table Bay, but Makana was drowned in the surf. His people, who loved him, could not believe him to be dead, and it was upwards of half a century before they abandoned hope of his return.

The Keiskamma River declared the Boundary.—Thus ended the Fifth Kaffir War. The Keiskamma River was now declared to be the boundary of the colony. To this Gaika consented; but it was agreed that the tract between the Keiskamma and the Fish Rivers had to remain uninhabited, and was to be

constantly patrolled by troops. For the furtherance of this duty the Hottentot Corps was augmented considerably.

Sir Rufane Donkin.—In January, 1820, Lord Charles Somerset left for England on leave. His place as Governor was taken by Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, a military officer, who happened to be proceeding homeward from India *via* the Cape.

The British Settlers of 1820.—In 1820 occurred an immigration from Great Britain, which had an important influence on South Africa, and which stamped the eastern portion of the Cape Colony as permanently and essentially British. Hitherto, except in one instance, there had been no organised immigration of Europeans worth mentioning since the period when the Huguenots made South Africa their home. The exception was when a Mr. Moody, in 1817, introduced some two hundred indentured mechanics and labourers from the south of Scotland. From time to time soldiers who took their discharge settled in the country. In 1817 and 1818 between six hundred and seven hundred of this class were released from military service in Cape Town, but most of these were foreigners of more or less debased character. The greater number of them sank to the level of, and mingled with, the coloured population. Several proposals for the introduction of Europeans had been mooted. During Sir John Cradock's governorship it was proposed to introduce immigrants from Holland, and Colonel Graham suggested the introduction of evicted peasants from the highlands of Scotland. Neither proposal had any result.

After the close of the Napoleonic Wars the economic conditions in England were very unfavourable for the working classes. The Corn Laws were still unrepealed, so bread was dear. The large reduction of the Army and Navy had filled the land with unemployed. Moreover, improvements in machinery had, to a great extent, destroyed the cottage industries of spinning and weaving. In the United Kingdom the problems arising out of unemployment had become very pressing indeed.

In a despatch, dated July 28, 1817, Lord Bathurst called upon Lord Charles Somerset for an expression of opinion as to the suitability of the Cape Colony as a field for emigration. The Governor replied in most

favourable terms as regards the district of Albany. This was described as a land extremely fertile, and as having a splendid climate. Cereals, wool, cotton, and tobacco could, he said, be produced in quantities sufficient for exportation. The only disadvantage indicated was the danger from the Natives, but this the Governor considered would be neutralised by the settlement on the land of a sufficient number of Europeans.

In 1819 a pamphlet recommending emigration to South Africa was issued from a private source in England. The Press took the matter up; the *London Times* wrote strongly on the subject. Popular enthusiasm grew, and much exaggerated views as to the agricultural and other capabilities of the Cape Colony became current. The British Parliament voted £50,000 for the purpose of assisting suitable persons to emigrate to South Africa.

It was arranged that individuals with sufficient capital and influence were to organise parties under terms to be mutually agreed upon, each party being unconnected with any other. "At least ten suitable individuals above eighteen years of age, with or without families," was to be the minimum of each party. A sum of £10 had to be deposited in respect of each family or individual. This sum was to be refunded subsequently in three instalments. To each party would be allotted land to the extent of 100 acres per family or individual at an annual quit-rent of £2. This was to become payable after ten years should have elapsed. The subsequent allotment of land was, in terms of the agreement, to be arranged between the members of each party and the leader thereof. The idea underlying the scheme was that the respective parties should reside close enough to each other to be able to combine for defence in the event of a Native raid. The employment of slaves by the settlers was prohibited. The number of parties thus formed was fifty-seven. Of these fifty-two mustered in England, four in Ireland, and one, under the poet Thomas Pringle, in Scotland. The total number of individuals was 3487, of whom 1194 were men, 735 women, and 1558 children.

The emigrants started on their voyage from various ports in December, 1819, and January, 1820. Most of



[From Cory's "The Rise of South Africa,"

THE SETTLERS GOING ON SHORE AT ALGOA BAY, 1820.

By permission of Miss Ayliff.

the vessels conveying them arrived at Algoa Bay in April or May following. They camped on the shore where the city of Port Elizabeth now stands. Mr. Pringle thus described the camp and its dwellers:—

Description by an Eye-witness.—"I entered the settlers' camp. It consisted of several hundred tents pitched in parallel rows or streets and occupied by the middling and lower classes of emigrants. These consisted of various descriptions of people, and the air, aspect, and array of their persons and temporary residences were equally various. There were respectable tradesmen and jolly farmers with every appearance of substance and snug England comfort about them. There were watermen, fishermen, and sailors from the Thames and English seaports, with the reckless and weatherbeaten look usual in persons of their perilous and precarious professions. There were numerous groups of pale-visaged artisans and operative manufacturers from London and other large towns, of whom, doubtless, a certain proportion were persons of highly reputable character and steady habits; but a far larger proportion were squalid in their aspect, slovenly in their attire and domestic arrangements, and discontented and discourteous in their demeanour. Lastly, there were parties of pauper agricultural labourers, sent out by the aid of their respective parishes, healthier, perhaps, than the class just mentioned, but not apparently happier in mind, nor less generally demoralised by the outward influence of their former social condition. On the whole, they formed a motley and unprepossessing collection of people. Guessing vaguely from my observations on this occasion and on subsequent rambles through their locations, I should say that probably about one-third were persons of real respectability of character and possessed of some worldly substance, but that the remaining two-thirds were for the most part composed of individuals of a very unpromising description—persons who had hung loose upon society, low in morals, and desperate in circumstances."

The four Irish parties had been sent to the Clanwilliam district to be located there, but as the land was found to be unsuitable they were subsequently removed to Albany. Several additional parties were despatched

during the next and the following years. One of the ships conveying these, the *Abeona*, was burnt at sea, with a loss of 114 lives.

The Settlers reach their Locations.—Some two hundred ox-wagons had been requisitioned by Government for the purpose of conveying the settlers to their respective locations, which it took from ten to twelve days to reach. These wagons had to make several trips before the distribution had been completed. As each party arrived at its destination the families were off-loaded with their belongings in the open veld. Tents were lent by Government, and depôts formed here and there from which, for a limited period, rations could be drawn.

Their Ignorance of Agriculture.—The country was beautiful to the eye: grass-covered and sprinkled with mimosa trees; most of the valleys were filled with forest. But many of the locations were quite unsuited to the purpose for which they had been selected; consequently bitter dissatisfaction and many disputes filled the early days. Comparatively few of the settlers were agriculturists, and those few knew nothing of South African agriculture, the successful pursuit of which required a special training. The efforts towards cultivation were in some instances grotesque; we read of one man who attempted to grow carrots by burying the seed in a trench two feet deep; of another who sowed maize without removing the grains from the cob. Before long it became evident that the great majority of the immigrants would have either to leave the locations or starve.

Sir Rufane Donkin did all in his power to assist the strangers. He came to Algoa Bay while they were being disembarked, and when the parties moved inland he followed and personally inspected many of the locations, greeting the people with friendliness and doing his best to cheer the discouraged. Seeing the need of some administrative centre more conveniently situated than Grahamstown, he fixed upon a fertile undulating tract on the edge of the forest which borders the Kowie River on the eastward, and was situated about eight miles from the sea. Here a village was laid out and given the name of Bathurst in honour of the Secretary of State. It was by

proclamation declared the seat of magistracy for Albany and thus given precedence over Grahamstown. In terms of the same proclamation the limits of the "province" of Albany were defined as including the neutral territory between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, which had been ceded by Gaika on condition that it should remain uninhabited. However, with the consent of Gaika the Acting-Governor established a settlement on the Beka stream, which he named Fredericksburg, and this was peopled by a few officers and a number of discharged soldiers. Owing largely to the blundering mismanagement of those responsible for the carrying out of the scheme, the enterprise ended in failure.

Establishment of Periodical Fairs.—In July, 1821, periodical fairs, annual at first, quarterly later, were established at Fort Willshire. To these licensed traders brought wagons loaded with goods, and the Kaffirs—their women loaded with ivory, skins, gum and other products—attended in large crowds. Trade was carried on by means of barter, and the chiefs seized for their own benefit about half the goods their followers obtained. Neither strong drink nor ammunition was allowed to be supplied. The entrance of traders into Kaffirland was prohibited by stringent proclamations, but the profits to be won by trading with the Natives for cattle were so large that the law was disregarded and many Europeans crossed the boundary. For some time an exceedingly lucrative trade in both ivory and cattle was carried on.

Port Elizabeth.—Sir Rufane Donkin gave the name of Port Elizabeth to the new but rapidly growing township at Algoa Bay. This he did in memory of his wife, who had died in India two years previously. A stone pyramid with an inscription in her honour was erected on the hill overlooking the landing-place, where it still stands.

Within two years of the arrival of the British settlers, only 438 men, 298 women and 843 children remained on the land which had been allotted to them. When one learns that the first two crops of wheat failed utterly, one wonders at the determination of those who remained. The greater number of those settlers who belonged to the working-classes had made

their way to the various towns where employment was easily obtained. But although the enterprise failed of its intended object it succeeded in unexpected ways. From the immigrant stock have been derived many men whose names are held in great and deserved honour, and the impress which the settlers of 1820 left,



THE PYRAMID, PORT ELIZABETH.

not alone upon the Eastern Province, but upon the whole of South Africa, can never be effaced.

In 1823, 336 men, women and children of the labouring class were brought to Cape Town from England, the Government contributing towards the cost of their conveyance. All capable of work obtained remunerative employment without delay.

Return of Lord Charles Somerset.—Lord Charles

Somerset returned to the Cape with a newly married wife at the end of November, 1821. Sir Rufane Donkin had gained the good-will of all with whom he came into contact. But Lord Charles Somerset was filled with anger against him, principally because of alterations in some arrangements Lord Charles had made before his departure. The Acting-Governor had established a settlement in the neutral territory, had stopped the building of a fort on the bank of the Keiskamma—substituting for it a barrack on another site—and had removed Captain Henry Somerset, the Governor's son, from Grahamstown where he was acting as landrost, to Simonstown.

Arrival of Scotch Presbyterian Clergymen.—When in England Lord Charles Somerset had arranged for some Scottish Presbyterian clergymen to come to the Cape. At the time no Dutch Reformed Ministers were available in Holland, and the tenets of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches are practically identical. Three divinity students were sent to Holland to learn Dutch. These afterwards became pastors, respectively of Worcester, Beaufort West and Somerset East. Schoolmasters were also introduced and appointed to Uitenhage, Graaff Reinet, Stellenbosch, George, Tulbagh and Caledon, and good free schools were established at these villages. The Colony was in a state of great depression. This became intensified during the following two years, largely owing to failure of crops. Moreover, the death of the captive Emperor Napoleon and the consequent reduction of the garrison at St. Helena was a heavy blow to the prosperity of the western districts. Hitherto St. Helena had provided the only considerable market for wine, brandy, dried fruit and other produce. Now, however, such staples were largely unsaleable.

The Governor's Tyrannical Methods.—The Governor reversed in several instances the measures enacted by Sir Rufane Donkin. He removed the seat of magistracy from Bathurst to Grahamstown and withdrew the garrison from the former place. These and other administrative measures caused great dissatisfaction among the settlers. With the idea of ventilating their grievances, a public meeting was called, but the Governor issued a proclamation declaring such a

meeting illegal under heavy pains and penalties. Other proclamations issued in 1822 and 1825 were greatly resented by the Dutch colonists. In terms of these the use of the Dutch language in courts of law and in official documents was restricted. In 1826 an amended proclamation was issued, making optional the use of either language in courts of law. This remained in force until 1828, when English became the official language.

Opening of the South African Public Library.—In 1822 the South African Public Library was opened in a portion of the old Slave Lodge at the top of the Heerengracht, now Adderley Street, Cape Town. Four years previously the Governor had imposed a gauging fee of one ryksdollar upon each cask of wine, the proceeds to be devoted to the Library fund; later such fees were paid into the public revenue and an annual grant of £300 substituted, but owing to financial stress the grant was withdrawn in 1827, and for many years the Library had to subsist upon subscriptions.

More Bantu Depredations.—Maqoma.—In 1822 trouble with the Bantu recommenced. Gaika still steered his difficult course, endeavouring to comply with the requirements of the Government in the matter of stolen stock, and at the same time to retain influence over his people. His son, Maqoma, who had been permitted to establish himself in the wild and broken country near the source of the Kat River, looted a herd of cattle from the mission station in the Tyume Valley, where the missionaries, Messrs. Brownlee and Thomson, had been appointed agents of the Government. Gaika caused some of these cattle to be returned, promising to recover the balance. This, however, he failed to do. A military party was despatched to arrest the chief, but he escaped. Within a few weeks, however, such of the stolen stock as still existed was returned, together with the equivalent of the animals that had been slaughtered. Ndhlambi returned to his former location; he and Gaika now became suspiciously friendly. Maqoma's following increased through small clans stealing in and placing themselves under his leadership. The depredations increased to such an extent that in October, 1823, a force of two hundred burghers and a detachment of the Cape Regiment



GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1824.

By permission of Dr. Flint, Cape Town.

[From Cory's "The Rise of South Africa,"

were despatched to Maqoma's kraals, where they seized some seven thousand head of cattle. From these the farmers who had lost stock were compensated. Over five thousand head were returned to the Natives, who now humbly sued for forgiveness, and promised to refrain from further looting. Major Henry Somerset, who was now in command of the Cape Regiment, did excellent service in preventing cattle-stealing on the border.

Founding of Fort Beaufort.—In 1822 a block-house was erected on the eastern bank of the Kat River below the Kroomie Range; it was named Fort Beaufort, and was the nucleus around which the present town of the same name developed.

Disastrous Floods.—In the spring of 1823 a heavy misfortune fell upon the Eastern Province; this was a flood of unprecedented severity. Being inexperienced, many of the settlers had built their cottages on sites which lay too low. For several days in succession heavy thunderstorms were continuous; all the rivers overflowed their banks; in every valley was a roaring torrent. Dwellings, gardens, and orchards were swept away; ground loosened by the plough was skinned from the sub-soil. The distress which resulted was pitiful, but subscriptions poured in from England and India, until the amount of about £10,000 was available for relief.

Early in 1825 Lord Charles Somerset made a journey to the frontier, in the course of which he visited the mouth of the Kowie River, which he named Port Francis. Here he stationed a magistrate. Sir Rufane Donkin had already considered the question of the opening of the Kowie as a port for the eastern districts, and in 1821 a small schooner had crossed the bar. A customs house was also established. Between 1828 and 1833, however, the whole Government establishment of Port Francis was gradually abolished. While at Grahamstown the Governor removed the landdrost, Mr. Rivers, who had become very unpopular with the settlers, and appointed in his stead Captain Dundas of the Royal Artillery.

At this time, although no formal official notification had been given, the Colony to the north-east was held to have extended to the Orange River from about the

present site of Hopetown to the Stormberg Spruit. In 1825 the subdrostdy of Cradock was abolished and a new district named Somerset was created. This included territory as far eastward as the Koonap, the Zwaart Kei and the Stormberg Spruit.

Arrival of the First Steamship.—On October 13, 1825, the first steamship arrived at Table Bay. This was the *Enterprise* of five hundred tons burden with two sixty-horse-power engines. She took fifty-eight days to reach the Cape from Falmouth. There was much excitement, and the occasion was made a public holiday. The vessel steamed round the Bay to exhibit her power of moving against the wind in any direction, much to the interest and delight of the inhabitants, who crowded to the shore.

Commissioners Colebrook and Bigge.—In 1822 the King appointed Commissioners to inquire into the state of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon. The Commissioners, Major William Colebrook and Mr. John Bigge, arrived at the Cape in July, 1823. For upwards of three years they were engaged in investigating the condition of the Colony generally. They paid special attention to the form of government, the finances, the administration of justice, and the condition of the Natives and coloured people. They also dealt with complaints made by individuals. It was not until 1830 that their reports on these matters were completed.

Appointment of a Council of Advice.—Among the principal recommendations which they made and which were adopted was the appointment of a council to assist and advise the Governor. This was to consist of six members, of whom three, namely, the Chief Justice, the Secretary to the Government, and the Senior Military Officer next to the Governor, were to be members *ex officio*. Three other members were to be nominated by the Secretary of State. The Governor had to submit all legislative measures to this council, but was empowered to act in opposition to its opinion. Nothing could be discussed by such council unless it was proposed by the Governor, who could, if he thought fit, dismiss any member. The meetings were to be held with closed doors, and each member had to take oath not to divulge any of the proceedings. The other

important recommendation was to the effect that the Colony should be divided into two provinces of approximately equal extent, and that each province should have a separate Government.

The Currency.—At this period there was no coin in circulation in South Africa, the only currency being paper money, of which a total of upwards of Rds. 3,000,000 was known to have been issued. But it was afterwards found that forged notes, to the value of about half a million, were also in existence, and this amount had eventually to be added to the sum to be redeemed. The only securities for the paper money were the public buildings, and certain lands reserved by Government. But it was obvious that many of the principal buildings, such as the Castle and the forts, had no market value, and from time to time lands were permanently alienated or leased for long periods without any reduction in the paper money being made. Under such circumstances, the value of the notes being an unknown but rapidly falling quantity, it was impossible for the Colony to prosper. Between 1810 and 1825 the value of the ryksdollar fell from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*

Value of the Ryksdollar fixed.—In June, 1825, an ordinance was promulgated in pursuance of an Order in Council dealing with the introduction of British coinage throughout the British possessions, which practically fixed the value of the ryksdollar at 1*s.* 6*d.* This was according to the current rate of exchange for coin or treasury bills. At the same time the British Government advanced money towards redeeming the paper. This step bore very heavily upon those to whom money was owed, while it was a corresponding advantage to the debtor.

The Governor's Arbitrary Conduct.—Lord Charles Somerset's arbitrary and violent exercise of his power disturbed a veritable hornets' nest. He had failed to realise that with the introduction of the British settlers a new element had been imported into South Africa—that men imbued with a love of free institutions and civil rights, however unskilled in their exercise, had fallen like a vigorous ferment into what had hitherto been, in a political sense, an inert mass. Such included individuals of considerable ability—men such as Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn, for instance. These were

fully competent to fight effectively and to the last breath for their rights. The precept and example they originated raised many disciples whose teaching stung the Batavian to an energy which has since surprised his instructors.

The Governor, by using his almost unconditioned power injudiciously, placed himself in the power of those who opposed him. He wasted public money most flagrantly, he filled important offices with unworthy and incompetent men. The slightest hint of opposition to his despotic will, on the part of any one, was sufficient to call forth his vengeance. Hating and distrusting men of independent mind, his ear was ever open to the sycophant and the tale-bearer. Lord Charles Somerset thus became completely estranged from the real life of the community over which he held sway.

Struggle for the Freedom of the Press.—Messrs. Pringle and Fairbairn.—The struggle for the freedom of the press in South Africa began in 1823, when the Reverend Abraham Faure, of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town, and Mr. Thomas Pringle, who was the Assistant Public Librarian, proposed to establish a monthly magazine. To this the Governor consented. The second number, however, contained an article upon the British Settlers, which included criticism of the administration of Albany. The Fiscal sent for Mr. Pringle and demanded security that in future no political or personal matter should appear in the columns of the magazine. This Mr. Pringle refused to give. He was then sent for by the Governor and accused of ingratitude. This accusation, which had no basis of fact, referred to the enlargement of the grant of land made to his party of settlers and his appointment as sub-librarian. Mr. Pringle resigned the appointment and discontinued the magazine.

About this time a Mr. George Greig arrived at the Cape and started a paper called the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. Shortly afterwards two men named Cook and Edwards were, at the Governor's instigation, prosecuted for libel. A report of the trial appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*. Later Edwards was again prosecuted, and in his defence he cast slurs upon Lord Charles Somerset's character. The Governor thereupon called upon Mr. Greig to furnish security to

the amount of £750, that the terms upon which the establishment of his paper had been granted would be adhered to. These terms were to the effect that all matters of political or personal controversy were to be excluded. The Fiscal was ordered to censor the paper and to suppress anything in it regarded as offensive. Thereupon the issue was discontinued pending an application for redress from the British Government. Mr. Greig let it be known that he intended issuing an advertising sheet, giving an account of what had occurred. Immediately the Governor ordered the press to be sealed up, and issued a warrant requiring Mr. Greig to leave the Colony within a month. Mr. Greig was still in possession of his type, and he managed to print and circulate slips giving an account of what had occurred and offering the former for sale. The Governor then had the type sealed up and offered to purchase it at a valuation. This Mr. Greig was constrained to agree to, as he required the money to pay for his passage. The type was handed over by the Governor to another printer, who thereupon started a paper which praised highly the Governor and his policy. Mr. Greig proceeded to England, where he was received by the Secretary of State. The latter reversed Lord Charles Somerset's action, authorised Mr. Greig to return to Cape Town, issued instructions that his type was to be restored to him, and gave him permission to proceed with the publication of his newspaper.

The Governor recalled.—His Resignation.—By these and similar proceedings, the Governor kept adding to the ranks of his enemies, who were now both numerous and influential. The English Press took the matter up, and Parliament brought pressure to bear upon the Government. An opinion gained ground that the administration at the Cape was despotic and corrupt. The *Times*, on January 19, 1826, demanded that the Governor should be impeached. Four days previously the Secretary of State had written to him to say that it had now "become expedient that he should repair home immediately to furnish the necessary explanations." Major-General Richard Bourke was sent to assume the administration of the Colony. He arrived on February 8, 1826. Lord Charles Somerset left for England on March 5. Shortly after his arrival

in London, Parliament was dissolved. There had been a short discussion of his case just before the dissolution, but the matter was allowed to drop. Early in 1827 Lord Goderich replaced Earl Bathurst at the Colonial Office, whereupon Lord Charles Somerset resigned his Governorship.

In June the matter came once more before the House of Commons. By this time, however, general interest in it had flagged. After a more or less indeterminate discussion the matter was allowed to drop.

The Amangwane.—In August, 1827, information reached Cape Town to the effect that several thousand Tembus had been driven across the Zwaart Kei River by an enemy from the north. This enemy turned out to be a horde of Amangwane, under Matiwane, which had been driven over the Drakensberg by Tshaka, the Zulu King, some years previously, and had since been wandering over the plains north of the Orange River. Having crossed the Orange near the present site of Aliwal North, the Amangwane fell upon the Tembus of Bawana's clan, and then took a north-easterly course until they settled down at Imbulumpini, in the valley of the Umtata.

The Slaughter at Imbulumpini.—Death of Matiwane.—In 1828 Tshaka led a powerful army south-westward, and harried the country as far as the Bashee. A force was assembled to drive the Zulus back; it numbered about one thousand, and was composed of both regular troops and burghers. Colonel Somerset was in command. In the mean time Tshaka and his army had retired with their spoil, but when Colonel Somerset's force reached Imbulumpini this was not known, and when the Amangwane were encountered they were taken to be Zulus. At this time the Europeans had been joined by large auxiliary forces of Tembus and Gcalekas. The Amangwane army was estimated to number 20,000. It was attacked and destroyed—only a few fugitives escaping. Matiwane was among the latter. After wide wanderings the unhappy chief took refuge in Zululand. At this time Tshaka was dead and Dingaan ruled in his stead. By the latter's orders Matiwane was blinded and tied to a tree until he starved to death.

CHAPTER X

(To 1834)

The Cape Colony under British Rule

General Bourke as Acting-Governor.—During the period of General Bourke's administration various reforms were introduced. On August 24, 1827, the Charter of Justice received the King's signature.

Supreme Court established.—Under it the Supreme Court was established. The latter was to consist of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges to be appointed by the Crown, all of whom had to be trained lawyers. Formerly judges had been appointed by the Governor and were removable at his pleasure. The first Chief Justice was Sir John Wilde. The office of Fiscal was abolished, and that of Attorney-General substituted. Circuit Courts were to be held twice a year in the principal towns and villages.

Resident Magistrates and Civil Commissioners appointed.—An important change was also made in respect of the lower courts. Landdrosts and Heemraaden were abolished. In place of the former, Resident Magistrates were appointed. These also were made Civil Commissioners, and as such entrusted with the collection of revenue and with general local administration.

Colony divided into two Provinces.—The Colony was divided into two provinces: the western included the districts of the Cape, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Worcester; and the eastern the districts of Beaufort, Graaff Reinet, Somerset, George, Uitenhage and Albany. For the Eastern Province Captain Andries Stockenstrom was appointed Commissioner to control administration subject to the Governor.

The 50th Ordinance.—On July 17, 1828, was issued the 50th Ordinance, which relieved Hottentots and other free persons of colour from the operations of the pass laws and those laws respecting the apprenticeship of children. For some considerable time the Bushmen had ceased to give trouble. It had not been generally recognised that the most implacable enemy of the Bushman was the Hottentot. The Griquas and other half-breed Hottentot clans, who had established themselves north of the Orange River, had shown no quarter to the Bushmen, immense numbers of whom perished. Those who survived, as a rule, put themselves under the control of some European, to whom they gave service in exchange for protection. But regular control or settled employment were things the Bushmen could not endure. Many efforts were made by missionaries to induce them to settle on mission stations, but such always failed. In the various laws promulgated the Bushmen and the Hottentot were invariably bracketed together, although they were radically and completely different from each other,—a circumstance their missionary advocates were unaware of.

Dr. Philip.—The 50th Ordinance theoretically placed the Hottentot and the Bushmen politically on a level with the European. The Secretary of State was moved to take the step of enacting this measure by the Reverend Dr. John Philip, who for upwards of thirty years took a prominent part in advocating the interests of the South African Natives. Dr. Philip was a man of great energy and fiery zeal. His cardinal tenet was that, except in the matter of education, the Native of any race was mentally equal to the European.

His "Researches."—His "Researches in South Africa," published in 1828, with the object of showing that the Hottentots were treated with habitual injustice, confounds theories with facts, and has been proved to be unreliable in many important respects. On account of certain statements this book contained, Mr. William Mackey, an official, sued Dr. Philip for libel, and was awarded £200 damages and costs. The case was tried before a full bench; the Chief Justice and the other two judges spoke in strong condemnation of the statements complained of.

The publication of the "Researches" caused bitter indignation in South Africa, and aroused violent feeling on both sides, which has had a permanently bad effect. While giving Dr. Philip full credit for being passionately persuaded of the justice of his contentions, one cannot avoid admitting that his influence upon South Africa, and upon the cause which he had most at heart, has not been beneficial. The 50th Ordinance, which he regarded as one of his great achievements, utterly failed of its object; to-day the Bushmen and the Hottentots are practically extinct.

Governor Sir Lowry Cole—General Bourke held the position of Acting-Governor until September 9, 1828, when Lord Charles Somerset's successor arrived. This was Lieutenant-General Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, who was promoted from the Governorship of Mauritius. The Xosas on the eastern border were now again giving considerable trouble. Several clans had taken possession of tracts in the neutral territory which had been ceded by Gaika.

Formation of Kat River Settlement—In 1829 it was found necessary to expel Maqoma from the Kat River valleys, and in the vacated land a number of locations populated by Hottentots were established. The land here was very fertile; all that which was suitable for cultivation was divided into plots of from four to six acres. To each location was attached a large commonage. Grants were made to some two thousand persons. It was found necessary to arm the people so that they could prevent their cattle being driven off. This settlement was not successful. The Hottentot proved incapable of acquiring habits of settled industry.

Survey of Land between Koonap and Fish Rivers.—"No Dutch need apply."—In 1830 it was decided to grant a portion of the ceded territory to Europeans, under military tenure. The farms were to be approximately three thousand morgen in extent; personal occupation was required, and on each such farm had to be at least four able-bodied Europeans fit to bear arms. The use of slave labour was prohibited. On these conditions about one hundred title deeds were issued in respect of land between the Koonap and Fish Rivers to selected applicants, some of whom were

Dutch colonists and others British settlers. However, Lord Goderich disapproved of the scheme. He consented to the land being sold, but not granted free. It could, however, be sold only to English settlers or to Hottentots; Dutch farmers were excluded. This preposterous action was one of the fruits of the calumnies against the Dutch colonists of South Africa, which, begun by Barrow, had been so assiduously circulated in England.

Ordinance regulating the Press.—In 1826 there occurred further difficulties between the Governor and the *Commercial Advertiser*. By direction of the Secretary of State the licence for that newspaper was cancelled. Mr. Fairbairn, the editor, proceeded to England, but was at first unable to obtain redress. However, after Sir George Murray had succeeded Earl Bathurst at the Colonial Office, the licence of the paper was renewed, under certain conditions, and in 1829 an Ordinance was issued regulating the Press. This Ordinance was both stringent and illiberal, but it contained one most beneficial proviso. It removed the power of interference from the Executive to the Supreme Court. Soon several newspapers and other periodicals appeared. Two of the former still survive—one being the *Zuid Afrikaan*, which became incorporated with the present *Ons Land*, the other the *Grahamstown Journal*. The *Commercial Advertiser* became the organ of Dr. Philip and his school. Its unfair and prejudiced attitude for many years towards the people on the frontier, and their almost heart-breaking difficulties, caused bitter indignation.

Death of Ndhambi.—Ndhambi, who had for so long been the terror of the Border Districts, died like an old lion in his lair near Mount Coke, on the Buffalo River, in 1828. He must have been nearly ninety years old. His “great son” was of feeble intellect, and never exercised any influence. Gaika, who had been for years a debauched drunkard, died some two years later. His heir, Sandile, was a lad, so Maqoma was appointed to hold the tribe during the period of minority. Sandile was as weak and unstable as his father had been, and was, moreover, deformed, one of his legs being shrunken. That Gaika was his actual father was held to be very doubtful. However, the

circumstance that the two men were so similar in character suggests that certain suspicions current at the time may have been unfounded.

Character of Gaika.—Gaika's position as grandson of Rarabè in the "Great Line," and therefore legitimate chief of the great western division of the Xosa tribe, was one of immense leverage; but he had always been weak, vacillating, and self-indulgent. After having overthrown Ndhlabi, who had as regent tried to usurp the head-chieftainship, he might, had he ruled judiciously, have consolidated all the clans west of the Kei, and restrained them from that raiding which had such ruinous consequences both to them and to the colonists. But almost at the outset of his career he committed an act which shocked his people and went far towards disintegrating his power. One of Ndhlabi's minor wives, a girl named Tutula, was famed for her beauty. Gaika took her into his harem after Ndhlabi's defeat. The morals of the Natives are lax in many aspects, but certain conventions are very strictly observed. This act of Gaika shocked the Xosa tribesmen very deeply, and was probably the principal cause of so many of his adherents abandoning him and joining Ndhlabi.

Development of Missions.—In 1830 there had been a marked development of missions among the Bantu. On the Buffalo River, where King William's Town now stands, the London Society had established a station. The Wesleyans had six stations, one being close to the present site of Butterworth, and another at Buntingville, in remote Pondoland. The Glasgow Society had four stations, one being on the Tyume, where Lovedale stands to-day. The Moravians had opened their establishment at Shiloh. Traders had now penetrated deep into Kaffirland, where they carried on a profitable barter. But the shadow of impending war always hung over them, for depredations on the border were almost continuous, and the reprisals system, rendered necessary by circumstance, was not very different from localised warfare, that might at any moment flame out into a general conflagration.

Opening of the South African College.—An important event took place on October 1, 1829; this was the opening of the South African College. Eight years

later an Ordinance for the regulation of this institution was promulgated.

Condition of the Northern Border.—Stuurman's Freebooters.—The northern border of the Colony was in a very unsatisfactory condition. Those islands in the Orange River which, at the beginning of the century, had been used by the freebooter Afrikaner as a base, were now used for the same purpose by a Hottentot bandit named Stuurman, who had a large following. This included ruffians of every breed and colour. Stuurman raided in every direction, and pillaged indiscriminately white and black. Some of his raids extended as far as the Nieuwveld and the Hantam. Farmers and their wives were murdered, children carried into captivity, flocks and herds were swept away. An Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor, giving officials on the border the power to call out commandos should necessity arise. This most salutary measure was, however, disallowed by the Secretary of State through the influence of Dr. Philip and the *Commercial Advertiser*. In 1833 Stuurman's gang was defeated and dispersed by a commando of Europeans, assisted by a contingent of Griquas under their recently elected chief.

Andries Waterboer.—This man, Andries Waterboer, had been an assistant schoolmaster; his election as Captain of Griquatown was fortunate in its immediate effects. He introduced discipline and settled government among the Griquas. The Cape Government supplied him with arms and ammunition to be used in restoring and maintaining order in his vicinity. In 1834 a formal treaty was signed at Cape Town between the Governor and Waterboer—the first instance of a treaty being entered into between the European Government and a native chief in South Africa.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban appointed Governor.—In August, 1833, Sir Lowry Cole resigned his post as Governor and proceeded to England. His successor was Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had been Governor of Demerara.

Merino Sheep.—It had now been proved that wool could be profitably produced in both the eastern and western districts. In 1829 six tons had been clipped on the farm "Zoetendals Vlei" in the present district

of Bredasdorp, and in Albany many farmers were successfully breeding merino sheep. In 1834 a Joint Stock Company imported well-bred stud stock with



Photo: T. D. Ravenscroft.]

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN.

the best results. The introduction of Angora goats was more difficult, but the efforts, at first baffled, were eventually successful. In pursuance of orders from

the Secretary of State, drastic retrenchment in the public service was carried out.

Legislative and Executive Councils.—Acting under instructions embodied in his commission, Sir Benjamin D'Urban created a Legislative and an Executive Council. The former consisted of the five senior officials, and an equal number of colonists nominated by the Governor, who was President of the body. The Executive Council consisted of the senior military officer under the Governor, the Secretary to the Government, the Treasurer-General and the Attorney-General. This was a "council of advice," which, however, the Governor was not bound to follow. It is evident that Sir Benjamin D'Urban was in the first instance strongly under the influence of the school represented by Dr. Philip and Mr. Fairbairn, and that, for a time, he believed in the hopeless policy of conciliating the Natives on the eastern frontier. In the latter part of 1833 Dr. Philip visited the various Xosa chiefs, it is believed as the emissary of the Governor. After a short interval of comparative quiet, depredations recommenced. Before the end of December a horde of Xosas swept over the border, and another terrible war broke out.

The Sixth Kaffir War.—Frightful Devastation.—The country was laid waste as far west as Uitenhage and Somerset East. Twenty-two farmers were killed, but their wives and children were permitted to escape. Had intelligence of the invasion not spread with great rapidity, the loss of life would have been much heavier. But the devastation was frightful; 456 homesteads were burnt; 120,645 cattle and horses and 162,000 sheep and goats were swept away. In Kaffirland ten traders were murdered.

The Province of Queen Adelaide.—The country had been much denuded of troops. However, all those available were hurried to the frontier. The burghers were again called out. Hintza, the Gealeka chief, after professing neutrality, joined the western clans. After much heavy fighting the enemy were driven back and pursued across the Kei. Hintza submitted, and gave himself up as a hostage, but was shot in attempting to escape. Peace was restored in May, 1835. The Great Kei River, from its source in the Stormberg to the sea,

was now proclaimed as the boundary of the Colony. The tract lying between the Kei and the former boundary, the Keiskamma, was annexed and named the "Province of Queen Adelaide." Small forts were constructed at various strategic points. One on the Buffalo River, which was the headquarters of the commandant of the province, was named King William's Town. An indemnity to be paid, in the native currency of cattle, was also imposed upon the defeated clans.

The Fingos, a Satisfactory Settlement.—At this time there were, living in a state of subjection to the Gcalekas, a number of Natives who had fled from the vicinity of what is now Natal, in consequence of the wars waged by Tshaka, the Zulu king. These people were known as the Fingos. This word is a corruption of the term "Amamfengu," which means "people who beg their bread." A number of Fingo chiefs sought an interview with the Governor, and asked to be taken under Government protection. This request was acceded to. The Fingos were located in the country between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers in the present district of Peddie. They numbered roughly about 18,000, of whom only about 2000 were men.

Lord Glenelg's Action.—To the horror and despair of the colonists, Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State, reversed the settlement. Accordingly, with the exception of a small portion of the present district of Peddie, all the country east of the Fish River was handed back to the Kaffirs. In a despatch, which is perhaps the most extraordinary document of its kind ever penned, he threw all the blame for the war upon the European colonists. Here is a quotation—

"Urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they, the Kaffirs, had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain."

Unaccountable Action of Captain Stockenstrom.—Lord Glenelg's action becomes intelligible when one examines the influences just then brought to bear upon him, and remembers that his sympathies were

always with aboriginal peoples as against the dominant race. A committee of the House of Commons was taking evidence as to the conditions of the aborigines in the various British colonies—the chairman was a pronounced negrophilist. Dr. Philip appeared before this committee with two natives. One, Jan Tshatshu, was a petty chief; the other a man of mixed race. These individuals, as Dr. Theal says, “spoke in accordance with their training.” They were lionised throughout England. They were entertained by the highest in the land, and at banquets led titled ladies to the table. Tshatshu, it may be mentioned, became a sorry backslider. He took to drink, and was expelled from membership of his church. But the most astonishing evidence given before the committee was that of Captain Andries Stockenstrom, the late Commissioner for the Eastern Province. This gentleman’s reputation was deservedly high; naturally what he said carried great weight. The cumulative effect of his evidence was to show that in the border troubles the Europeans had been the aggressors, that the whole policy pursued on the frontier was wrong, and that the Natives were not specially addicted to dishonesty. It is quite true that if one eliminated thefts of cattle,—which, according to the native code, were rather virtuous than vicious,—the Native as a rule was not a thief. However, fine ethical distinctions could under the circumstances hardly be expected to appeal to the harassed frontier farmer.

The evidence was capable of being refuted, but before the refutation could eventuate irreparable mischief had been done. Such evidence was in contradiction to Captain Stockenstrom’s own acts and written statements. The episode has been much debated, but no convincing explanation of the extraordinary line which Captain Stockenstrom took has ever been given.

The Treaty Policy.—It has been suggested that possibly the key to the mystery is to be found in the mutual dislike and rivalry which had long existed between the Commissioner and Colonel Somerset, who held military command on the eastern frontier. Captain Stockenstrom strongly advocated the policy of entering into treaties with the Native chiefs. He returned to South Africa as Lieutenant-Governor of the eastern

districts, and with instructions to put this policy into effect. He proceeded to the frontier and handed back to the various chiefs the several territories which had been annexed. The treaties were prepared and executed; to the principal chiefs consular agents were assigned. In each treaty the Native chief concerned was placed on an equality with the British Crown.

The settlement brought no satisfaction, yet it lasted in a way for ten years. During this period many murders were committed, many cattle were looted, many raids and reprisals took place. The Fingos were attacked, and the Tembus looted the farmers of the Somerset district. After four years' experience of the new system, the Governor reported to the Secretary of State that it was a complete failure.

Difficulties of Captain Stockenstrom.—The Lieutenant-Governor's position in the Eastern Province was a most unpleasant one. The colonists were smarting over the unfounded accusations he had brought against them; he was distrusted and disliked by all except the Philip-Fairbairn combination. He brought an action for libel against the Civil Commissioner of Albany and lost the case. A charge was laid against him to the effect that in some previous military operations he had shot a Kaffir boy under discreditable circumstances. He was tried on this charge in 1838 before a court consisting of the Governor and two military officers; the verdict was to the effect that a Kaffir had been shot, but that the shooting was justifiable as an ordinary act of war. Thereupon Captain Stockenstrom proceeded to England and placed his resignation in the hands of the Secretary of State. Lord Glenelg offered to reinstate him at an increased salary, but just then Lord Glenelg himself was called upon to resign. Eventually Captain Stockenstrom retired with a baronetcy and a pension of £700 per annum. Even his worst enemies had to admit that he had done excellent work on the frontier, both in developing the resources of the country and in reorganising the Civil Service. Colonel Hare succeeded to the Lieutenant-Governorship, but with restricted powers.

The Governor says what he thinks.—Sir Benjamin D'Urban had been in the early days of his period of

rule largely dominated by the ideas of those who had influenced Lord Glenelg. But a few months spent on the frontier had opened his eyes and altered his views. Now, however, he had no choice but to carry out the preposterous orders of his chief. His personal views on the matter may be inferred from the following extract from his acknowledgment of the despatch:—

“It is my duty to obey the commands which your Lordship has conveyed to me, and I shall endeavour to do so with as little mischief to the Colony and to all concerned as may be compatible with that obedience.”

Abolition of Slavery.—In 1834 slavery was abolished in South Africa. The slaves had to remain with their masters as apprentices for four years. It had been known for some time that this step was to be taken. Even in the days of the Batavian Government plans were being matured for bringing about gradual emancipation, on the principles of declaring children born after a certain date to be free. Suggestions to the same effect had subsequently emanated from the slaveholders themselves. There can be no doubt that in the long run a gradual emancipation in some form or another would have been far better for all concerned than a sudden one,—more especially when the latter was unaccompanied by the enactment of an adequate vagrancy law. Slavery, inherently vile and indefensible as it is in any form or under any circumstances, was, in the opinion of impartial observers, less irksome in the Cape Colony than elsewhere.

Gross Official Mismanagement.—At the date of emancipation there were 39,021 slaves in the Cape Colony. These had been appraised by Commissioners appointed by the Government at a sum of £3,041,290. The owners naturally expected to be paid according to this appraisal. However, in the year following the emancipation it was announced that of the twenty millions sterling voted to compensate owners in the nineteen British Colonies where slavery had been permitted, only £1,247,401 was assigned to the Cape. From this sum had to be deducted the cost of carrying out the Emancipation Act. A further announcement fell like a thunderbolt: each claim had to be proved before Commissioners sitting in London, and the amounts found to be due were to be paid in three

and a half per cent. stock. Moreover, each application had to bear stamps to the value of thirty shillings. The offer of payment at Tahiti in a currency of edible birds' nests would have been as intelligible to the Boers. Widespread ruin was the result. Most of the slaves were mortgaged, and the mortgage bonds contained general clauses. Speculators went round among the people and purchased the claims for a fraction of their value. Thus, the good effect of an act of great nobility on the part of the British nation was utterly destroyed by official muddling.

Increase of Vagrancy.—An attempt was made in 1834 to pass an adequate Vagrancy Law through the



CAPE TOWN FROM THE CASTLE, ABOUT 1840.

Legislative Council. Again Dr. Philip and the *Commercial Advertiser* raised their voices in strenuous opposition. So the measure had to be dropped. Certain old laws against vagrants had been hitherto enforced; on an examination of the basis of these, however, the judges found that although such could be applied in the case of European vagrants—who were non-existent—they were inoperative against Hottentots or other persons of colour. The result was that the country became filled with wandering Hottentots and others of nondescript breed, who lived by thieving,

killing game, and robbing bees' nests; doing, in fact, anything but working.

Dismissal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.—Sir Benjamin D'Urban was dismissed from his post of Governor at the end of 1837. Time has shown that those views which he expressed with such firmness and which led to his dismissal were just and right. The military authorities did not concur with Lord Glenelg's opinion of his incapacity, for he was immediately offered an important military post in India.

CHAPTER XI

(To 1840)

The Great Trek

The "Great Trek."—One of the hinges, to use Froude's phrase, in the history of South Africa, is what is known as the "Great Trek," that migration of some 10,000 Europeans from the sparsely-peopled Cape Colony to the unknown north—to regions occupied only by wandering hordes of savages and wild animals. The migration began on a small scale in 1833; it was interrupted owing to the outbreak of war on the eastern frontier for some two years. It recommenced and reached its culmination in 1836, but went on intermittently until 1840.

Its Causes.—The causes of the movement are easily found; some dated from immediately after the annexation in 1806. Various more or less misleading reasons have been assigned, among others the abolition of slavery. It is true that the emancipation grievance was given a prominent place in the manifesto drawn up by Retief, one of the leaders, but this is to be accounted for by the circumstance that the methods under which emancipation was carried out embodied one of the most recent of the grievances. One cannot, however, ignore the fact that with very few exceptions the "Voor-Trekkers" were not slave owners. Another grievance was the depreciation of the ryks-dollar. By a stroke of the pen many men to whom money was legitimately owed found the amounts due to them reduced by five-eighths, but the main cause of the trek is to be found in the blundering and vacillating policy pursued towards the warlike and aggressive hordes of Bantu upon the eastern frontier.

Lord Glenelg's Opinion.—A great deal more might

be said of the grievous injustice with which the inhabitants of the frontier were treated. The foregoing should, however, sufficiently explain the exodus. It has repeatedly been stated that these people who decided to brave the dangers of the unknown did so because they were restless spirits, impatient of control in any form, and unwilling to submit to the restraints of civilisation. This view was expressed by Lord Glenelg as follows:—

“The motives of the migration were the same as had in all ages impelled the strong to encroach upon the weak, and the powerful and unprincipled to wrest by force or fraud, from the comparatively feeble and defenceless, wealth, or property, or dominion.”

Sir Benjamin D’Urban’s Testimony.—Sir Benjamin D’Urban, the man on the spot, took another view. He attributed the trek to “insecurity of life and property occasioned by the recent measures; inadequate compensation for loss of the slaves, and despair of obtaining recompense for the ruinous losses of the Kaffir Invasion.” He described the emigrants as “a brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people, the cultivators and defenders and the taxpayers of the country.”

The exodus was almost wholly from the midland and eastern districts of the Colony. The people sold their farms for whatever they might fetch and formed camps under different leaders. The strong, heavy, springless wagons were loaded with the most indispensable household goods, with a liberal store of gunpowder and lead. Then with their wives, their children, and their stock the Voor-Trekkers crossed the colonial boundary, emphatically declaring that in doing so they finally threw off all allegiance to Great Britain.

At the time of the trek the north-eastern boundary of the Colony was the course of the Orange River from the western limit of Colesberg to the junction of the Orange River and the Kraai. On the northern bank of the former were located the Griquas. Contrary to what had been anticipated, the relations between the Voor-Trekkers and these people appear to have been quite friendly. Pasturage was hired from them and paid for in cattle. In other parts where Bushmen were located the same rule was followed. This is

corroborated by the traveller Bain, who visited these regions in 1834.

The First of the Trekkers.—Their Misfortunes.—The first of the Voortrekkers—those who were really the pioneers of the movement—were the parties under the leadership of Tricard and Van Rensberg. They reached the Vaal River in February, 1834. They pressed northward, unmolested—unaccountably enough—by the Matabele. In December, 1835, they reached the

S	M	D	W	D	V	I
1	15	29	January			31
2	16	30	February			28
3	17	31	Maand			31
4	18		April			30
5	19		May			31
6	20		June			30
7	21		July			31
8	22		Augustus			31
9	23		September			30
10	24		October			31
11	25		November			30
12	26		December			31
13	27					
14	28					

COPY OF A CALENDAR KEPT BY THE VOORTREKKERS.

region now known as Zoutpansberg. Here it was arranged that Van Rensberg should explore to the eastward, so he and his followers—forty-eight in number—descended from the great inland plateau into the low country. They were never heard of again. From rumours subsequently gathered among the natives, there is reason to believe that they were massacred by the Makwamba tribe. Tricard and his party, after a delay of four months, also started eastward, their object being to open up communication with Delagoa

Bay. In the low country their oxen and horses were destroyed by the tsetse fly, the existence of which they had been unaware of. After terrible hardships the party reached Lourenço Marques, where all but a few died of fever,

The Rendezvous at Thaba-Ntshu.—Lions.—The subsequent parties of Voortrekkers made Thaba-Ntshu, some forty miles to the eastward of what is now Bloemfontein, their first rallying point. Here the Barolong Chief, Moroko, held sway. The relations between the Voor-Trekkers and the Barolong appear to have been excellent. The regions traversed were full of danger; each man literally carried, not alone his own life, but the lives of his wife and children; in his hand. Lions abounded to an almost inconceivable extent. In the vicinity of Thaba-Ntshu 249 of these animals were shot before September, 1837, and it was said that they were more numerous in other parts. Over the wide plains the game depastured in endless variety.

Potgieter and Maritz.—Among the more prominent of the leaders of the trek may be mentioned Andries Hendrick Potgieter. His following was composed of farmers from the Tarka and Colesberg districts. Among them was Casper Kruger,—who subsequently held a command at the battle of Boomplaats,—and his son Paul, then about ten years old, who afterwards became President of the South African Republic. Another prominent leader was Gerrit Marthinus Maritz, whose following was composed of farmers from the midland district of Graaff Reinet. The clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church strenuously opposed the trek; they feared, no doubt, the uncivilising effect of the wilderness life upon the people. It is nevertheless a somewhat remarkable circumstance that not a single clergyman joined in the exodus.

The “Protectors of the Voice of the People.”—On December 2, 1836, an assembly of the Emigrants was held at Thaba-Ntshu, and a governing body was elected. This consisted of seven members, who were termed “Protectors of the Voice of the People.” They exercised both legislative and judicial functions.

The Matabele.—When Maritz and his party arrived, Potgieter and his followers had just returned from the north, where they had suffered grievously at the hands



ODDS THREE TO ONE.

of the Matabele. Umziligazi, the Matabele chief, exercised a reign of terror over the greater part of that vast tract now known as the Transvaal and the Free State. His "Great Place" was in the vicinity of where Potchefstroom stands to-day. From here he sent out raiding parties in every direction, slaughtering all whom his spears might reach.

Massacre of the Liebenbergs.—The Laager at Vechtkop.—One party, that of the Liebenbergs, had been massacred, hardly any one escaping. But a laager of the other Emigrants was formed at a spot since known as Vechtkop. Here fifty wagons were drawn up in a circle and lashed together, the spaces between the wheels being closed with thorn trees. The Matabele attacked, but were driven off with heavy loss. Upwards of a hundred spears were hurled over the wagon-ramparts. On the side of the Voortrekkers only two men were killed and twelve wounded.

Kindness of the Barolong.—In their retreat the Matabele carried off all the stock belonging to the laager. The Voortrekkers were now in evil case, but relief came from Thaba-Ntshu, for the Barolong chief lent oxen for the purpose of hauling back the wagons. This chief treated the distressed Voortrekkers with great kindness, supplying them with corn and lending milch cows for the use of the famished children.

Dissensions.—The "Grondwet" framed.—At Thaba-Ntshu difficulties arose between Potgieter and Maritz, but in April, 1837, Pieter Mauritz Retief arrived with seven families from the Winterberg, and the points of difference were for the time amicably settled. On June 6 a general meeting was held at Winberg, close to Vechtkop. A new Volksraad was elected, and a "Grondwet" or constitution drawn up. In terms of this all European inhabitants and future immigrants were to be citizens of the new state. All citizens were to have equal rights; slavery was not to be allowed; the Dutch Reformed Church was to be the State Church; Natives were to be under the protection of the law. But civil and political equality between white and coloured was distinctly repudiated, and no one could obtain the rights of citizenship without making a declaration on oath that he had no connection with the London

Missionary Society. Mr. Retief was given chief executive power with the title of Governor, and Mr. Maritz was elected President of the Volksraad.

Great Victory over the Matabele.—Flight of Umziligazi.—One of the first undertakings of the new executive was the meting out of retribution to the Matabele. In November an expedition set forth. Umziligazi, with Kalipa—his chief fighting “induna”



TREKKING OVER DIFFICULT COUNTRY.

or general—happened to be absent when the attack was made. But the spears of the Matabele were useless against the arms of Europeans. Moreover, the latter were well mounted, and could choose their own distance. The battle lasted several days. The Natives were so severely punished that they fled northward, crossed the Limpopo, and finally settled down in what we know as Matabeleland. Umziligazi (the word appropriately enough means “trail of

blood") established his "Great Place" at Buluwayo. After the expulsion of the Matabele the Voortrekker Executive issued a proclamation assuming sovereignty over the whole of the immense territory within which the spears of Umziligazi had exercised their exterminating sway, and which was practically uninhabited. This included most of the late South African Republic, about half of the Orange Free State, and Southern Bechuanaland—to the eastern bounds of the Kalahari Desert.

Retief goes to Natal.—Differences between Potgieter and Maritz again arose, and this time in a more acute form. Retief endeavoured once more to compose the quarrel, but without success. Other parties of Voortrekkers were drawn into the dispute. Retief, having obtained knowledge of Natal from a party under Pieter Uys, which had visited that country in 1834, was in favour of the whole body of Voortrekkers crossing the Drakensberg and taking possession of the country between that range and the sea. The tract in question had been almost depopulated by the impis of Tshaka, the Zulu King. A few Europeans had established themselves at the present site of Durban, where they dwelt under a kind of vassalage to Tshaka's successor, Dingaan. It is estimated that the whole of what we now call Natal at that time contained somewhat less than 7000 Native inhabitants. These were refugees and disorganised fragments of a large number of clans, many of which had been practically exterminated; they existed in constant fear of their lives. In October, 1837, Retief, accompanied by six others, left Thabantshu on horseback, and went eastward until they reached the Bay of Natal, where they were warmly welcomed by the members of the small European settlement.

He visits Dingaan.—A Treaty.—From there they proceeded to Umkungunhlovu, where Dingaan received them with apparent friendliness, entertained them with dances and military manœuvres, and agreed to cede to the Emigrant Farmers the country lying between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers, on condition that they recovered certain cattle which had been taken from the Zulus by Sikonyella, Chief of the Bathlokua. Retief and his six companions returned to

where his followers were impatiently waiting. By means of a ruse he got Sikonyella into his power, and forced him to disgorge Dingaan's cattle.

The Emigrant Farmers cross the Drakensberg.—Then the Emigrant Farmers descended the steep Drakensberg with their long train of seven hundred ox-drawn wagons, in which were their wives and children and their scanty household goods. Along each side of the track were driven their flocks and herds. As they gazed down upon the magnificent landscape with its fertile, uninhabited valleys—after passing over the bare upland plains—their new heritage must have seemed to the weary Voortrekkers a veritable land of promise.

Massacre of Retief and his Party.—Among the smiling slopes and glades through which the Blaauwkrantz and Bushman streams flow to the Tugela, the well-contented people scattered, each family choosing the site that pleased it. Retief then rounded up the recovered cattle, and started with them for the "Great Place" of the Zulu King. He was accompanied by about sixty European men and a few boys, as well as by thirty Hottentot herds. Some of his friends had a premonition of disaster, and begged him not to go. The party arrived at Umkungunhlovu on February 3, 1838. Their reception was most friendly; Dingaan caused a deed to be drawn up by Mr. Owen, a missionary whom he had permitted to reside near the "Great Place," ratifying the verbal cession of territory he had previously made. On February 6 Retief and his companions prepared to depart. They went to take leave of Dingaan, who sat in his large cattle-kraal surrounded by a numerous force of armed men. The Farmers had been requested, in accordance with Zulu custom, to discard their arms before coming into the King's presence. This they did, piling their guns outside the kraal's entrance. Upon entering, they were invited to sit down and partake of beer.

Suddenly, at a signal from Dingaan, the Zulus sprang on the Farmers and seized them. After a desperate struggle they were dragged away to an adjacent hill where executions commonly took place. There they were despatched by having their heads smashed in with clubs. The Hottentot servants who

had been sent to fetch in the horses from the veld were killed on their return.

The Laagers attacked.—Immediately an army, 10,000 strong, was despatched with orders to destroy all the Voortrekkers. In the early morning of February 17, the Zulus, having divided themselves into detachments, fell upon several encampments of unsuspecting Farmers in the vicinity of the Tugela, and massacred them: men, women, and children indiscriminately. Fortunately two or three young men were able to escape and warn those who had camped some distance away. The latter hurriedly threw themselves into laager and were thus enabled successfully to resist the onslaught, in which the Zulus lost heavily. When the latter withdrew they left of the Europeans 41 men, 56 women, and 185 children dead among the cinders of the burnt wagons. All the stock of the Farmers was swept away. The spot where this dreadful tragedy took place was named "*Weenen*" (Weeping). The survivors assembled in council to discuss the situation. It was proposed by some that they should retire over the Drakensberg; but the women of the party strongly opposed this, declaring that they would not leave until vengeance had been taken on the murderers of their kin. Then all lifted up their voices in prayer to the God of their Fathers that He might sustain them in the hour of their trial and assist them towards a righteous vengeance.

Expeditions against Dingaan.—Assistance soon came; upon news of the disaster reaching the main body of the Voortrekkers, a force under Commandants Potgieter and Uys pressed swiftly over the Drakensberg. The English at the Bay of Natal, two of whom had shared the fate of Retief and his companions, offered assistance. These now had a large following of Natives, many of whom were armed with muskets. In April, two expeditions, one from Weenen and one from the Bay, set forth for Dingaan's capital. Owing to internal dissensions the latter expedition had to return; that of the Emigrants, under Potgieter and Uys, went on. It numbered 347 men, all well armed and mounted.

Narrow Escape of the Emigrant Farmers.—Death of Commandant Uys.—It is impossible to over-estimate

the bravery of these men. Without stores, without any base, they advanced to attack a chief who could oppose them with probably 40,000 physically powerful and highly-disciplined soldiers. For five days their march was unresisted; then a strong division of the Zulu army was seen. Upon this an attack was at once made, but it soon became clear that the Farmers had fallen into an ambuscade; a numerous force had closed upon their rear and cut them off. By striking their immense oxhide shields with the handles of their spears the Zulus made a thunderous din; this frightened the horses to such an extent that they became unmanage-



Photo : T. D. Ravenscroft.]

DINGAAN'S KRAAL.

able. The Farmers had to retreat; they were only able to escape by concentrating their fire upon one portion of the ring of foes which massed around them, and breaking through the gap thus created. Their loss was ten men killed, besides their led horses, their baggage, and their spare ammunition. Commandant Uys was one of the slain. While endeavouring to succour a wounded man he was stabbed with a spear. He called upon his comrades to fight their way out and leave him, but his son Dirk, a boy of fifteen, rushed to the help of his father and was killed at his side.

Disastrous Expedition from Port Natal.—In the mean time the English at the Bay of Natal had

organised another expedition. It consisted of 17 Europeans and 1500 Natives, over 300 of whom had firearms. This force met with complete disaster; it was enticed across the Tugela by a ruse and found itself between the horns of a powerful Zulu army. A desperate contest took place; several times in succession furious charges were repulsed, but the Zulus received reinforcements which enabled them to divide the Natal army like a wedge. The defeat was complete. From the one section four Englishmen and about 500 Natives escaped; the other section was utterly exterminated, but only after a desperate fight in the course of which several thousands of the enemy were killed. The victorious Zulus marched to the Bay of Natal; fortunately a small vessel, the *Comet*, was there anchored, and thus the few surviving residents were enabled to escape. The Zulus destroyed everything found in the settlement, and then returned to Umkungunhlovu.

Potgieter retires across the Drakensberg.—Commandant Potgieter with his following retired over the Drakensberg. On the Mooi River they founded a village, which was named Potchefstroom in honour of their leader. Thus was formed the first settlement of Europeans north of the Vaal. Here was established an independent government, which claimed authority over the whole Transvaal as well as a considerable portion of what is now the Orange Free State. Near Winburg and in various localities south of the Vaal were independent parties of Emigrant Farmers, individually experimenting in forms of government based upon Biblical history. Potgieter had been blamed by some of the Emigrants for the defeat which the commando had sustained. However, a number of fresh parties from the Cape Colony arrived. In August Dingaan again sent an army against the Farmers. On three successive days the laager on the Bushman River was violently attacked, but the Zulus were beaten off with heavy loss.

Arrival of Andries Pretorius.—Among the new arrivals was one Andries Willem Jacobus Pretorius, from Graaff Reinet. Mr. Pretorius, who was a man of high character and great ability, was elected Commandant-General. Early in December he assembled a commando of about 470 men with which to attack

Dingaan. Most of the rivers were in flood, so the expedition had to cross the Tugela near its source in the Drakensberg. The commando was accompanied by wagons, which were each night drawn into a circle and lashed together. A few light cannon were also taken. At every halting-place fervent prayers for victory were offered up by the Farmers, and a vow was made that if such were granted they would build a church and set apart a festival day in each year in thankful commemoration. This vow has been faithfully kept.

Great Victory at Blood River.—On December 15, 1838, the little force camped close to the bank of a river into which a deep donga led. The laager stood on the angle thus formed, and was accordingly protected on two sides. At dawn next morning a powerful Zulu army rushed to the attack. For full two hours successive charges broke upon the two open sides, but the steady fire from the Farmers' guns and the small field pieces mowed the enemy down. Mr. Pretorius emerged from the camp with a small body of horsemen and attacked the enemy in the rear. The Zulus then broke and fled, leaving over 3000 of their number dead on the field. The river, which that day ran red, has since been known as the Blood River.

Destruction of Umkungunhlovu.—Flight of Dingaan.—The commando moved forward to Umkungunhlovu, which was found to be in flames; Dingaan had just previously fled into the jungles of the Umvlosi River. On the Execution Hill the skeletons of Retief and his companions, who had been slain ten months previously, were found. The thongs with which the unfortunate men had been dragged to their doom were still attached to their remains. Those of Mr. Retief were recognised, and in his leather bag was found in perfect preservation the Deed of Cession granted by Dingaan. The remains were collected and buried.

An Ambush.—A detachment of 280 men were sent in pursuit of Dingaan. This was surrounded by Zulus, and had to cut its way out with a loss of six of its number. The commando then returned, capturing on its way about 5000 head of cattle. In May the Emigrants, with the concurrence of the English residing at the Bay of Natal, issued a proclamation, taking possession of the Bay in the name of "The South African

Emigrants." In July the Governor of the Cape Colony issued another proclamation in terms of which the Emigrants were ordered to return, and were promised redress of grievances. The proclamation also stated that the Emigrants could not be absolved from their allegiance to the British Crown, and that whenever it was considered advisable the Governor would take possession of the Bay of Natal.

British Occupation of the Bay of Natal.—Departure of the British.—This actually happened in November. British troops landed and seized a zone two miles wide from high-water mark surrounding the Bay. Within the area was stored some ammunition belonging to the Emigrants; this was seized. In December, 1839, the British force abandoned the Bay of Natal; the British Commandant returned the impounded ammunition to the Emigrants, but informed them that they were still considered to be British subjects.

Pietermaritzburg founded.—In March, 1839, the town of Pietermaritzburg was founded; the name being given in honour of the late Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz. Here the Volksraad of the Emigrants assembled; it consisted of twenty-four annually elected members, and met four times a year. Dingaan, who was a treacherous, bloodthirsty tyrant—in some respects more brutal even than his predecessor, Tshaka, had become hated by certain sections of his people.

Panda makes Overtures.—Dingaan deposed.—The slaying of Tambusa.—In the early part of 1840 a brother of Dingaan, named Umpande,—known to the Europeans as Panda, conspired against him. Panda was joined by a powerful Induna named Nongalaza, who commanded the district north of the Tugela. He sent messages to the Europeans asking for their support. Panda was at first distrusted, but he appeared before the Volksraad in October and satisfied it as to his sincerity. He and his followers were given temporary occupation of land between the Tugela and Umvoti Rivers. It was then decided to depose Dingaan and install Panda in his place. Accordingly a burgher commando of 400 men assembled, and, in conjunction with an impi some 6000 strong, led by Nongalaza, set out for Zululand, under Commandant-General Pretorius. The latter had been instructed to demand from Dingaan 40,000 head of

cattle; it was well known that this demand would be refused. Dingaan sent messages to the Emigrants, to the effect that he wished to come to terms. One of the envoys was an influential induna named Tambusa. What now occurred leaves an indelible stain upon the character of Pretorius. Tambusa and his servant were made prisoners, tried by court-martial as spies, and sentenced to death. They were shot. Tambusa met his doom with a lofty dignity that must have put his slayers to shame.

Nongalaza defeats Dingaan's Army.—Nongalaza had moved forward with his force and, without the assistance of the Europeans, met Dingaan's army on the Dukusi River, where he inflicted upon it a decisive defeat. The battle was fiercely contested; whole regiments of Tshaka's iron veterans were slain to a man. While the battle was still undecided, a cry arose from Nongalaza's ranks: "The Boers are coming!" This was not true, but the remnants of Dingaan's army believed it was, and fled. Dingaan took refuge on the borders of the Swazi country, where he was shortly afterwards assassinated.

Panda installed as Chief of the Zulus.—Panda was formally installed as Chief of the Zulus by Mr. Pretorius. He received his appointment in vassalage to the Emigrant Farmers, and removed his followers to the north of the Tugela. A proclamation was issued by the Executive at Pietermaritzburg, taking possession of the country as far north as St. Lucia Bay.

CHAPTER XII

(To 1850)

The Sovereignty beyond the Orange River

The Griquas.—The Griquas north of the Orange River prospered in the tract they occupied under the guidance of their missionaries. They became skilled hunters of the ostrich and the elephant, and made long journeys to the north, whence they returned with quantities of feathers and ivory. The parent community at Griquatown sent forth offshoots which formed settlements at various points. From time to time the more restless spirits organised themselves into marauding bands; these became a terror to the Batlapin and other Bantu tribes to the northward.

Andries Waterboer.—Adam Kok.—Andries Waterboer remained at Griquatown. A party under one Barend Barends moved to Daniel's Kuil; later to Boetsap, and, in 1833, to Lishuane, on the Caledon River. Another party under Adam Kok settled at Campbell. In 1834 Adam resigned, and was succeeded by his brother Cornelis.

Freebooters.—Philipolis.—The former left Griquatown, and was joined by a number of freebooters who, on account of the destructive swoops they occasionally made from their strongholds in the Langebergen on the south-east margin of the Kalihari Desert, had long been a terror to all within their reach. They now adopted a settled pastoral life. But they did not long remain under Waterboer's leadership; the greater number soon resumed freebooting. In 1826 Adam Kok and the residue who adhered to him settled down at the request of the London Missionary Society, at Philipolis—a mission station near the Orange River, which had been established in 1823, and named in honour

of Dr. Philip. The idea underlying the request was that the Griquas were to afford protection to the Bushmen still surviving in the vicinity, but instead of this resulting the Griquas exterminated the Bushmen with ruthless cruelty. Adam Kok died in 1835, and was succeeded by his eldest son Abraham.

The Griquas split.—After various intrigues, the particulars of which it would be profitless to trace, the Griquas split into two sections. On the one side were Cornelis and Abraham Kok, on the other were Andries Waterboer and another Adam Kok, the younger brother of Abraham. Several battles were fought between the two sections, but the combatants engaged each other at such a distance that no damage was done. Subsequently, in 1841, the Griquas were divided into three sections. Andries Waterboer went back to Griquatown, Cornelis Kok to Campbell, and Adam Kok the Second reigned at Philipolis. Abraham Kok, the quality of whose morals had been objected to by the missionaries, sank into obscurity. Before this settlement had been arrived at, a document was drawn up between Adam Kok the Second and Andries Waterboer, embodying an agreement to divide between them the country as far north as Plattberg on the Vaal River. This agreement ignored all other claims. It was dated November 9, 1838, and was regarded as important evidence on the subject of the ownership of the Diamond Fields in 1870. As a matter of fact the signatories to this agreement had no more right to the tract it referred to than they had to the Isle of Wight.

Gradual Migration of Europeans across the Orange River.—For many years farmers of the Cape Colony had been in the habit of crossing the Orange River when pasturage became scarce owing to drought or visitations of locusts. From time to time individuals settled on the plains in the vicinity of the Riet and Modder Rivers. The relations between the Europeans and the Griquas, who were located farther south, were quite friendly. The Griquas, by clearing the country of Bushmen, had gained the gratitude of the farmers. A number of these, under a leader named Michael Oberholster, were well-disposed towards the British Government.

Return of some of the Emigrant Farmers.—Of the Emigrant Farmers who recrossed the Drakensberg from Natal after Durban had been retaken by the British, some moved to the north of the Vaal; others remained between the Vaal and the Orange. The leader of the latter was one Jan Mocke; he and his following were bitterly anti-British. In October, 1842, Mr. Justice Menzies held a Circuit Court at Colesberg. Two men belonging to Mocke's party were charged with murder, but acquitted. Adam Kok was at the time at Colesberg.

A Comprehensive Annexation.—Acting on information received from him, the judge crossed the Orange River on October 22, hoisted the Union Jack and proclaimed British sovereignty over the country from the 32nd degree of longitude eastward to the sea and northward from the Orange River to the 25th parallel of latitude. From this comprehensive tract were omitted such portions as were in possession of the Portuguese or of native tribes. Two days afterwards Mocke with several hundred armed followers arrived and disputed the validity of the proclamation, claiming on behalf of the Emigrant Farmers the whole country north of the Orange River and as far eastward as the military lines around Durban. Sir George Napier repudiated Judge Menzies' action by means of a published notice,—which, however, again affirmed that the Emigrant Farmers were regarded as British subjects. At the same time a military force was despatched to Colesberg.

Treaties of Alliance with Adam Kok and Waterboer.—In 1843 a treaty of alliance was entered into between Governor Napier and Adam Kok at the latter's request, similar in terms to the one entered into with Waterboer nine years previously. In his application the Griqua captain claimed a territory of nearly twelve thousand square miles in extent, but in the treaty only the southern boundary, a line running from the neighbourhood of Ramah to Bethulie, was mentioned. It was arranged that Adam Kok was to draw a yearly subsidy of £100 and to be provided with one hundred stand of arms and a quantity of ammunition. Moreover, he was granted £50 yearly for the maintenance of a school.

Treaties with Moshesh and Faku.—At the same time a treaty was entered into with Moshesh, the Basuto chief. In the latter treaty the limits of the Basuto territory were defined as follows: the Orange River from its source to its junction with the Caledon; thence a line from twenty-five to thirty miles northwards of the Caledon from the district of Bethulie to the country occupied by the Bathlokua. The territory lying between Basutoland and the sea was ceded by treaty to Faku the Pondo chief. Thus the Cape Colony from the Kalihari eastwards to the Indian Ocean was technically cut off from the possibility of expansion to the northward by a chain of four independent Native states, with the rulers of which England had entered into solemn treaty engagements.

Resultant Irritation.—A Lost Opportunity.—Probably no act on the part of Great Britain irritated the Farmers so much as did these treaties. The Griquas had been British subjects and had, without permission, crossed the colonial boundary. Their independence was forthwith acknowledged; they were furnished with arms and treated with every possible favour. Europeans, on the other hand, were peremptorily told that they could not throw off their allegiance, and such of them as happened to be living within the territories occupied by the Griquas were now placed under the jurisdiction of so-called "Captains," belonging to a hybrid, inferior race. At this time Oberholster's following numbered more than a thousand; these people were well-disposed and most anxious to submit to the Queen's authority. They sent an influentially signed memorial asking to be accepted as British subjects, but no notice was taken of their request. Herein was a splendid opportunity lost. Oberholster and his people, while declining to acknowledge subjection to the Griquas, entered into an agreement with Adam Kok to the effect that, conjointly with him, they would prevent any one refusing allegiance to Great Britain from residing in the territory.

Difficulties between Farmers and Griquas.—In 1844 there was a quarrel between two Europeans near Philipolis, one of whom died from the injuries he received. Adam Kok caused the other man to be arrested and forwarded to Colesberg. Jan Moeke

wrote on behalf of the Emigrants who were opposed to British rule, demanding the release of the prisoner, which was refused. Mocke threatened war, and Kok obtained from Colesberg powder and lead. In June a large meeting of Farmers and Griquas was held at Colesberg. No satisfactory understanding was arrived at. Not long afterwards two Natives, on the complaint of one of the Farmers, were sentenced by a Commandant to be flogged. Adam Kok sent a band of one hundred men to arrest the complainant; the latter was not at home, but the Griquas broke into his house, abused his wife, and carried away his guns and ammunition.

The Fight at Touwfontein.—The Farmers went into laager at Touwfontein. The Griquas assembled under arms; the two parties began looting each other's cattle. Adam Kok was supplied by the Governor with one hundred more muskets and a quantity of ammunition. A military force of two hundred men proceeded from Colesberg to Philipolis to support the Griquas. The Farmers maintained that they were independent of Great Britain and subject only to the Councils of Potchefstroom and Winburg. They insisted that the Griquas began the war, and demanded that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the Griquas and themselves. They pointed out that as the Griquas were regarded as a free people it was the right of the Europeans to be similarly regarded. They professed their willingness to return cattle captured if the Griquas would do the same. In the meantime a further military force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, had crossed the river. An advance was made by British and Griqua forces upon Touwfontein. After a slight action the Farmers fled and their camp was taken. With the exception of about one hundred men, who surrendered, the laager contained only women and children.

A Settlement arrived at.—Shortly afterwards the Governor, attended by the Attorney-General, arrived at Touwfontein. A meeting of Basuto chiefs and Griqua captains was held; Moshesh was present. Adam Kok made extravagant demands. It was eventually arranged that his territory should be divided into two portions. In one of these no Europeans except

missionaries and traders were allowed; in the other, land might be leased either to Europeans or Griquas. At the time there were already within it eighty farms held by Europeans. It was further arranged that the administration of this portion was to be in the hands of a British resident, but the sovereign rights of Adam Kok were nevertheless to remain intact.

Major Warden.—Captain (afterwards Major) Henry Douglas Warden was appointed Resident. The Basuto



MOSHESH.

chief asked that the Europeans residing within the bounds of the tract assigned to him by the treaty entered into with Sir George Napier might be ejected. These numbered at the time 447 families. Negotiations on the subject were postponed pending an inquiry to be made by Commandant Gideon Joubert, who was appointed Sub-Commissioner for the purpose. At this period the number of the Natives who acknowledged Moshesh as their chief was about fifty thousand.

The Ambitions of Moshesh.—Moshesh's conduct now

indicated the growth of his ambition. Not satisfied with the extensive tract which he occupied, he sent parties of his people to establish themselves in areas where no Basuto had previously resided. He extended his borders northward towards the tracts inhabited by the Bathlokua and ordered his brother, a noted freebooter, to seize a natural fortress which was deep within the area occupied by Europeans. This brother was soon joined by a number of Bantu thieves belonging to other tribes.

Founding of Bloemfontein.—In March, 1846, a conference was convened by Major Warden. Moshesh, Sikonyella,—the Bathlokua chief—with a number of other chiefs and the Griqua captains attended. At this conference it was agreed to leave the settlement of the boundary question to a commission to be appointed by the Governor. Owing, however, to the Kaffir war breaking out, no such commission was appointed. Major Warden selected a spot known as Bloemfontein as the site for his court; this subsequently became the capital of the Orange Free State.

Sir Harry Smith.—As soon as affairs in the Cape Colony permitted, Sir Harry Smith went north to visit the Farmers who had crossed the border. He had known many of them twelve years previously, and, trusting to his popularity, felt confident of being able to persuade the Emigrants to return. But the latter were now much embittered by their experiences, and had lost faith in Great Britain. Moreover, among them were a number of questionable characters, including fugitives from justice and deserters from the army. Such men had strong objections to coming again under British rule, and traded for their own ends on the prejudices of the Farmers.

Adam Kok surprised.—Sir Harry Smith summoned Adam Kok to meet him at Bloemfontein on January 24, 1848. The Griqua captain talked arrogantly of his rights, and took up the position of an independent sovereign in alliance on equal terms with the Queen of England. However, upon the Governor threatening to hang him from one of the beams of the room in which the interview took place, he consented to a reasonable compromise. In terms of this he and his people had to

draw a capitalised sum of £300 per annum for the land let to Europeans in the alienable portion of the Griqua territory. As the leases in the other portion expired, it was arranged that the European occupants should leave, their improvements being paid for.

Proclamation of the Sovereignty.—Oberholster's following of well-disposed Farmers presented the Governor with an address of welcome; so did another party of Farmers from the Lower Caledon River. At Winburg an address signed by forty-eight persons, twenty-seven of whom were heads of families, was presented. This embodied a request that the country might be brought under the jurisdiction of Great Britain. The Governor had a hurried interview with Moshesh, and informed that chief that he meant to proclaim the sovereignty of the Queen over all the country inhabited by the Farmers. Moshesh signed a document agreeing to the proposals, which, however, it is not clear that he fully understood.

The Governor then proceeded to Natal, where he visited the camp of the Emigrant Farmers. There, on February 3, he issued a proclamation of sovereignty on the part of the Queen of England over the country between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers, and thence eastward to the Drakensberg. He had so much confidence in the effect of his personal influence that, against Major Warden's advice, he removed all the troops except sixty of the Cape Mounted Riflemen from Bloemfontein. Provisional arrangements were made for the government of the new sovereignty. A civil commissioner and resident magistrate was appointed to Winburg, and another to the Lower Caledon. All farms were to be held on military tenure, and Farmers were required to turn out in defence of the Sovereign and her allies. But the only allies of the Queen the Farmers knew of were the Griquas, whom they despised and hated, and the Basuto, whose increasing power they felt to be a menace.

Sir Harry Smith deceived.—Sir Harry Smith had completely mistaken the temper of the people, a strong majority of whom were irreconcilably opposed to British rule in any form. Many of the Farmers at once moved northward across the Vaal River, so as to be outside the Queen's proclaimed dominion. There were,

however, a fair proportion, probably not quite one-third of the inhabitants of the sovereignty, who were in favour of the British connexion. On May 22 Major Warden installed Mr. Biddulph, the new resident magistrate and civil commissioner at Winburg. The Republican officials there gave formal notice that they would not acknowledge the British official. They sent a message to Mr. Pretorius at Rustenburg asking for his assistance. Mrs. Pretorius lay dying at the time, but she sent her husband from her bedside to do his duty. He never saw her again.

Pretorius intervenes.—Mr. Pretorius arrived at Winburg on July 12; he published a notice to the effect that nobody would be permitted to remain neutral, and that those who would not join him must cross the Orange River before the 20th of the month. The few who were favourable to the British Government went into laager and defied the notice. Mr. Biddulph retired to Bloemfontein.

The Commandos assemble.—A few days afterwards Pretorius approached with a commando, and camped within two miles of the village. At a conference with Major Warden the capitulation of Bloemfontein was agreed upon, the few troops and the civilian inhabitants being permitted to return to the Cape Colony. Mr. Pretorius furnished wagons to convey their goods to Colesberg. A long manifesto drawn up and signed by upwards of nine hundred farmers, was forwarded to the Governor. It repeated the grievances and reminded Sir Harry that, as High Commissioner, he had stated that unless the majority of the inhabitants were in favour of the Queen's Sovereignty such would not be proclaimed. On this point there exists a discrepancy between the statement of the Governor and that of Pretorius. The former said that his proviso had reference only to the people north of the Vaal; Pretorius declared that it also included those between the latter and the Orange.

When the report of these occurrences reached Sir Harry Smith, he gave orders that all available troops should assemble at Colesberg. A proclamation was issued offering £1000 reward for the apprehension of Pretorius, and £500 for that of William Jacobs, the landdrost of Winburg. The British force, some eight

hundred strong, crossed the Orange River on August 26, Sir Harry Smith taking personal command. It was joined by a few well-disposed Farmers and some two hundred and fifty Griquas, under Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok. The commando of the Emigrant Farmers fell back towards Bloemfontein; there was much dissension in its ranks.

The Battle of Boomplaats.—On the 28th the commando took up a position among some stony hills near the Kromme Elleboog River at a farm called Boomplaats. Shortly before noon next day the British force advanced against the enemies' position; Sir Harry and his staff rode in front. By the Governor's orders the caps had been removed from the nipples of the carbines; he was under the impression that the Farmers when they recognised him would not fire. But a volley rang out within sixty yards. The Governor had a narrow escape; his horse was wounded in the head by a bullet and one of his stirrup leathers cut by another. The British force then attacked, and the Boers retired from position to position, hotly contesting each. A party of the Farmers under Commandant Jan Kock made a dash for the wagons, but were forced to retire. At two o'clock the last hill was stormed; the Farmers then broke and fled eastward across the plain. In his despatch Sir Harry Smith, who had seen much fighting, described the engagement at Boomplaats as one of the most severe skirmishes he had ever witnessed. The number of Farmers actually engaged was probably about five hundred; the British loss was two officers and twenty men killed, and five officers and thirty-three men severely wounded. The number of casualties on the side of the Farmers was not ascertained; they admitted to having lost nine men killed and five wounded. Next day two men who had taken part in the battle were captured. One was a deserter, the other a young farmer named Dreyer. They were tried by court-martial and shot. The execution of Dreyer was looked upon as an act of excessive severity, and was much resented.

A reward of £2000 was now offered for the apprehension of Commandant-General Pretorius, and £500 each for the apprehension of three of his officers. The infliction of several substantial fines was announced.

The Governor, with his force, proceeded to Winburg *via* Bloemfontein, and re-proclaimed the Queen's Sovereignty. Moshesh, who had been invited to meet him, appeared, attended by several hundred followers. Amended arrangements for the government of the territory were announced. The seat of magistracy in the Caledon River district was named Smithfield. A fort was built at Bloemfontein, where a small garrison was left. Soon the more irreconcilable of the Boers moved northward over the Vaal, but their places were taken by fresh arrivals from the Cape. On his return journey the Governor crossed the Orange River at Buffel's Vlei, where he was met by a number of Farmers. It was arranged to have a town laid out at this spot, to be given the name of Aliwal.

Establishment of Church Consistories.—Ever since the emigration, the Farmers had been without any official religious ministrations except those afforded by the Reverend Daniel Lindley of Maritzburg, who occasionally crossed the Drakensberg. Marriages were performed by civil officers; baptisms were deferred until Mr. Lindley's services became available. However, the Farmers never lost hold of their Bible. There were no schools, but the children were taught their letters by the parents, and were thus enabled to spell out the easier passages of the sacred Book. The adventurous life led by the children of Israel during their wanderings had, to a certain extent, its counterpart in the experiences of the Emigrant Farmers. The latter moved about in a more or less desert country with their flocks and herds, and came into conflict with heathen tribes. It is not to be wondered at that the Emigrants came to consider themselves to be in a sense a "peculiar" people, and to look upon the Bible as the one and only guide to this world as well as to the next. In 1848 a synod of the Dutch Reformed Church decided to send a commission to investigate the spiritual needs of the Emigrants. When it is realised that twelve years had passed without any such step being taken, one may well wonder at the delay. Consistories were established at Bloemfontein, at Smithfield, and at a spot where the town of Harri-smith now stands. Early in 1849 the Reverend Andrew Murray, junior, was appointed Minister at Bloemfontein,

and Consulent of the other congregations. Schools had been established at Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Smithfield. Steps were taken towards obtaining the services of clergymen and teachers from Holland. In 1849 a Legislative Council was created.

Trouble in Basutoland.—Trouble began in Northern Basutoland, between Moshesh's people and those of Sikonyella. There was considerable fighting and looting on both sides. Attempts were made to lay down a satisfactory line in the south between the country occupied by the Europeans and that occupied by the Basutos. Moshesh now claimed the whole of the territory assigned to him in terms of the Napier Treaty, besides a considerable tract in addition. Eventually, under compulsion, Moshesh agreed to accept a line laid down by Major Warden. This cut off an area assigned to the Basuto by the Napier Treaty of 1843. That treaty, however, had recognised as integral portions of Basutoland, large tracts into which Moshesh had just recently sent people to build kraals for the purpose of establishing a technical occupation.

In 1850 trouble arose between the Bathlokua and the Bataung. A British expedition took the field against Sikonyella who, however, submitted. In the meantime the Bataung had attacked a mission station, so the British, assisted by the Bathlokua and the Barolong, attacked them and captured a number of their cattle. Immediately afterwards some Basuto fell upon the Barolong. This was in revenge for the Barolong having helped in the attack upon the Bataung, whom Moshesh now regarded as his vassals. Nearly four thousand head of cattle and eight hundred horses were swept into Basutoland. A demand was made upon Moshesh for restitution of the looted stock; some months afterwards he sent in about two thousand head of inferior cattle. Raiding between the Basuto and various clans on their border commenced. A meeting of all the chiefs in the territory was convened for June 4, 1851, at Bloemfontein. Only Moroko and Gert Taaibosch, Captain of the Korannas on the Orange River, appeared. It was decided to bring Moshesh to book. He now claimed authority over the Baphuti, a clan located south of the Orange River, and it was his evident intention to

extend his borders in three directions—north, south, and west. A force was assembled consisting of nearly three hundred Europeans, of whom about one hundred and twenty were farmers, and upwards of one thousand blacks of various tribes. A demand was sent to Moshesh for delivery of six thousand head of good cattle and three hundred horses.

The Battle of Viervoet.—To this no reply was received; it was then decided to attack the Bataung at Viervoet, their stronghold. The force was commanded by Major Donovan of the Cape Regiment. An assault was made at daybreak on June 30. The stronghold was easily stormed, and the cattle of the enemy taken possession of. In the mean time three bodies of Basuto arrived. The Bataung now reformed, and in conjunction with the Basuto, delivered a vigorous counter-attack. What had been looked upon as an easy victory was now turned into a disastrous defeat. The cattle were all recaptured, and a large number of the unfortunate Barolong were slaughtered. The commando then retreated to Thaba-Ntshu, where it was broken up. The Barolong and the other clans which had resisted the Basuto were obliged to fall back to the westward. The British Resident was now powerless. The majority of the Farmers refused to support him. Assistance was received from Natal; this included some two hundred regular troops and a contingent of Natives numbering about six hundred.

Moshesh plunders the Loyal Farmers.—Moshesh sent forces to take possession of the land vacated by the tribes which had joined the English against him. Then while proclaiming his friendliness towards the British Crown he sent out his men to attack all Farmers who had obeyed Major Warden's requisition to turn out on commando. At the same time he spared those who had refused.

CHAPTER XIII

(To 1854)

The Sovereignty beyond the Orange River

Anarchy. — Pretorius asked to restore Order.—The Republican Party now assembled and drafted a request to Mr. Pretorius to the effect that he should take upon himself the administration of the country, which had practically fallen into a condition of anarchy. Moshesh, regarding the Farmers as the stronger faction, joined in this request. He was aware of the war which was raging on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, and no doubt believed that the British were getting the worst of it. Reinforcements were despatched from England, and the Governor was instructed to restore British authority. But the Secretary of State embodied in his despatch a threat, which must have sounded somewhat strange to the Republicans, namely,—that unless the majority of the inhabitants would willingly and actively obey the Sub-Resident, British rule would be withdrawn!

In November, 1851, Major Hogg and Mr. Mostyn Owen, who had been constituted a Commission to inquire into the conditions of the Sovereignty, arrived at Bloemfontein. Those conditions presented peculiar features. The Farmers who had ignored the British Resident's authority, and who were practically in alliance with Moshesh, were peacefully carrying on their avocations, whereas those who maintained their allegiance to the British Crown were continually exposed to attack by the Basuto. The contingent of Natal Natives was engaged in looting on its own account, mainly from Sikonyella's people. When they had collected what they considered a sufficiency of stock, they absconded to their homes. Moroko and

his people had returned to Thaba-Ntshu, where European troops from Natal were stationed, but the latter were soon withdrawn for the protection of the loyalists of the Winburg district, who were suffering grievously from Basuto raids.

The Sand River Convention.—Commandant-General Pretorius wrote from Magaliesberg in November suggesting that a conference between the commissioners and the representatives of the Farmers from beyond the Vaal might be held. This proposal was agreed to on December 23; at the same time the proclamation of outlawry against Mr. Pretorius and of rewards for his apprehension and for that of certain of his colleagues was withdrawn. On January 16, 1852, the conference was held at Mr. P. A. Venter's farm on the Sand River. About three hundred of the Transvaal farmers attended. At this period there were four commandants-general in the Transvaal, each taking charge, as chief executive officer, of a section of the country. The four were Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, Mr. A. H. Potgieter, Mr. W. F. Joubert, and Mr. J. A. Enslin. The section which adhered to Mr. Potgieter was not represented. Mr. Joubert acted with Mr. Pretorius; Mr. Enslin was lying on his death-bed. The treaty known as the Sand River Convention was then drawn up and signed by the delegates from each side. It provided for the complete independence of the Emigrants who had crossed the Vaal River. It specifically stated that there was to be no interference on the part of the British Government in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, no encroachment upon land nor alliances with coloured tribes north of the Vaal River. Slavery was not to be practised. Neither side was to supply war material to the Native races. Certificates of birth and marriage issued by the Government to the Emigrants were to be recognised. The extradition of criminals was provided for. The Convention was eventually ratified by the Secretary of State.

At this time the greater number of those opposed to British rule had left the Sovereignty for the Transvaal. Those opponents who still remained considered that Mr. Pretorius had betrayed them through not having provided for their interests in the

Convention. Such were informed that if they chose they might cross the Vaal, in which case farms would be provided for them.

Moshesh continued to profess friendship, which, however, was punctuated by raids. He again attacked Sikonyella, defeated him, and carried off a large number of cattle. A clan of half-breeds was supplied by Major Warden with ammunition. They raided the Basuto; the latter in revenge for this again raided the Barolong.

Appointment of an Executive Council.—Major Hogg died suddenly, and was succeeded by Advocate J. W. Ebdon. Major Warden was retired, and Mr. Henry Green appointed in his place. An Executive Council, consisting of five nominated members, under the presidency of the British Resident, was constituted. The latter acquired large tracts of land; he was in fact the largest landholder in the Sovereignty. Sir Harry Smith had been recalled, and Sir George Cathcart appointed Governor and High Commissioner in his place. Soon afterwards a meeting of the delegates of the European inhabitants from the different districts was convened. This assembly was asked to vote on the question as to whether Great Britain held the country with the consent of the inhabitants or not. The answer was in the affirmative.

Sinister Attitude of Moshesh.—It was now the general conclusion that the ambitions of the Basuto Chief were such as to constitute a grave danger. The great mistake which had been made in permitting the enlargement of the Basuto territory and the consolidation of the power of the tribe was evident. The imperative necessity of employing military measures—measures adequate to check the growing arrogance and aggressiveness of Moshesh and his vassals—was generally recognised.

Sir George Cathcart.—His Ultimatum to Moshesh.—Accordingly, when Sir George Cathcart had broken the power of the Kaffir tribes on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, he organised a powerful military force wherewith to back the ultimatum he intended presenting to the “Chief of the Mountain,” as Moshesh was called.

Assembly of a Strong Military Force.—This force,

which was thoroughly equipped, consisted of about two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, with two field-guns. It marched *viâ* Burghersdorp, crossed the Orange River, and proceeded along the western bank of the Caledon to Plattberg, where it halted. Summonses were issued to Moshesh, Sikonyella, Molitsane, Moroko, and Gert Taaibosch to attend. None of them appeared. The Caledon was in flood, so Moshesh could not have come even had he been willing, but two of his sons swam through the river to the camp. Them, however, the High Commissioner declined to receive. The ultimatum was presented to Moshesh on December 14. It was couched in peremptory and somewhat offensive terms, and embodied a demand for the delivery of 10,000 head of cattle and 1000 horses within three days. Next day Moshesh visited the camp and conferred with the High Commissioner, to whom he declared that the required number of cattle and horses could not be collected within the time specified, and that an advance of the British into his country would be resisted. "A dog," he said, "will show his teeth if beaten." It is probable that Moshesh personally favoured complete submission, but that his principal vassals took a different view. In acting against the opinion of his councillors, there is always a point beyond which the most influential Native chief dare not go.

The Battle of the Berea.—On December 18 Moshesh's son Nehemiah brought 3500 head of cattle to the British camp. Next day, as no more cattle had been delivered, Sir George Cathcart moved a portion of his force to the Caledon Drift near the Berea Mission Station. In the evening Moperi, a brother of Moshesh, arrived accompanied by a missionary, and begged that the advance might be stayed, as efforts were being made to collect the balance of the cattle. On the morning of December 20, however, the British force moved forward in three divisions. Before it lay the Berea mountain—rugged, flat-topped, and precipitous; it was observed to be thickly covered with herds of cattle. Beyond the Berea lay Thaba Bosigo—"The Mountain of Night," the renowned stronghold of the Basuto Chief. It was arranged that one section of the British force should cross the Berea, and the two others

repectively proceed around its flanks—the three to meet on the other side. The Cavalry Brigade, under Colonel Napier, whose course was along the northern flank, succumbed to the cattle lure, left their specified course and without definite formation ascended the mountain side. Suddenly about seven hundred mounted Basutos charged upon the disorganised force. Colonel Napier rallied a few of the troops and managed to cover the retreat of the others. Thirty-two men were killed, of whom twenty-seven were Lancers. Another detachment of over four hundred and fifty infantry with a few cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, ascended the face of the mountain and seized an enormous herd of cattle which had been placed on the top—evidently as a bait. But the cattle proved unmanageable, and while the British force was endeavouring to drive them away, a mass of the enemy's horsemen charged. Some of the Basuto were dressed in the uniform of the slain Lancers, and were not recognised as enemies until they were close at hand. Most of the cattle had to be abandoned. Fortunately the scattered British force was able to draw together and effect an orderly retreat, with a loss of only five men killed and an officer taken prisoner. The third British detachment, about three hundred strong, and under the command of General Cathcart, moved round the southern base of the Berea and halted before Thaba Bosigo. Confronting it was a force of some six thousand horsemen, all with fire-arms. These advanced to the attack, but hardly came within rifle range. Firing from both sides continued for some time, but with little result. Then a heavy thunderstorm broke, and for a space the firing ceased. When the storm had passed, the enemy, whose numbers had now increased, began to advance, but fortunately Colonel Eyre's detachment arrived and reinforced General Cathcart's meagre contingent. As night was falling the British took up a good defensive position in an abandoned kraal surrounded by large rocks. The enemy kept up a vigorous fire from a distance until eight o'clock. The casualties were, considering the circumstances, light—only two officers and five men being wounded. At daybreak the British force retreated towards the Caledon, watched by a strong Basuto army, moving parallel to it along the Berea.

A Politic Submission.—On the way a messenger, carrying a flag of truce, overtook the General and delivered a letter from Moshesh, one well described by Dr. Theal as “the most politic document that has ever been penned in South Africa.” It read as follows:—

“Thaba Bosigo: Midnight,
“December 20, 1852.

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“This day you have fought against my people and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken; I entreat peace from you. You have shown your power; you have chastised. Let it be enough, I pray you, and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

“Your humble servant,
“MOSHESH.”

Two considerations no doubt weighed with the Basuto Chief in making this timely submission. One was that he and his warriors had been much impressed by the cool courage evinced by the British, as well as by the orderly retreat they had effected in the face of tremendous odds. The other was that Moshesh, certainly the most astute Native ruler in South Africa, knew how powerful Great Britain was, and that if he inflicted a really severe defeat such would inevitably be heavily avenged. The Basuto loss is said to have been twenty killed and a like number wounded; besides, some women and children had fallen—whether through inadvertence or otherwise could not be stated—at the commencement of the advance. In revenge for this Captain Faunce, the officer who had been captured, was murdered.

At the Battle of the Berea mounted infantry were for the first time used in warfare against civilised troops. Twenty years previously the Basutos had possessed few if any horses, yet the military genius of Moshesh was such that he was able to divine the immense advantage mounted men would possess over those on foot under South African conditions, and he organised his army accordingly.

Sir George Cathcart was soldier enough to know that he had been defeated, and diplomatist enough to make use of the golden bridge opened to him. He recognised how costly and difficult a conquest of Basutoland would prove, and how averse the British Government would be from undertaking such an enterprise. So, in spite of indignant protests from his officers and from Mr. Owen, he proclaimed peace, broke up his camp and returned to the Cape Colony, leaving a garrison of three hundred men at Bloemfontein. Moshesh forthwith sent messages to all the surrounding clans, informing them that he had gained a victory over the British and driven them from his country.

Abandonment of the Sovereignty decided upon.—

The supporters of Great Britain—both white and coloured—within the Sovereignty, were now in a state of consternation. Abandonment was in the air. On October 21, 1851, Earl Grey had written to Sir Harry Smith to the effect that such should be a settled point in the Imperial policy. When the account of the Berea affair, which was described by Sir George Cathcart as a victory, reached him, the Secretary of State at once wrote to say that abandonment had been finally decided upon. Moshesh at first showed great moderation; he restrained his people from raiding, and even when some of his outlying subjects were attacked by Gert Taaibosch and Sikonyella he refrained from reprisals.

A Majority against Abandonment.—Sir George Russell Clerk was appointed Commissioner to arrange for the abandonment of the Sovereignty. He arrived at Bloemfontein in August, 1853, and instructed the British Resident to call upon the people to appoint delegates for the purpose of deciding upon a form of self-government. The delegates numbered ninety-five, of whom nineteen were English. They passed a resolution refusing to entertain any proposals toward an independent government until the Basuto and other pressing questions had been satisfactorily settled. But the British Commissioner had to carry out his instructions, which were imperative as to immediate abandonment. He was therefore constrained to approach the party irreconcilably opposed to British rule, and to ignore the wishes of those desiring to remain subjects

of the Queen. The latter were, owing to a recent influx from the south, far more numerous than they had been when the Battle of Boomplaats was fought. Thus, owing to a strange shuffling of the political cards, the people who desired that British rule should be maintained were now termed "The Obstructionists," while those formerly regarded as disloyal were termed "The Well-disposed." All who had taken the British side, including the clans and tribes who had declared against Moshesh, were filled with dismay. From the Cape Colony petitions against the proposed abandonment poured forth.

Unfounded Accusations.—In some of these, absolutely unfounded accusations relating to the alleged practice of slavery and the perpetration of atrocities were made against the Emigrant Farmers. In the meantime Moshesh again attacked Sikonyella and inflicted on him such a crushing defeat that he never recovered his influence. After this even the "Well-disposed" demurred at taking over the country until the power of the Basuto had been broken.

Convention of Bloemfontein.—Eventually, however, this point was waived, and on February 23, 1854, the Convention of Bloemfontein was signed. In terms of this the Orange River Sovereignty became a Republic similar to that constituted north of the Vaal River. The provisions of the treaty resembled those of the Sand River Convention. Endeavours were made by the British Resident to arrange the terms of an agreement between the new Burgher Assembly and the Griquas, but the situation was so complicated that no settlement could be arrived at. Accordingly the solution was left to the new Government. On March 11 the British Flag was lowered at the Fort, and that of the new Republic hoisted in its place. Then the British officials and troops left Bloemfontein.

CHAPTER XIV

(To 1868)

The Orange Free State

A Difficult Situation.—The Basuto.—Very few commonwealths have begun their independent existence under such difficulties as beset the little community of Europeans scattered over the wide plains between the Orange and Vaal Rivers. They numbered only about fifteen thousand; on their eastern boundary was a powerful and hostile Native state, the inhabitants of which outnumbered them by twelve to one. At its head was a chief who was not alone an astute diplomatist, but a great organiser and a skilled soldier. Moreover the Basuto Tribe was continually being augmented by the incorporation of clans which sought safety by amalgamation under the strong shield of Moshesh. To westward were located various tribes of turbulent Natives, to the south-westward were the Griquas, well-armed and mounted. One great advantage which the Europeans possessed lay in the enormous reserve of food provided by the herds of game which so thickly covered the plains. This at least secured them against starvation.

The Constitution framed.—The people elected representatives to meet and frame a Constitution. The commonwealth was to be a Republic; it was named the Orange Free State. All adult European residents were entitled to vote, naturalised aliens being admitted through a qualification based upon property or income. The franchise was extended to a few educated men of colour. The National Assembly of fifty-six members was termed the "Volksraad," or "People's Council." At the head of the State was to be an elected President, assisted by an Executive Council. The first President

was Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, whose sympathy for the Native races was well known. He possessed considerable influence with Moshesh, and there is no doubt that it was this circumstance which led to his being elected.

The Griquas.—The first question of importance the new Government had to deal with was in connection with the Griquas. Adam Kok began introducing black and coloured people into his reserves. This was put a stop to, but the sale of land in the Griqua reserves to approved Europeans was permitted. The Griqua Captain endeavoured to stand on what he conceived to be his rights, in terms of the treaty of alliance with the British Government. He was, however, informed by the Governor of the Cape Colony that the alliance no longer existed. Trouble arose with a Bantu clan from the north under a leader called Witsi, who had taken refuge in the fastnesses of the Drakensberg to the north of Basutoland, and begun raiding in the Harrismith district. Other raiding clans operated in the south-east.

Double-dealing of Moshesh.—The Basuto Chief denied having any sympathy with the robbers, but it was found that when the latter claimed his protection they were sympathetically received.

President Hoffman's Gift of Gunpowder.—President Hoffman visited Moshesh in 1854 and afterwards made him a present of fifty pounds of gunpowder. When the Volksraad met in the following year this transaction became known, and it caused so much indignation that a number of the Burghers, including some members of the Volksraad, seized the Fort at Bloemfontein and trained the guns on the dwelling of the Head of the State. President Hoffman thereupon resigned, and Mr. Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof succeeded him.

Treaty with the Basuto.—Matters were again drifting towards war with the Basuto. Sir George Grey was now High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony. He offered his services towards endeavouring to effect a settlement, and a treaty was drawn up between the Free State authorities and Moshesh, which, had it been observed, should have resulted in peace being maintained.

Its Provisions disregarded.—The Border violated.—

However, the Basuto did not adhere to its terms. The Border was continually violated; quantities of cattle and horses were stolen and taken to Basutoland. Demands were made for the restoration of these, but all that could be obtained from the Basuto were a few inferior animals. By this method Moshesh made a handsome profit out of every looting transaction.

Transvaal Jealousy.—At this time a section of the Burghers north of the Vaal looked somewhat askance at the signs of progress evinced by the new Republic. It was considered by them that the jurisdiction of the original executive of the Emigrant Farmers still extended over all the territory north of the Orange. This idea was reciprocated by some of the inhabitants of the Orange Free State.

Pretorius visits Bloemfontein.—A deputation from the Transvaal, headed by Mr. Pretorius, attended at Bloemfontein on February 22, 1857. On the next day the third anniversary of the independence of the State was celebrated.

Strained Relations.—The Verge of War.—It transpired that Mr. Pretorius had invited Moshesh to confer with him at Bloemfontein, and that he otherwise showed a tendency to assume authority. This was at once repudiated by a proclamation, and Mr. Pretorius, with his coadjutor, Mr. Goetz, were ordered to leave Bloemfontein within twenty-four hours. Proceedings were at the same time taken for sedition against Mr. Pretorius' local sympathisers. Just then a consignment of lead for the South African Republic, passing through the Free State, was stopped. This was taken by the South African Republic as a declaration of war, so an armed force crossed the Vaal and assembled in the district of Winburg, where it was joined by a number of those inhabitants of the Free State who desired union between the two Republics. President Boshof also assembled a force.

A Settlement.—The two commandos faced each other on the Rhenoster River, but negotiations were opened and an agreement was arrived at, in terms of which the Republics recognised each other's complete independence.

Basuto Depredations.—In 1858 the depredations of the Basuto and the clans under their protection became

intolerable. Moreover, hunting parties—occasionally five hundred strong—often entered the Free State and slaughtered quantities of game in whatever locality suited them. Moshesh was several times urged to control his people and make them respect the Warden Line. He replied in ambiguous terms, significantly remarking that when Sir George Cathcart *left* the Berea he took the boundary with him.

War with Basuto.—Thus, early in its career, war was forced upon the Orange Free State. Two commandos entered Basutoland, one from the north and one from the south. They met with strong resistance, and lost somewhat heavily. At this time the Basutos were manufacturing gunpowder under instruction given by some renegade Europeans. Such, however, proved to be of inferior quality, and was quite ineffective beyond a short range.

An Abortive Campaign.—The two commandos effected a junction in front of Thaba Bosigo, which, however, was absolutely impregnable to the Boer forces. Then terrible news arrived: it was to the effect that a large force of Basutos was raiding the districts of Winburg and Smithfield, burning farm-houses and sweeping off stock. The commandos at once dissolved, every man departing for his home.

Sir George Grey mediates.—Before this President Boshof had applied to the South African Republic for help, but had had no satisfactory response. Now he communicated with Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony, asking him to intervene. With the consent of both Houses of Parliament the Governor accepted the rôle of mediator. Moshesh agreed to abide by his decision. In the meantime President Boshof had approached Moshesh with a request for suspension of hostilities. An armistice was thereupon agreed to, hostilities being suspended pending Sir George Grey's award as to the terms of peace.

Trouble with the Batlapin.—Just then the sorely-tried State had troubles on its western border where the Batlapin had taken the opportunity of raiding. Several murders were committed. A commando was sent against the Batlapin; with this a force from the South African Republic co-operated. The Batlapin were defeated with heavy loss. A strong movement

in favour of union between the two republics now arose.

Sir George Grey meets Moshesh.—Sir George Grey proceeded to Thaba Bosigo and conferred with Moshesh. It was then arranged that a meeting between the Free State Commissioners and the Basuto Chief should take place at Beersheba. Moshesh failed to keep the appointment. Sir George Grey, anxious to effect a settlement, proceeded to Thaba Bosigo again and discussed the situation. Eventually a settlement was arrived at, confirming the Warden Line, but assigning to the Basuto a large area which had been in dispute. Early in 1859 Mr. Boshof, worn out by anxiety, resigned. Mr. Esaias Rynier Snyman was appointed Acting-President. About this time the borders of the Free State were extended some distance westward, partly by conquest and partly by purchase of territory from the chiefs of Native clans.

Pretorius President of the Orange Free State.—Union vetoed.—In February, 1860, Mr. M. W. Pretorius consented to leave the South African Republic and accept the Presidency of the Orange Free State. A proposal towards union of the two Republics was made, but Sir George Grey informed the respective Governments that if such a union took place the Sand River Convention and the Convention of Bloemfontein would be annulled.

More Trouble with Basuto.—Soon after his assumption of the office of President, a meeting took place between Mr. Pretorius and Moshesh in the Winburg district. The President was only attended by twenty farmers, whereas Moshesh had a bodyguard of six thousand horsemen. A Treaty, having for its object the settlement of border difficulties, was entered into. The difficulties, however, were not abated. The Border Clans, disowned by Moshesh whenever convenient, would often raid stock and take them into Basutoland, where they could not be traced. In spite of repeated remonstrances this practice continued. A large number of Europeans of a low class had taken refuge among the Basuto, upon whom they had an exceedingly evil influence. In the mean time Sir George Grey, who had been able to exercise some control over Moshesh, left South Africa. Moshesh once more



BIG GAME ON THE MOLOPO RIVER.

became defiant, and repudiated the treaty he had entered into with President Pretorius.

Migration of the Griquas to "No Man's Land."—In spite of all the difficulties with which they had to contend, the Free State people rapidly advanced in power and prosperity. The population had considerably increased. For some time the position of the Griquas in the south-west of the State had become increasingly anomalous. The cancellation of the treaties with Great Britain left Adam Kok and his people helpless. More and more of the Griqua lands fell into European hands. Sir George Grey, feeling that the Griquas had a grievance, offered them a large and fertile tract known as "No Man's Land," and lying to the south-westward of Natal. A party which inspected this tract reported favourably upon it. Accordingly the Griquas sold what remained of their land between the Riet and the Orange Rivers, and moved over the Drakensberg. They arrived at a spot close to the present town of Kokstad in January, 1863, and spread rapidly over the surrounding country.

Basuto Outrages.—The difficulties between the Orange Free State and Basutoland increased; in view of the conduct of Moshesh, such was inevitable. As a matter of fact no settlement was desired by the Basuto, whose chief, although lavish of conciliatory phrases, would never adhere to any agreement which defined a common boundary. His consuming ambition was to extend westward the limits of his territory. Great hunting parties continually crossed the border, rounding up large herds of game and driving these into Basutoland. The scanty water-supply at the homesteads was defiled; gardens and cultivated fields were destroyed; members of the Farmers' families were insulted; occasionally murders took place.

President Brand.—In October, 1862, President Pretorius resigned and returned to the Transvaal, where affairs had fallen into a condition of disorganisation. After an interval, Mr. John Henry Brand, an Advocate at the Bar of the Supreme Court at Capetown, was appointed President. Intellectually and morally President Brand stands high among his contemporary South Africans. By his wise brain and capable hands the ship of the Orange Free State was to be controlled

for many years, and to sail through troubled seas to a haven of prosperity.

In 1863 claims were made by Nicholas Waterboer and Cornelis Kok, the nephew of Adam Kok, to large tracts to the westward of the Orange Free State. An arrangement was arrived at in terms of which Sir Philip Wodehouse, who succeeded Sir George Grey as Governor of Cape Colony, consented to act as arbitrator in these matters, but Waterboer refused to sign the Deed of Submission, so the dispute was not settled. Waterboer's claim was looked upon as quite preposterous; it included land which had been under the government of the Sovereignty, and afterwards of the Free State, for fifteen years.

Dutch Reformed Church.—Issue of Paper Money.—

In 1864 the Dutch Reformed Church of the Orange Free State became independent under its own synod. This body met for the first time in 1865. There were then eleven congregations in the State; of these seven had been provided with ministers. In 1865 a law was enacted preventing any foreign bank from carrying on business in the Free State. Shortly afterwards paper money to the value of £30,000 was issued.

Sir Philip Wodehouse arbitrates between Orange Free State and Basutos.—Moshesh again grew arrogant. He repudiated all previous agreements as to boundaries, and claimed as his territory about half of the districts of Winburg and Harrismith up to the Vaal River, inclusive of some two hundred and fifty farms for which British titles had been issued. At the request of the Volksraad Sir Philip Wodehouse consented to act as arbitrator, with the view of attempting yet another settlement of the ever-recurring dispute as to the boundary line between the Free State and Basutoland. His award was wholly in favour of the former. The Warden Line, with a slight modification, was again fixed as the boundary. The High Commissioner's decision was communicated to the Basuto at a "Pitso," or National Council, and caused violent indignation. All, with the exception of Moshesh and Letsie, his great son, clamoured for war. But Moshesh persuaded the people to submit, significantly observing that some other occasion for war might arise. The general situation was in no

way affected by the award; looting became worse than ever, although Moshesh continued his stereotyped professions of peaceable intent.

War again declared upon Basuto.—Strenuous Operations.—The situation was now quite intolerable. On June 9 the President, by proclamation, called the burghers to arms, and war was again declared upon the Basuto. A commando of nearly nine hundred burghers took the field. Their camp was attacked by a strong force, which was beaten off with considerable loss. Large raiding parties entered the Free State, murdering, burning, and spoiling. A party of Europeans belonging to the Transvaal, in crossing the Drakensberg from Natal, halted just inside Free State territory. The Basutos fell on these and murdered them. The effect of this was that a commando of some eight hundred burghers from the Transvaal, under Commandant-General Paul Kruger, came later to assist the Free State force. The Berea Mountain was stormed; it was found that from the height thus gained, the top of Thaba Bosigo was within range of the cannon. The latter, however, did but little execution. A spirit of discontent became evident among the burghers and dissensions arose. The weather was cold, and they suffered from many discomforts. A second and unsuccessful assault upon Thaba Bosigo resulted in the death of Commandant L. J. Wepenaar, one of the bravest men who ever fought in South Africa. The commando became depleted through desertion.

Moshesh desires Peace.—Moshesh, who was well informed as to what was going on, diplomatically suggested an armistice. He wrote to the President proposing that the High Commissioner should be requested to arrange terms of peace. So certain was Moshesh that the commando was about to break up, that he caused an enormous herd of cattle to be brought from the fastnesses of the Maluti Mountains, in the expectation that within a few days they would be able to graze over their usual winter pasturage. This herd was driven to the top of Thaba Bosigo by a pathway at the back of the mountain. The armistice came to an end, and General Fick, the Commandant of the burghers, refused to renew it. The mountain was immediately closely invested; the cattle, being without

grass or water, became frantic. They rushed hither and thither, doing considerable damage. Within a few



THABA BOSIGO.

days the whole herd, nearly 20,000 in number, lay dead on the mountain's top or among the surrounding crags.

Transvaal Commando withdrawn.—In reply to Moshesh's letter, the President stated the conditions upon which he was prepared to make peace. These included the surrender of Thaba Bosigo with all arms and ammunition, the delivery of 40,000 cattle, 5000 horses, and 60,000 sheep, cession of territory, and the appointment of a magistrate under whose supervision the Basutos were in future to be governed. Moshesh declined the conditions and asked for further parley. Renewed fighting took place in which the burghers were successful, large numbers of cattle and horses being captured. At the end of October the Transvaal commando was recalled owing to troubles which had begun in the Zoutpansberg. In spite of their depleted numbers the burghers prosecuted the war with vigour. The need for further men became urgent, so President Brand took steps towards raising European and coloured volunteers. As cash was practically unobtainable, these were to be paid by means of captured stock.

The High Commissioner intervenes.—The High Commissioner, Sir Philip Wodehouse, strongly disapproved of this proceeding, on the ground that the persons likely to volunteer were British subjects. He wrote in terms of remonstrance to the President, and threatened to prohibit the supply of arms and ammunition to the Free State. The Colonial officials were instructed to enforce strictly the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act in this relation.

Basutos raid Natal.—Ramanela, a nephew of Moshesh, made a raid into Natal and looted a large number of cattle and horses belonging to Harrismith farmers. Other raids more or less similar followed. The High Commissioner demanded restitution of this stock. Moshesh, of course, agreed; but only a small consignment of cattle was delivered. The High Commissioner authorised the Natal Government to enforce his demands by means of an armed expedition. This authority was, however, cancelled before any action was taken, so full reparation for these outrages was never made.

Renewed Efforts of Free State.—At the beginning of 1866 the Free State forces had become much weakened, so once more the Basuto took the offensive, looting and murdering in the districts of Winburg and

Bethlehem. President Brand issued a strong appeal to the people, urging them to make a further effort; this met with a good response.

Submission of Molapo. — Certain territory from which the Basuto had been driven was annexed. The Volksraad endorsed this proceeding. Within the tract in question there were ten mission stations supported by the Paris Evangelical Society; from these stations the missionaries were driven. In the meantime the High Commissioner had tendered his services as a negotiator with the view of establishing peace. This offer the Volksraad courteously but firmly declined. The campaign was now conducted with renewed vigour. The burghers sent a strong commando to the Maluti Mountains and captured many cattle. The result was that Molapo, one of Moshesh's sons, submitted. Negotiations with Moshesh were renewed at the latter's request, and a treaty of peace was entered into. The Basuto Chief agreed to surrender the territory annexed by the Volksraad and to pay three thousand head of cattle. His son Molapo and the latter's people were to remain subjects of the Free State. The High Commissioner at once expressed disapproval of the treaty; he considered that too much ground had been taken from the Basuto, and that Molapo's clan should not have been separated from the rest of the tribe. Moshesh and his son Letsie made application to be taken under British protection. This was submitted to the Secretary of State, who refused to sanction the proposal. Letsie and several other chiefs then approached the Free State with a proposal that they should become its subjects.

Some of the Basuto regained courage and returned to the ceded and annexed territory, so once more the harassed Free State commandos had to be assembled. However, the only military operations now undertaken were against the intruders. Letsie, Moperi, and Moli-tsane were, on their application, received as Free State subjects. But this also met with the disapproval of the High Commissioner, and called forth another threat to the effect that it might be found necessary to rescind the Treaty of Bloemfontein.

The High Commissioner restricts Supply of Ammunition.—In the meantime the crops had been harvested,

and their supply of food having been thus renewed, the Basuto again flew to arms. The President once more appealed to the burghers to take the field; they responded with enthusiasm. The stronghold of a chief named Makawi was taken by assault; other substantial victories followed. It was evident that at length the burghers were in a position to completely vanquish their foes. But it was not to be. Moshesh, who was old and in failing health, renewed his efforts towards persuading the High Commissioner to take him over as a British subject. The efforts were successful. Sir Philip Wodehouse issued a proclamation on March 12, 1868, annexing Basutoland to the British Crown. He at the same time restricted the transmission of ammunition to the Orange Free State.

Basutoland becomes British Territory.—These proceedings caused great indignation. It was felt by the burghers that the long and arduous struggle with the Basuto had been forced upon them, and that they were now robbed of the fruits of their victory. It was held that the annexation of Basutoland was a violation of the Bloemfontein Convention. The State was much impoverished. Liabilities amounting to £105,000 had been incurred, and it was difficult to see what taxation could be imposed to liquidate this. The High Commissioner proceeded to Basutoland, and after inquiry and negotiation a boundary was fixed. The Free State was compelled to surrender a portion of the territory recently annexed. The line then laid down is the present existing boundary. In May the Volksraad ratified the settlement, with only one dissident. Its supply of ammunition being cut off, the State felt itself to be powerless.

Death of Moshesh.—His Character.—On May 11, 1870, Moshesh died, at the age of seventy-seven. In character and intellect this chief towers high above the rest of the Bantu race. Moshesh achieved greatness by the force of his own individuality, and irrespective of European assistance. In his latter years the French missionaries no doubt gave him valuable advice, but it was Moshesh, and Moshesh alone, who laid the still-enduring foundations of the Basuto State. A skilful soldier, when the battle was won he substituted merciful methods for the ferocity which usually

characterised the barbarian conqueror. In forty years he had changed a disorganised aggregation of the fragments of a few almost destroyed clans into a powerful and homogeneous tribe. It is true that he seldom kept his engagements—that his word could not be depended upon; but it must be remembered that among savages truthfulness is not regarded so highly as it is among civilised people. And when it is, a question of crooked diplomacy—of failure to abide by formal engagements—which among the nations dare throw the first stone?

In the early days of his rule, having heard of the benefits conferred on some of the western tribes by missionaries, Moshesh requested a certain half-breed hunter named Adam Krotz to purchase a missionary for him, and sent two hundred head of cattle for the purpose. This indicates how utterly ignorant the chief was of the world lying outside his mountain realm. Moshesh's sense of humour is evinced by the following well-authenticated anecdote. In the fastnesses of the Malutis some clans for a long time adhered to the practice of cannibalism, and made occasional raids for the purpose of capturing human meat. The minor chiefs were anxious to attack and destroy these people, but Moshesh on principle preferred endeavouring to persuade them to abandon their objectionable mode of life. On the occasion of a certain raid by these people some of the sub-chiefs came and indignantly repeated the demand that they should be allowed to attack the offenders. They reproached Moshesh for his refusal, saying they had expected that as these people had killed and eaten Moshesh's own grandfather he would not have protected them. Moshesh smiled and replied, "Well, I have always been taught that I should reverence the graves of my ancestors."

CHAPTER XV

(To 1889)

The Orange Free State and Griqualand West

First Discovery of Diamonds.—In the year 1867 an event occurred which was destined to have an important bearing on the fortunes of South Africa. A trader named O'Reilly visited the farm of a man named Van Niekerk, in the Hopetown district. Van Niekerk possessed a collection of pebbles, including agates and crystals, of which many beautiful specimens are found in the Orange River drift. Among these was one of peculiar lustre which had been picked up in the vicinity of the homestead by a Bushman boy. This pebble was given to O'Reilly, who took it to Grahamstown, where Dr. Atherstone pronounced it to be a diamond. It was valued at £500. A search for similar pebbles was made.

"The Star of South Africa."—Further Discoveries.—For some time no more diamonds were discovered, but in 1869 Van Niekerk found a large one in the possession of a Hottentot. He purchased this for £400; it became subsequently known as the "Star of South Africa," and was valued at £25,000. The discovery of the second diamond caused great excitement; others were soon found among the pebble-deposits on the banks of the Vaal. A large number of people proceeded to the latter, seeking for the precious stones. Before the end of 1870 there were upwards of 10,000 seekers camped at various spots along the river valley, between Hebron and where the Vaal flows into the Orange. Many diamonds were found; it was soon made clear that the field was a highly payable one.

The Dry Diggings.—So far only the alluvial drift in the vicinity of the river had been worked, but towards

the end of the year what came to be known as "The Dry Diggings" were discovered. At a farm called Bultfontein, some twenty miles from the Vaal, a number of small diamonds were found embedded in the plaster of a cottage. A search revealed the circumstance that the surrounding ground was highly diamondiferous. On the adjoining farm, "Du Toit's Pan," diamonds were also found, and on the farm "Vooruitzicht," about two miles away, another mine was opened. Soon the richest of all was discovered; this was the Colesberg Kopje, subsequently known as



THE EARLY WORKINGS, KIMBERLEY.

the Kimberley Mine. These four mines—all within a radius of two and a half miles—were subsequently found to be volcanic pipes filled with petrified mud, the diamonds being embedded in the latter.

Influx of Diggers.—People gathered to the new Golconda from all over South Africa. Cities of tents and wagons sprang up mushroom-like, almost in a night.

Camp Life.—Fever.—In the early days there was little crime; for the population was largely composed of peaceful farmers; later, however, there was an influx of questionable characters from all over the

world, and disorder became rampant. The sanitary conditions were unspeakably bad. High winds, violent dust-storms, blazing heat and swarms of flies combined to make life highly uncomfortable. Camp fever broke out and took its heavy toll. In the earliest days of the Dry Diggings water had to be fetched from a distance of seven miles.

Claims of the Griquas.—The diamondiferous area on the banks of the Vaal River was included in the tract which had been claimed on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer. The claim rested principally upon the treaty made in 1838 between Adam Kok and Andries Waterboer, in terms of which all the land west of a line drawn from Ramah on the Orange River to Plattberg on the Vaal was regarded as belonging to the latter. This tract, with the exception of the small area known as Albania, in the extreme south-west, had been treated as an integral part of the Orange Free State ever since the Bloemfontein Convention. It contained many farms for which British titles had been issued during the period of sovereignty.

Waterboer cedes his Rights to Great Britain.—Nicholas Waterboer now offered to cede his interests in the tract in question to the British Crown.

Action of the High Commissioner.—The Orange Free State appointed officials to administer the various mining camps. General Hay, who was Acting High Commissioner, informed President Brand that he did not acknowledge the rights of the Orange Free State to the territory. The British officials on the western bank of the Vaal began to exercise jurisdiction on the eastern bank. Sir Henry Barkly, the new High Commissioner, arrived in Cape Town early in 1871, and soon afterwards proceeded to the Diamond Fields, after which he visited Bloemfontein. The authorities of the Orange Free State strenuously affirmed their sovereign rights over the territory in dispute, and suggested that the matter should be settled by arbitration, either by the Emperor of Germany, the King of the Netherlands, or the President of the United States of America. This the High Commissioner would not consent to. He made an alternative proposal—that the dispute should be settled by arbitrators nominated by himself,—but President Brand refused to agree. Notice was given to

British subjects at the Diamond Fields that they were only to pay taxes to the British authorities, and a force of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police was moved to Klip Drift, on the western bank of the Vaal. The President called out a commando to enforce the



SIR JOHN BRAND.

authority of the State. Great and justifiable irritation was caused through a proclamation issued by the Earl of Kimberley, in which it was stated that "Her Majesty's Government would see with great dissatisfaction any encroachment on the Griqua territory by

those Republics which would open to the Boers an extended field for their slave-dealing operations."

Keate Award.—The High Commissioner asked the Parliament at the Cape to approve of the annexation of the territory in dispute. After a long debate the suggestion was approved by a majority so narrow that the vote was not acted upon. However, in October the Keate Award (see p. 218) was published, and a few days later the territory of Nicholas Waterboer was annexed to the British Crown and given the name of Griqualand West. On November 1, the British flag was hoisted at the mining camp at the Colesberg Kopje, afterwards known as Kimberley. The proceedings evoked no enthusiasm. President Brand entered a formal protest; throughout the Free State there was great indignation. The Volksraad held sittings with closed doors; many of the members were in favour of taking up arms, but eventually other counsels prevailed, the commando was disbanded and a long protest against the action of the High Commissioner was adopted at the close of the session.

Government by Triumvirate.—The arrangements for the Government of the newly annexed territory were somewhat peculiar. A triumvirate was appointed, whose function it was to see that the instructions issued by the High Commissioner were carried out. A High Court with a recorder and the usual subordinate officers was established. The territory was divided into three districts, for each of which a resident magistrate was appointed.

Local Dissatisfaction.—The feeling throughout South Africa, even on the part of most English people, was against the annexation,—although it was generally admitted that it would have been difficult for the Free State Government to have controlled the cosmopolitan crowd who flocked to the mines. The new régime gave no local satisfaction; the administration was based on the principle that the most civilised Europeans and the least civilised Natives were to be given similar privileges and subjected to similar restraints. The coloured labourers took to drink and stole diamonds from their employers; these diamonds they had no difficulty in disposing of to low-class Europeans. Representations to the triumvirate were barren of any result. In

December, 1871, the diggers took the law into their own hands and burned down four low-class liquor shops, which were notorious as clearing-houses for stolen gems.

The Cape Parliament refuses Annexation.—In 1872 a Bill, providing for the annexation of the new province, was introduced by the Governor in the Cape House of Assembly. This was hotly opposed, especially by Mr. J. X. Merriman, and, in the face of an overwhelming adverse vote, was withdrawn. Matters at the diggings did not improve. Serious crime increased. Further tent-burnings took place in July. In September the High Commissioner visited the Diamond Fields. As the governing triumvirate had proved a failure, Mr. Richard Southey was appointed Administrator. Shortly afterwards his status was raised to that of Lieutenant-Governor. In July, 1873, Griqualand West was made a Crown Colony.

In the meantime the boundary between Griqualand West and the Orange Free State had not yet been defined. Steps were taken towards the appointment of a delimitation commission, but difficulties arose regarding the terms of the deed of submission. In 1874, Kimberley, as the township at the Colesberg Kopje was now called, was almost in a state of insurrection, principally owing to the evil of illicit diamond buying. A Mutual Protection Association was formed; men were drilled and armed. Early in the following year a military force of over three hundred men was sent to restore order. The leaders of the Mutual Protection Association were tried for sedition, but the jury refused to convict them.

Discovery of other Mines.—The Orange Free State was now rapidly becoming prosperous. The revenue was increasing, and the value of the paper currency rose almost to par. Soon all the "bluebacks," as the government notes were called, were redeemed. Diamond mines were discovered within Free State territory; one, at Jagersfontein, and another developed some years later at Wesselton, turned out to be very rich.

Seizure of Guns.—In 1872 serious differences arose between the British authorities and the Orange Free State. As the diggings developed, the demand for

Native labour became very great. Soon it got to be known throughout Kaffirland that Natives working for a spell on the Diamond Fields were permitted to obtain guns and ammunition. This caused a large influx, more especially from Basutoland. Wagon-loads of guns were confiscated when passing through Free State territory. Three such wagons were seized in the vicinity of the as yet undefined line near Magersfontein, and removed to Bloemfontein.

An Ultimatum.—This was followed by an ultimatum from the High Commissioner demanding the return of the wagons and their contents, and the payment of £600 damages. The ultimatum was complied with under protest. The Free State authorities also objected to armed bodies of Basuto crossing their territory. Some of the Natives were arrested and their guns were confiscated. On one occasion a body of seventy-five armed Basuto were met by the Free State Police and driven back over the border with a loss of two killed and two wounded. There can be no doubt that the arming of the Natives on the Diamond Fields was the cause of the outbreak of war in 1877, and of the various conflicts during succeeding years.

President Brand proceeds to London.—In 1876, under authority from the Volksraad, President Brand proceeded to London to confer with the British authorities. In the meantime a judge had been appointed by the High Commissioner to investigate the Griqua claims.

Judicial Decision upon Griqua Claims ; a Settlement arrived at.—The resulting report was to the effect that Nicholas Waterboer had no right whatever to the territory in which the Diamond Fields were situated. Lord Carnarvon was now Secretary of State. He took up the position that as vested interests had grown up and as the inhabitants of the territory in question were now mainly British, the idea of its retrocession could not be entertained. A few farms along the line were restored to the Orange Free State, and £90,000 was paid as a solatium.

Griqualand West annexed to Cape Colony.—In 1877, another Bill providing for the annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony was introduced in the Cape House of Assembly. As a settlement between

the Orange Free State and the Imperial Government had then been arrived at, the annexation proposal was no longer opposed, and the Bill became law. It was not, however, promulgated until 1879.

Rebellion.—The Griquas, Koranas, Bechuana and the Batlapin residing in the Province, being disappointed as to supposed benefits which they had believed would accrue to them under British rule, broke out into rebellion in 1878. There was very severe fighting, more especially with the Griquas. By the end of the year, however, the war was at an end.

Prosperity of the Free State.—From now until the last year of the century the Orange Free State was happy in having practically no history. It rapidly developed into a prosperous and well-ordered State in which there was little crime and no pauperism. A Customs Union was entered into with the Cape Colony, and railways were extended through Free State territory from both the Cape Colony and Natal. In 1888 President Brand—now Sir John Brand—died. For twenty-four years his skill and wisdom had guided the ship of the State through both smooth and troubled waters. He was succeeded by Chief Justice F. W. Reitz, who held office until 1896, when Mr. M. T. Steyn became President.

Offensive and Defensive Alliance with the Transvaal.—The last and most momentous development of policy by the Orange Free State was its entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with the South African Republic in 1897.

CHAPTER XVI

(To 1884)

The South African Republic

Early Dissensions.—North of the Vaal River matters were in a transition stage. The enmity between the two most influential men in the state, Pretorius and Potgieter, was the cause of considerable disorganisation.

Ohrigstad.—Malaria.—Lydenburg.—Ohrigstad, in the extreme north-east of the Transvaal, was chosen as the capital; the people wished to make Delagoa Bay their port, so as to be free from all connection with the Cape. But a terrible misfortune befell in the form of an outbreak of malarial fever. This caused very great mortality; in some instances whole families died out. Another site was chosen among the mountains to the south-westward, and here the new capital was established. It was named Lydenburg, in commemoration of the sufferings which its founders had undergone. Here the Volksraad met in January, 1857. An attempt at a solution of the existing discords was now made. It has been seen that the Sand River Convention had been entered into on the part of the South African Republic only by Commandant-General Pretorius and Commandant-General Joubert and their followers,—the other two Commandants-General not being represented.

Pretorius and Potgieter reconciled.—Another village named Rustenburg had been founded in the Western Transvaal. Here the Volksraad met in March, 1852, and a reconciliation between Potgieter and Pretorius was, much to the joy of the people, brought about.

Native Troubles.—The Bapedi, Sekwati, Setyeli.—In the same year trouble arose with the Natives in the Transvaal. Sekwati, Chief of the Bapedi tribe, in the

Zoutpansberg district, was in strong sympathy with Moshesh. The Bapedi had managed to arm themselves, largely through the medium of hunters who had organised expeditions to the interior. They began looting cattle, so it was found necessary to attack them. Sekwati occupied a formidable stronghold, which, however, had no water supply. This was closely invested, and as the Bapedi refused to surrender their arms it was decided to subdue them through famine. Large numbers of the Natives perished. The Bakwena Chief, Setyeli, with whom Dr. Livingstone had resided as missionary, took up some ground without permission on the Kolobeng River and declared his independence. Another clan, under a petty chief called Moselele, became recalcitrant and joined Setyeli. A commando was sent against them.

Seizure of Dr. Livingstone's Goods.—In the attack on Kolobeng some of Dr. Livingstone's property was confiscated. This circumstance occasioned much controversy. The Farmers justified their action by citing the circumstance that the property seized included guns and gunmakers' tools. Trouble also arose with the Barolong Chief Montsiwa, who retired to a territory north of the Molopo River.

Death of Pretorius and of Potgieter.—In 1853 Andries Hendrick Potgieter and Andries Pretorius, the two great leaders of the Emigrant Farmers, passed away. The high character and great ability of these men have long been recognised. Pretorius was the more heroic figure. His death-illness lasted for a month, during which time people came from far and near to his bedside to bid him farewell. These included several Native chiefs, who manifested great grief and knelt to kiss his hand. He urged his people to put an end to their differences and co-operate for the good of the State. He died on July 23, 1853, at the age of fifty-four. The new village of Pretoria, which subsequently became the capital of the Transvaal, was named in his honour. Here his bones were re-interred with much ceremony in 1891.

Confusion and Discord.—The Transvaal Republic was now divided into five districts, namely, Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg, and Pretoria. There was as yet no President. The Government

was carried on by three Commandants-General, each of whom could summon to his assistance the Commandants and Field Cornets under his jurisdiction. All were subject to the Volksraad. Under such circumstances control was inevitably weak. The laws were often defied; confusion and discord resulted. The advice of the dying Pretorius was, unfortunately, disregarded. Although there was little crime, much arbitrariness and injustice were practised.

Makapan's Insurrection.—In 1854 a hunting party consisting of thirteen men with ten women and children, entered the Waterberg district and camped close to the kraal of a chief called Makapan. They were attacked and the whole party murdered. The leader, Hermanus Potgieter, was flayed alive. Makapan's people, joined by other clans, then began to pillage all in their vicinity. A commando assembled and the enemy took refuge in caverns, which were impregnable against assault. The entrances were blocked up, and all inside perished.

Ecclesiastical Matters.—So far, there was only one clergyman in the Transvaal—the Reverend Dirk van der Hoff. He came to South Africa from Holland in 1853. In 1854 two clergymen were deputed by the Cape Synod to visit the Republic and hold services in the various towns. This friendly offer was much resented, a circumstance which shows how keenly the Emigrant Farmers dreaded the slightest interference with their complete independence.

New Constitution drafted.—In 1855 a petition was presented to the Volksraad praying that a committee might be appointed for the purpose of drafting a new Constitution. The prayer was granted. A committee of three was constituted; one of its members was Mr. Stephanus Paulus Johannes Kruger, who was in later and more stirring times the last of the line of Presidents of the South African Republic. The draft was submitted to a representative assembly of twenty-four members, one from each field-cornetcy in the State, and after certain amendments had been made, was adopted. It provided for a Legislative Assembly, to be termed the "Volksraad," which was to consist of twenty-four members, half of whom had to retire at the end of two years; thereafter half retiring yearly.

The Executive consisted of a President—who was to hold office for five years—the Government Secretary, and two burghers appointed by the Volksraad. One Commandant-General, who was to be subordinate to the President, had to be appointed for the whole State. Landdrosts and Heemraden for each district were to be elected by the people. The franchise was restricted to persons of European descent. The Dutch Reformed Church was to be the State Church, and its teaching to be that defined by the Synod of Dordrecht and the Heidelberg Catechism. Slavery was prohibited, and the press was declared to be free. Dealing in ammunition was to be a Government monopoly.

The Potchefstroom Volksraad.—Lydenburg continues obstinate.—On January 5, 1857, the Volksraad met at Potchefstroom. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, son of the late Commandant-General, was appointed President, and Stephanus Schoeman, of Zoutpansberg, Commandant-General. But neither Lydenburg nor Zoutpansberg would have anything to do with the new Constitution. Public meetings were held at each place respectively, and the Potchefstroom proceedings were repudiated. Mr. Schoeman refused the appointment offered him. However, in the following year Zoutpansberg consented to be incorporated in the Republic. Lydenburg, which from 1858 included the former Republic of Utrecht, remained a separate Republican unit until 1860.

Religious Controversy.—The “Dopper” Church.—During the period between 1858 and 1864 utter confusion reigned north of the Vaal River. In 1858 and the following year there was considerable religious controversy. The principal point at issue was whether or not hymns should be used in public worship. A certain section of the people, headed by the Reverend Mr. Postma, decided that only psalms and rhymed paraphrases of scripture were permissible. A separatist body, much resembling the Church of the Scottish Covenanters, was formed by Mr. Postma’s following. This, commonly known as the “Dopper Church,” still exists. In 1859 the Transvaal Church united with that of the Cape, but, owing to a decision of the Supreme Court at Cape Town, this union came to an end in 1862.

Civil War.—It would be profitless to trace the political dissensions which rent the state and kept it in a condition of civil war. However, but little fighting took place. At one time there were two Presidents and two rival Governments. At length, in 1864, Martinus Wessels Pretorius returned from the Orange Free State and successfully mediated between the rival factions. A new Volksraad was elected; Mr. Pretorius was chosen as President and Mr. Paul Kruger as Commandant-General. Then the dissensions finally ceased; but the state was insolvent, and official matters were in a condition of almost inextricable confusion. The South African Republic had lost the confidence of the rest of South Africa; the Orange Free State no longer desired union with its neighbour of the north. The Natives took advantage of this unsatisfactory state of things, and several of the tribesmen became defiant. Many of the Natives had obtained guns of the most modern pattern from hunters and traders, and were thus better armed than the burghers of the Republic, who still adhered to the large and clumsy weapons which they had learnt to use with such good effect.

War between Native Tribes.—Apprenticeships.—Native tribes to the northward and westward of the Republic were continually at war with each other, and were always willing to sell their captives as slaves. A number of such were purchased by Europeans and brought into the Transvaal, where they were apprenticed for definite terms to the Farmers. This practice, which was not, however, carried on to a very great extent, formed the basis of charges of slavery subsequently brought against the Republic. There is no reason to believe that these children were badly treated. Had it not been that their captors knew they could make some profit out of them, the children would no doubt have been killed, in accordance with the practice hitherto followed. In 1877, when the Transvaal was annexed, not a single individual was found in any servitude which resembled slavery.

Condition of the People.—In spite of their rude and uncultured life, the majority of the Transvaal burghers and their families at this period were probably as healthy and as happy as any people under the sun. They had abundance of food, for the country was still

possessed of those vast herds of game which have since been so ruthlessly destroyed. The people knew no luxury; neither did they experience want. In the northern portion of the Republic, especially in the district of Zoutpansberg, the more restless and lawless congregated. These included individuals of almost every nationality, many of whom were fugitives from justice. The region they occupied had once been thickly populated by Natives, but the armies of Tshaka, Umziligazi, and other savage conquerors had swept it with the besom of destruction over and over again. Now, when the advent of the White Man had rendered a recurrence of such raids impossible, the survivors of the scattered clans returned to their old homes. By this means several fairly numerous communities of Natives came into being, and these became defiant when the Europeans fell into dissension.

Intermittent War—The result was a condition of intermittent war, which lasted for several years. In the course of this many unjustifiable deeds were committed. Into this vortex of strife tribes as far distant as the Matshangana, under Umsila, and the Amaswazi were drawn.

Discovery of Diamonds.—It was only the discovery of diamonds which made the country on the north-western bank of the Vaal River below Bloemhof important. There were several claimants to this tract, including the Griquas, under Nicholas Waterboer, the Batlapin, and some Korana clans.

Extension of Boundaries.—In 1869, President Pretorius, by proclamation, extended the south-western borders of the Transvaal State to the Hart River and along the course of the latter from its junction with the Vaal. This proceeding was objected to by the various claimants.

Intervention of British Government.—In 1870, the Acting High Commissioner (General Hay) remonstrated and requested the President to abstain "from encroachments without lawful and sufficient cause upon the possessions of Native tribes in friendly alliance with Her Majesty's Government." The alliances referred to were not, however, specified. Soon afterwards a large number of diggers were scattered along both banks of the Vaal. The community on the western bank declared itself

a Republic. The Acting High Commissioner, without annexing the country, appointed a Special Magistrate to be stationed at Klip Drift, now Barkly West. Upon this the Republic came to an end. Shortly after his assumption of duty as High Commissioner, in 1871, Sir Henry Barkly visited the Diamond Fields, where he was met by President Pretorius. An agreement was entered into, in terms of which a Court of Arbitration, to deal with the territory in dispute, had to be established. The Special Magistrate of Klip Drift and the Landdrost of Wakkerstroom were appointed arbitrators. In case they disagreed Lieut.-Governor Keate of Natal was to be referee. After a considerable amount of evidence had been taken, and no agreement arrived at by the two arbitrators, the referee was called in. His decision, since known as the "Keate Award," was issued on October 17, 1871. It was adverse to the South African Republic in every particular. The territory in dispute was divided between Nicholas Waterboer, the Barolong and the Batlapin. It is now generally admitted that the Keate Award was an unjust one, but for this Lieut.-Governor Keate is not to be blamed. The case for the South African Republic was incompletely and unskilfully presented. Upon the evidence adduced no decision other than the one given was possible.

The Keate Award.—The Keate Award filled the South African Republic with indignation and dismay. It cut off from the Republic not only the western diamond field, but the whole district of Bloemhof and portions of the districts of Potchefstroom and Marico—tracts occupied from the very earliest days of the Great Trek by the Emigrant Farmers. It was not, however, enforced except in respect of the more southern areas. Under the storm of indignation which arose the President and the State Attorney resigned.

Desire for Union.—Once more a strong feeling in favour of union arose in the two Republics. Influentially signed requisitions were sent to President Brand, asking him to accept the Presidency of the Northern Republic, in addition to that of the Orange Free State. It was held by many that even if the threat of annulling the Conventions, which had been made when union had been formerly proposed, were now to be put in force, the Republics would be in no

worse position. It was alleged that these Conventions had been broken by Great Britain on several occasions. Not the least of the grievances was in respect of the Natives from Basutoland and other parts now being permitted to obtain guns and ammunition at the Diamond Fields. President Brand declined the nomination.

President Brand's Restraining Influence.—At this difficult period President Brand exercised a strongly moderating influence. His utterances laid great stress on the importance of endeavouring to bring about a good understanding between the two White Races. He pointed out that such mistakes as had been made were probably due to ignorance of the facts. At no stage of his distinguished career did President Brand show himself so great as at this crisis.

President Burgers.—The choice of the South African Republic then fell upon the Rev. Thomas François Burgers, a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Hanover in the Cape Colony. Mr. Burgers was a brilliant man; he conceived great ideas, but was somewhat unpractical. His religious views were not orthodox; this not alone weakened his influence with the burghers, but it almost threatened the State with disruption.

Migration of the Orthodox.—In the second year of Mr. Burgers' Presidency, a number of the more conservative of the Transvaal burghers decided that they could not conscientiously remain under the rule of one whom they regarded as an infidel. Accordingly they sold their farms, loaded their immense wagons and with their wives, children, stock, and a few household goods plunged into the burning sands of the Northern Kalahari, and made for the western coast. Many of the people and most of the stock died upon that dolorous pilgrimage. Eventually the party won through to the hunting-grounds of Damaraland, where they led a nomadic life for several years before finally settling down in Portuguese territory north of the Kunene River. They then numbered 352 souls. There is no record as to how many left the Transvaal.

Discovery of Alluvial Gold.—In 1873 rich alluvial gold was discovered in the Lydenburg district, and two large mining camps—"Mac Mac"—so called from the

number of Scotchmen there residing—and “Pilgrim’s Rest”—were formed. Considerable quantities of gold were produced, some of the nuggets weighing as much as ten pounds each. Many of the diggers undertook prospecting operations in the low country and were badly stricken with fever. Out of thirty-five men who descended the mountain range in the summer of 1873, twenty-seven died.

Cutting the Road to Delagoa Bay.—During the following year an expedition was organised by President Burgers at the Gold Fields to complete the cutting of the road to Delagoa Bay through the Lebomba Range, and to convey from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria a quantity of war material. Most of this had been obtained in Germany, and was part of the spoil of the Franco-German War.

Attack on Sikukuni.—Early in 1876 war was declared against the Bapedi tribe, located on the Olifants River, to the westward of Lydenburg. This had been long expected, for the Chief, Sikukuni, had refused to pay hut-tax. The struggle was protracted and exhausting, for the strongholds occupied by the Bapedi were well fortified. The President wished to employ one thousand Swazis to assist in the operation, but the High Commissioner vetoed the proposal. There were many English volunteers with the Boer forces. The burghers feared they were, on account of the President’s unorthodoxy, under the displeasure of Heaven. The commandos withdrew when the season of horse-sickness approached, leaving the Bapedi unsubdued.

Unsatisfactory Financial Conditions.—The finances of the South African Republic were now in a very unsatisfactory state. Taxes were unpaid, and there was general discontent. A strong party was in favour of annexation to the British Crown, or else federation according to the plan of Lord Carnarvon. This party, however, was principally composed of those who had flocked into the towns and mining camps. Lord Carnarvon believed that the time had come for him to bring about his pet scheme, so he issued a dormant commission to Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, authorising him in certain circumstances to proclaim British sovereignty over the South African Republic.

Mr. Shepstone proceeded to Pretoria with a small escort of police in January, 1877, and conferred with the President and the Executive. He suggested the adoption of Lord Carnarvon's Permissive Federation Bill, but this the Volksraad rejected. Shepstone laid stress on the danger of a Zulu attack.

Annexation of the Transvaal.—On April 12 he issued the Proclamation of Annexation. The Executive Council formally protested against this step. Two of its members, Mr. Paul Kruger and Doctor Jorissen, decided to proceed to England for the purpose of presenting this protest to the British Government. In proclaiming the annexation, a formal promise was made that the Transvaal should remain a separate government with its own laws, and that a constitution would be framed, affording the fullest possible legislative privileges.

Broken Promises.—**Sir Garnet Wolseley.**—This promise was never kept. The Transvaal was treated as a Crown Colony. For a time Shepstone acted as Administrator. He was succeeded by Colonel Owen Lanyon, who, although a brave soldier, was quite unfitted through temperament and want of experience for his new post. A second deputation, bearing a protest against the annexation, proceeded to England in 1878. It was told that retrocession of the country was impossible. Now a serious agitation in favour of independence arose among the farmers, but most of the dwellers in the towns were in favour of a continuance of British rule. In March, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere, the High Commissioner, visited the Transvaal. He was respectfully received, but it was made clear to him that a large and increasing number of the burghers were as much opposed to British rule as ever. Later in the year Sir Garnet Wolseley, who was now High Commissioner, also visited the Transvaal and issued a proclamation stating definitely that retrocession was not to be even considered. The burghers now began holding meetings, at which they declared that they would not acknowledge the Queen's authority. Certain prominent men were arrested, but were soon afterwards liberated. A Legislative Assembly was constituted. This step was received with bitter laughter. The Legislature was to consist of a number

of officials, between whom and the people no sympathy existed, and six nominated members.

British Conquest of the Bapedi.—The Bapedi tribe remained as recalcitrant under British as it had been under Republican rule. Sikukuni desired to emulate Moshesh—to found a powerful state among the mountains surrounding his stronghold. In October, 1878, a force of eighteen hundred men was despatched against him—only to retire baffled. Next year the attack was renewed; this time with the assistance of a contingent of five thousand Swazis. After desperate fighting and great slaughter, the stronghold fell on November 28. Sir Garnet Wolseley personally commanded the attacking force.

The Paardekraal Meeting.—A mass meeting of the burghers was held at Paardekraal early in December. An administrative triumvirate, consisting of Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius, was formed, and a proclamation issued re-establishing the Republic. On December 16—"Dingaan's Day"—the flag of the Republic was hoisted.

The War of Independence.—Majuba.—Four days afterwards hostilities began. A detachment of the 94th regiment marching from Middelburg towards Pretoria was attacked at Bronkhorst Spruit. Within a few minutes more than one hundred and fifty officers and men were shot down; the remainder surrendered. The Loyalists at Pretoria and the other principal towns went into laager. General Sir George Colley, who was now Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Natal, advanced towards the Transvaal with a relief force of one thousand men. He was met by the burghers at Laing's Nek, in Natal territory, and defeated. Shortly afterwards Sir George Colley moved with a detachment to the heights above the Ingogo River. Here another engagement took place, resulting again in a defeat of the British. Sir Evelyn Wood arrived with reinforcements. On the evening of February 26 Sir George Colley advanced with a force of some six hundred men, for the purpose of occupying Majuba Mountain. Leaving about two hundred men at two respective posts, he took possession of the summit of the mountain with a force four hundred strong. The Boer position was at Laing's

Nek, which was commanded by Majuba. Believing that the British possessed artillery, the Boers prepared to retire. Then General Joubert, who was in command, called for volunteers to storm the mountain. The assault was successful; the burghers, accustomed to the hunting-field, proceeded skilfully from cover to cover, and soon the British found themselves under a deadly fire. They were driven from the mountain with a loss of ninety-two killed and one hundred and thirty-four wounded. Sir George Colley was among the slain. The towns which were besieged—with the exception of Potchefstroom—held out to the close of the war. In the meantime heavy reinforcements were poured in until there were ten thousand soldiers in Natal.

The Transvaal again Self-governing.—Acting under instructions from the British Government, Sir Evelyn Wood entered into an armistice which, on March 22, 1881, was followed by a Treaty of Peace. The Transvaal was given complete self-government in regard to internal affairs, under the Queen's suzerainty. A British Resident was appointed to Pretoria.

The London Convention.—The London Convention, entered into on February 27, 1884, modified the Treaty. In terms of this Convention the Republic bound itself not to extend its borders, to allow freedom in all respects to persons who were not Natives, and to conclude no treaty with any power except the Orange Free State, without the sanction of the British Government. Irrespective of these limitations the Republic was to be a sovereign state.

In 1890 railway communication was opened with Delagoa Bay, and in 1893 Swaziland, with the consent of Great Britain, was annexed to the Republic.

CHAPTER XVII

(To 1902)

The South African Republic

Further Gold Discoveries.—Barberton.—The Witwatersrand.—In 1884 gold was discovered in the Kaap Valley on the western border of Swaziland. A large number of diggers poured in and the town of Barberton was founded. In 1885 occurred a far more important gold discovery. On the Witwatersrand, the high watershed of the Transvaal, about twenty miles south of Pretoria, gold was found to exist in the banket formations, which extended over a considerable area.

Johannesburg.—Enormous Gold Output.—There was soon a large population scattered over the Rand, and the city of Johannesburg sprang suddenly into existence. During 1887 gold to the amount of £81,045 was extracted. By 1909 the annual output had increased to about thirty millions and the value of the total gold which had been extracted at the Rand was £258,000,000.

The Franchise raised.—The resulting influx of an enormous cosmopolitan population tended to disturb the equilibrium of the State. The majority of the Boers regarded with dread the possibility of the destinies of the country falling into alien hands. In 1881 persons who had resided in the Transvaal for a year might obtain the franchise. In 1882 this period was raised to five years, and in 1890 to fourteen years.

President Kruger's Determination.—The "Uitlanders."—President Kruger, a man of great ability but little education, was firm as a rock against all attempts towards giving the newcomers a voice in the Government of the Republic. He and his followers were determined that the country they had won with

their rifles should not pass from their control. They argued that as the strangers, or "Uitlanders," as they were termed, had come for gold, and as many of them had become rich, they should be satisfied. If they were not, the door was open for them to leave; but in any case no interference with the laws of the country on their part would be tolerated.

Their Grievances.—The "Uitlanders'" case was to the effect that although they provided about seven-eighths of the revenue of the State they were debarred from exercising the ordinary rights of communal civilisation; that they were misgoverned, and subjected to irritating restrictions; that monopolies bore heavily upon them. One of these which gave to a certain firm the sole right to manufacture dynamite cost the community £600,000 per annum, more than if it had been purchased in the open market, and the dynamite supplied was of an inferior quality. Moreover, they were liable to be commandeered for military service against Native tribes. This actually happened in a campaign against Malaboch. There is no question but that the mining community on the Rand had many and serious grievances. Among the Transvaal burghers a strong party in favour of reform had come into existence.

The Reform Committee.—**The Jameson Raid.**—In 1895 an association called "The Transvaal Reform Committee" was formed. Arms and ammunition were imported, and a plot was entered into, having for its object the seizure of the fort and arsenal at Pretoria. With the concurrence of Mr. Cecil John Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Doctor Jameson, Administrator of Rhodesia, assembled a force of about five hundred police with six maxim guns in the vicinity of Mafeking, close to the Transvaal border. With this force he entered Transvaal territory on the night of December 29, and made for Johannesburg. Attempts were made to recall him, but these he disregarded. On January 1, he was met by a burgher commando which surrounded and defeated him. The whole force surrendered. The prisoners were marched to Pretoria, whence they were sent to the Natal border, where they were handed over to be dealt with by the British Government. In the meantime the members of the Reform Committee, sixty-four in number, were arrested

and put in prison. This Committee had taken possession of Johannesburg upon hearing that Dr. Jameson had crossed the border. The four leaders were sentenced to death, but this sentence was shortly afterwards commuted. The rest of the accused were all found guilty and sentenced to heavy fines and terms of imprisonment, which, however, were soon commuted.

Its Results.—The result of the Jameson raid was deplorable. The large and growing party in the State which had hitherto been strongly in favour of reform, now stood confounded. The administration prepared for the contingency of war by extensive armaments.

Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner.—**The Great Petition.**—Sir Hercules Robinson, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Rosmead, retired in 1897, and was succeeded as High Commissioner by Sir Alfred Milner. The question of the grievances of the "Uitlanders" assumed a very acute form. A petition praying for Great Britain's intervention was signed by 21,000 people. Sir Alfred Milner expressed himself as strongly in favour of such intervention. A conference between the High Commissioner and President Kruger took place at Bloemfontein. It lasted from May 31 to June 5, 1899, but was barren of result. The discussion centred around the question of the franchise.

The Ultimatum.—Early in October the Transvaal State Secretary transmitted a note stating that the Republic regarded the concentration of British troops close to its border in Natal as a threat against its independence, and demanded that they should be instantly withdrawn. Moreover, guarantees were asked for to the effect that certain troops then on the high seas should not be landed in South Africa. Further, the assurance was required that all points of difference should be adjusted by arbitration or other friendly means. The Secretary of State refused to discuss the conditions of this ultimatum. It was clear that the Orange Free State was determined to abide by the terms of the offensive and defensive alliance with its northern neighbour. So on October 12, burghers from the Transvaal entered Natal territory and burghers from the Free State entered the Cape Colony. The Great Boer War had begun.

The Great Boer War.—The Treaty of Vereeniging.—The conflict which resulted lasted for nearly three years. It is not proposed to enter into the details of that struggle, which ended in a complete victory for Great Britain. There was terrible loss of life and destruction of property. The Treaty of Peace was signed at Vereeniging on May 31, 1902. According to its terms the two Republics became British territory. At the close of the long discussion between the delegates, Vice-President Schalk Burger spoke the following memorable words :—

“We are standing here at the grave of the two Republics; much yet remains to be done, although we shall not be able to do it in the official capacities which we formerly occupied. Let us not draw our hands back from the work which it is our duty to accomplish. Let us ask God to guide us and to show us how we shall be enabled to keep our nation together. We must be ready to forgive and forget whenever we meet our brethren; that part of our nation which has proved unfaithful we must not reject.”

In his farewell address to the troops, Lord Kitchener said :—

“No war has ever yet been waged in which the combatants and non-combatants on either side have shown so much consideration and kindness to one another.”

CHAPTER XVIII

(To 1848)

Natal

The First Englishmen in Natal.—The first Englishmen who set foot in Natal were some sailors from a vessel called the *Johanna*, wrecked near Delagoa Bay in 1683. These, carrying merchandise salvaged from the wreck, endeavoured to walk to Cape Town along the coast. They were treated with great kindness by the Natives. Another English vessel, the *Francis*, touched on the Natal coast in 1684, and traded with the Natives for ivory. Endeavours were made to purchase slaves, but without success. Other slavers attempted to further their horrible trade from time to time; but the Natives invariably refused to have any dealings with them.

Wreck of the “Stavenisse.”—In 1686, a Dutch East Indiaman, the *Stavenisse*, was wrecked on the coast of Natal. The shipwrecked crew met two Englishmen, who were living on the shores of the Bay of Natal. These were survivors from a vessel named the *Good Hope*, which had been wrecked the previous year. The men from the *Stavenisse* felled timber at the Bay and built a boat. They were joined by nine Englishmen survivors from a vessel called the *Bonaventura*, which had been wrecked near St. Lucia Bay. Upon the boat being completed a voyage of twelve days brought the adventurers safely to Cape Town, where they related their adventures to Commander van der Stel.

Early Traders in the Bay of Natal.—Three years later the galliot *Noord* was despatched to the Bay of Natal, which, with the land adjoining, was purchased from the local native chief for fifty pounds' worth of beads and copper rings. But the entrance to the bay was so dangerous to navigation that no settlement

was established. Fifteen years later another Dutch trading vessel called, but the chief who had sold the territory was now dead, and his son repudiated the bargain. In 1824 a number of Englishmen established themselves at Port Natal for the purpose of opening up trade. They were under the leadership of Lieutenant Francis George Farewell, Mr. Henry Fynn, and Mr. James Saunders King.

Their Relations with the Zulu King.—Communications were opened with Tshaka, the Zulu king, who ceded the Bay of Natal,—including twenty-five miles of coast and extending for a hundred miles inland,—to the adventurers. Most of the members of the expedition returned to Cape Town, until at length, besides Messrs. Farewell and Fynn, the only remaining Europeans were John Cane, Henry Ogle, and a boy named Thomas Halstead. A number of Natives in the vicinity placed themselves under the protection of the Europeans, whose following was augmented by some refugees from Zululand. Later the party was joined by other Europeans, including a man named Nathaniel Isaacs, who travelled extensively in Zululand, and came into intimate contact with Tshaka.

The relations between the English adventurers at the Bay of Natal and the Emigrant Farmers are referred to in another chapter.

The Republic of Natal.—The young Republic of Natal was launched on what was destined to be but a short voyage. It was divided into three districts, named Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal. The township at the Bay had been given the name of Durban in 1835. Burghers who had settled in the country before 1840 were entitled to farms and erven free. The public revenue was derived from customs and port dues, a very light quit-rent, a transfer duty upon the purchase price of land, and fines collected in Court. The Civil List was the smallest probably on record; it did not amount to £500.

The Reverend Daniel Lindley.—The only minister of religion was the Reverend Daniel Lindley, an American missionary who had formerly lived in Natal, but had been obliged to flee in the *Comet* when Dingaan sacked the settlement at the Bay of Natal. He resided at Pietermaritzburg, and arranged

to hold periodical services, not alone at Durban and Weenen, but also beyond the Drakensberg at Winburg and Potchefstroom. Mr. Lindley is still held in affectionate remembrance.

The Volksraad, which numbered twenty-four members, met four times a year. The members were elected by a kind of ballot, the voting papers being transmitted through the field cornets. Theoretically the Volksraad was the supreme executive, but its decisions were subject to alteration by vote at a public meeting. This system had confusing results, for a decision arrived at one day was often reversed the next. Moreover, the Courts were practically without power to enforce their judgments or sentences.

Commandant Potgieter had in the meantime established an independent government of a somewhat similar character in the Mooi River Territory in the Transvaal. Between the two communities some indefinite bond existed. At Potchefstroom a body which consisted of twelve members was created; it was termed the *Adjunct Raad*. The members of this body, while exercising independent control west of the Drakensberg, had the right to sit with the Volksraad at Maritzburg, when matters affecting the general interests of the Emigrant Farmers were under consideration.

The Emigrant Farmers attack the Amabaca.—In September, 1840, the President of the Volksraad wrote to the Governor of the Cape Colony, requesting that the independence of the Republic might be acknowledged. The Governor replied asking for further information, and the Volksraad drafted a reply defining and explaining the position which the new state proposed to assume. In the mean time thefts of cattle had taken place, and the spoor of some animals was traced south-westward to the rugged country bordering the Umzimvubu. This region was occupied by a section of the Baca tribe under Ncapayi. A force of two hundred and sixty men was despatched to attack these people. The more moderate section of the Volksraad opposed this movement, fearing that it would be resented by the British Government. In the attack which followed it was stated that twenty-six

men, ten women, and four children of the Bacas were killed. Some three thousand head of cattle were carried away. The Boers were assisted by some Native auxiliaries, who also swept away a quantity of stock, besides women and children. The latter the Farmers caused to be liberated; but seventeen children, whose parents had been killed, were removed by the Farmers for the purpose of being apprenticed.

Action of Faku.—Between the Amabaca and the Pondos a bitter feud existed. However, Faku, the Pondo chief, now became apprehensive as to his own safety, so he communicated his fears to Sir George Napier, Governor of Cape Colony, and asked to be taken under British protection. The document containing the request bore the signatures of three European missionaries. It was this raid which decided the Governor to reoccupy Port Natal, so a force was despatched from King William's Town to protect Faku. It encamped on the Umgazi River in Western Pondoland.

Sir George Napier refuses to recognise the Republic.—**The Emigrant Farmers still regarded as British Subjects.**—The Imperial Government did not wish to enlarge its responsibilities in South Africa, but it was believed that if a garrison were stationed at Port Natal the Emigrant Farmers might be induced to return to the Cape Colony. In September the President of the Volksraad was informed that the independence of the Republic could not be acknowledged, and the communication foreshadowed the despatch of a military force to Port Natal. The President of the Volksraad replied to the effect that the Emigrant Farmers declined to consider themselves as British subjects and refused to receive a military force, as they had not asked for it, and had no need of it for their protection.

A British Force lands at Durban.—On April 1, 1842, a force consisting of two hundred and sixty-three men with a howitzer and two light field pieces, and a considerable wagon train, left the Umgazi camp for Durban. It was commanded by Captain Thomas Smith of the 27th Regiment. Thirty-three days later this force reached its destination. At the Bay of Natal it was met by two of the Farmers with a written protest from the Volksraad. Next day another deputation

arrived and informed Captain Smith that the Republic was in treaty with and under the protection of Holland. This strange misconception was due to the action of a private association which had been formed in Holland for the purpose of trading with Natal, and which had published and circulated privately a pamphlet appealing strongly to the sympathy of the people of the Netherlands towards their distant compatriots. The movement was disavowed by the Dutch Government. However, the statement made by the Farmers was believed by them to be true.

Attack by the Emigrant Farmers.—In the meantime the Farmers mobilised and assembled at Kongella, a few miles from the Bay, under Commandant-General Pretorius, with whom Captain Smith held a parley. The first act of definite hostility occurred on May 23, when a large number of the transport cattle belonging to the British force were seized by the Farmers. That night Captain Smith led forth a party to attack the Boers. It consisted of about one hundred and forty men with two guns. This attack was a complete failure. Sixteen of the British force were killed, thirty-one were wounded, and three were reported as missing. Both guns were captured. The wounded men were well cared for by the Boers, and sent back next day to the British lines. The camp was now placed in a state of defence.

Richard King's Ride.—The Siege.—Mr. Richard King, one of the residents of Durban, managed to penetrate the Farmers' lines with two horses, and rode to Grahamstown, a distance of six hundred miles, in ten days. Intelligence as to the plight of Durban was thus conveyed to the military authorities. The British camp was closely invested. Two small vessels—the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa*—which had come from Port Elizabeth with stores and merchandise, were seized. A British outpost at the Point was captured, together with an eighteen-pounder gun, and a quantity of stores and ammunition. A truce was agreed upon until May 31. On that day the camp was invested and a bombardment began. The artillery used by the Farmers included the guns they had captured. The bombardment, however, did not have very much effect. By arrangement the women and children were

removed for safety to the *Mazeppa*. Food became very scarce.

The British Relieving Force.—Retirement of the Emigrant Farmers.—On June 26 the garrison was relieved by a force under Colonel Cloete, conveyed by the frigate *Southampton* and a chartered schooner—the *Conch*. After making but slight further resistance, the Farmers retired. During the most strenuous days of the siege Captain Smith requested Panda to send assistance, but Panda refused to interfere, saying that whoever won in the struggle should be his master. Colonel Cloete called upon the Natives in the vicinity of Durban to bring in what horses and cattle they could collect; but they interpreted this as giving them a licence to plunder, so they began to loot the Farmers. Three of the latter were murdered.

Commissioner Cloete meets the Volksraad at Maritzburg.—The Emigrant Farmers now retired to Maritzburg, where a stormy meeting of the Volksraad took place. Many of the people returned to their farms. Colonel Cloete accepted an invitation to visit Maritzburg under a safe conduct. Half the members of the Volksraad had disappeared; the remaining half signed conditions providing for the release of prisoners and the restitution of property that had been seized or captured, and embodying a declaration of submission to the British Crown. Colonel Cloete returned to Cape Town, leaving a small body of troops at Port Natal under Major Smith.

Affairs in Natal were now in a very anomalous condition; the British Government was still much averse to increasing its territorial responsibilities. Further efforts were made towards inducing the Emigrants to return to the Cape Colony. The Governor was instructed to withdraw the force from the Bay and to prevent supplies being landed there. On his own responsibility the Governor decided not to act upon these instructions. The Secretary of State then directed the Governor to send a Commissioner to Natal to deal with matters there. Three main conditions were to be embodied in any settlement that might be arrived at. These were—

- (1) Equality in the eye of the law of all persons, irrespective of creed or colour.

(2) That there should be no aggression upon Natives except under the authority of Government, and

(3) That there was to be no slavery.

Resolution of the Women.—Advocate Henry Cloete was appointed Commissioner. He held a meeting with the Emigrants at Maritzburg on June 9, 1843, with an indeterminate result. Various other meetings were held. Several armed parties arrived from beyond the Drakensberg; one under Commandant Mocke, numbered two hundred. There was much dissension among the Farmers. A new and enlarged Volksraad was elected. A mass meeting of women was held, at which it was unanimously resolved that rather than submit to British rule they would walk barefoot over the Drakensberg—that they would have liberty or death. At this meeting the women affirmed that: “In consideration of the battles in which they had been engaged with their husbands, they had obtained a promise that they would be entitled to a voice in all matters concerning the state of the country.”

The Volksraad accepts the British Conditions.—Eventually on August 8, the Volksraad decided to accept the British conditions. Next day the Farmers from beyond the Drakensberg withdrew, bitterly indignant with those who, in their opinion, had betrayed the cause of liberty by submission. These views were shared by many who remained behind, and it was found necessary to bring troops to Maritzburg for the protection of those who favoured the surrender.

Many of the Emigrants recross the Drakensberg.—**Natal a Dependency of the Cape Colony.**—A large number of the Emigrants now abandoned their farms and recrossed the Drakensberg. By the end of 1843 there were only three hundred and sixty-five families left. In 1844 the form of Government for Natal was settled. The territory was to be a dependency of the Cape Colony, but separate for executive, judicial, and financial purposes, and was to be administered by a Lieutenant-Governor. In August, 1845, the boundaries of Natal were defined by proclamation. They were the Tugela and Umzinyati Rivers, the south-eastern base of the Drakensberg, and the Umzimkulu River. A further proclamation was issued stating that it was

not to be understood that the Queen's authority over her subjects residing beyond the proclaimed limits had been renounced. The Roman Dutch Law was made the fundamental law of Natal. In November Mr. Martin Thomas West, who had been Civil Commissioner of Albany, was appointed provisionally as Lieutenant-Governor. At the same time Advocate Henry Cloete was appointed Recorder; Mr. Donald Moodie, Secretary to the Government; Mr. Walter Harding, Crown Prosecutor; and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, Diplomatic Agent for the Natives. An Executive Council, to consist of the Senior Military Officer, the Secretary to the Government, the Surveyor-General, the Collector of Customs, and the Crown Prosecutor, was appointed. These officers arrived on December 4, 1845, when the administration of Natal as a British colony commenced.

Influx of Zulus.—In 1843 occurred an enormous influx of Zulus from across the Tugela. Panda had put one of his brothers and the latter's wives and children to death in a very cruel manner. Within a few days some 50,000 people had crossed the border, seeking safety. Panda demanded that these people should be sent back, but the demand was refused by Major Smith. The fugitives wandered hither and thither as they listed, not respecting any boundaries. The Emigrant Farmers desired to call out a commando against them, but this Major Smith refused to permit.

Their Lawless Conduct.—Despair of the Farmers.—The Natives, realising the unsatisfactory relations existing between the British authorities and the Emigrant Farmers, became defiant and took to looting. The Farmers were obliged to go into laager. Steps were taken to demarcate locations in which the intruders might settle. Much confusion was caused through many of the sites which had been selected for occupation by Europeans being included within such locations. The Farmers were now almost in despair; they prepared to abandon the country, but before taking the final step decided to despatch a delegate to interview the Governor of the Cape Colony on their behalf. Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius was chosen. On his way he was joined by a delegate from Winburg, where the people also had grievances to ventilate. The

delegates reached Grahamstown where the Governor was staying, but he was too busy to receive them. Pretorius published an account of the grievances of the people in Natal. On his way back he met with much sympathy from the Farmers in the districts he traversed. The effect of his relation of what had taken place was such that a further considerable number of people left the Cape Colony for the north. When Pretorius reached Natal he found the people fleeing from their homes, unable to withstand the depredations of the Natives—depredations which they had been forbidden to resist. He found his wife lying ill in a wagon on the road; his youngest daughter was leading the team of oxen.

Visit of Sir Harry Smith.—The Farmers assembled at the foot of the Drakensberg and made preparations to cross the range. Just then Sir Harry Smith became Governor; he sent a message to Mr. Pretorius suggesting that the movement should be delayed pending the visit which he intended to make. The Governor arrived at the Farmers' camp at the beginning of February, 1848, and was enthusiastically welcomed. Many of the Farmers had fought under him in the Kaffir wars of former days, and both liked and respected him. In his despatch to the Secretary of State the Governor thus described the condition of the unhappy people:—

“They were exposed to a state of misery which I have never before seen equalled except in Masséna's Invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled. The scene was truly heartrending.”

Sir Harry Smith persuaded the Farmers to delay their departure, promising if possible to adjust their grievances. He remained among them several days, inquiring into the circumstances of their unhappy case.

Appointment of a Land Commission.—Evil Results of Land Speculation.—On February 10 the Governor issued a proclamation appointing a Land Commission to adjust claims. The result of this was that several hundred Dutch families settled permanently among the upper reaches of the Tugela, the Klip and the Sunday Rivers. In this region there were but few Natives. Some of the Farmers were granted land in

other localities, but they soon became dissatisfied with their surroundings, and retired over the Drakensberg. Their land was sold to speculators, who soon held large tracts. One corporation, the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, acquired 250,000 acres of land for the ostensible purpose of permitting European colonisation. But leasing land to Natives was found to pay well, so the tracts became filled with Bantu refugees. Other holders of land adopted the same methods, until, to quote Dr. Theal, "Natal became like a huge Bantu location with a few centres of European industry in it."

CHAPTER XIX

(To 1899)

Natal

Early Immigration to Natal.—Immigration to Natal was at first exceedingly slow. In 1838 thirty-five families of German labourers were introduced; most of these became prosperous market gardeners in the vicinity of Durban. In 1849 and the succeeding two years, about 4500 emigrants arrived from England. These included a disproportionate number of men; discontent resulted, and many of them went to Australia.

Business Energy.—Bishop Colenso.—The European community in Natal evinced very great energy. In business generally Natal developed activities out of proportion to its meagre European population. Schools were established, and churches were founded by different religious societies. In 1854 Dr. John William Colenso was appointed first bishop of the Church of England. He devoted himself largely to missionary work, and came to be known among the natives as “Sobantu,” or “Father of the People.”

Natal was divided into three large districts—Durban, Maritzburg, and Klip River. These were sub-divided into counties. Municipal institutions were introduced in 1847, and county councils in 1856.

Natal a Distinct Colony.—The Transport Industry. In 1855 Sir George Grey visited Natal and inquired into the conditions of the colony. He at once recommended that a Constitution should be granted. This was done the following year under Royal Charter. Natal was created a colony distinct from the Cape, with a legislative council of sixteen members—twelve elective and four official. A considerable trade was

opened up with the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, and the conveyance of goods by ox wagon inland was found to be exceedingly profitable. Natal early recognised the potential profits of the carrying trade, and accordingly constructed good roads to and over the Drakensberg Range, bridging the principal rivers.

An Unprecedented Flood.—But in 1868 came a flood of unprecedented violence. Some thirteen inches of rain fell in less than three days, and most of the roads and bridges were destroyed. Sugar cane was introduced from Mauritius, and found to thrive on the coast lands.

Trouble in Zululand.—Strife between Cetewayo and Umbulazi.—Trouble arose in Zululand; King Panda had become so enormously stout that he was no longer able to take any part in public affairs. Jealousy arose between two of his sons, Cetewayo and Umbulazi. The latter was the younger, and it was believed that Panda favoured his claims to the succession. Umbulazi and his adherents moved to a territory assigned to them on the Tugela. Here they were attacked by Cetewayo in December, 1856, and defeated with terrible slaughter. Umbulazi lost his life. Bodies of the slain which had been carried out to sea were washed up in large numbers on the beach in the vicinity of Durban. After this Cetewayo's power in Zululand was supreme; he acted as regent for his father until the latter's death in 1872.

In 1860, during the visit of Prince Alfred, the first South African railway was opened in Natal. This was a line between the Point and Durban, which was afterwards extended to the Umgeni.

Fertility of Coast Lands.—Introduction of Coolies.—Along the fertile coast-lands tea, coffee, and arrow-root came to be cultivated, in addition to sugar. To meet the growing demand for labour indentured coolies were introduced from India in 1860. These people increased so rapidly as to become a serious embarrassment. A census of 1904 startled the Colony by the revelation that the Indians in Natal numbered 100,000, whilst the Europeans numbered only 97,000.

The Franchise.—In 1865 a law was passed in terms of which Natives were debarred from the franchise

unless they had been exempted from Native law for a period of seven years. This amounted to practical disfranchisement.

Death of Panda.—After the death of King Panda in 1872, Mr. Shepstone, at the request of the people, proceeded to Zululand to instal Cetewayo as his successor. On this occasion laws against the indiscriminate shedding of blood, and providing that no person should be condemned without an open trial, were proclaimed.

Return of Langalibalele.—In 1873 trouble arose with the Hlubi tribe, which, under its chief, Langalibalele, was located along the upper reaches of the Bushman River. Many of the Hlubis had been to work at the Diamond Fields, and had there acquired firearms. An order was issued by the Natal Government that all such were to be registered. This order was not obeyed, so a force was assembled to compel compliance. The Hlubis retired through the mountainous country towards Basutoland. In an attempt to stop the retirement a slight engagement took place, in which three Carbineers and two Natives attached to the Natal Force lost their lives. Langalibalele was arrested by the police in Basutoland. The tribe was broken up. As a result of the trouble with the Hlubis a Native High Court was established, presided over by the Governor as supreme chief, and some additional magistrates were appointed in the more populous native areas.

Sir Garnet Wolseley.—Railway Extension.—In 1875 Sir Garnet Wolseley, afterwards Lord Wolseley, was sent to Natal to act as Governor. He was instructed by Lord Carnarvon to report on the condition of the Natives, and on the relations existing between them and the Europeans. In 1876 railway extension began in Natal. For this purpose a loan of £1,200,000 was raised, and the construction of lines along the coast to the north-east and the south-west, as well as to Maritzburg, was begun. In 1880 the line to Maritzburg was completed. In 1886 communication was opened with Ladysmith.

Cetewayo's threatening Attitude.—Violation of Natal Border by Zulus.—King Cetewayo did not observe the new laws promulgated at his coronation.

The old Zulu practice of massacre at the King's mere will was recommenced. The Zulu army was organised very completely, until it was as powerful as it had been in the days of Tshaka. In addition to spears,



Photo: T. D. Ravenscroft.]

CETEWAYO.

the Zulu soldiers were now armed with muskets obtained through Delagoa Bay. A dangerous situation arose. The Natal border was violated, fugitives being pursued by armed bodies of Zulus into Natal territory. Cetewayo failed to afford satisfaction.

It was not alone Natal that was threatened, for a numerous Zulu army was massed upon the Transvaal border. It was well known that the Zulu soldiery were keenly desirous of an opportunity of fighting, or, as they termed it, "washing their spears."

The Zulu War.—At the end of 1878 an ultimatum was delivered by the High Commissioner. In this the surrender of those who had violated the boundary, as well as the payment of a fine of cattle, was demanded. The Zulu King was also called upon to disband his regiments. A force of 6600 Europeans, besides a large native contingent, was assembled on the border. No satisfactory reply being obtained, a British force in three divisions entered Zululand at the expiration of the period mentioned in the ultimatum.

Disaster of Isandhlwana.—**Defence of Rorke's Drift.**
—The main column crossed the Tugela at Rorke's Drift and advanced to the Isandhlwana Hill, about ten miles from the border. From the camp there formed Lord Chelmsford and Colonel Glyn moved forward on January 22, 1879, on a reconnaissance with a strong patrol, leaving the camp in charge of some eight hundred Europeans and six hundred Native Levies. No orders were given to entrench or to construct a laager, according to the well-known South African practice. The Zulus who were massed in the vicinity advanced on the camp, enveloped it and slaughtered every soul, with the exception of about forty Europeans and a few Natives who managed to break through the ring. Upon the Natal side of Rorke's Drift was a Commissariat and Hospital Post, defended by about one hundred Europeans. The Commander, Lieutenant Chard, fortunately got news of the disaster in time sufficient to enable him to organise a defence. A force of about four thousand Zulus advanced to the attack. Throughout the whole night desperate attempts were made to break through the frail ramparts, composed principally of biscuit boxes and bags of flour. Furious hand-to-hand struggles took place; several times it was thought that by sheer weight of numbers the savages must prevail. They were, however, beaten off with heavy loss.

Action of Hlobane.—**Defeat of Zulus at Kambula.**
—**Action of Ginginhlovo.**—The northern column, under

Colonel Wood and Colonel Buller, with Commandant Pieter Uys, were camped at Kambula. Colonel Buller, with four hundred men, moved out and occupied the Hlobane Mountain, only to find himself surrounded by an immense Zulu army. In cutting their way through this, one hundred and twenty men lost their lives. Among the slain were Commandant Uys and Colonel Weatherley. The former lost his life in a vain endeavour to save his young son. Next day a fierce attack was made by some twenty thousand Zulus upon the Kambula camp. For five hours wave after wave of the enemy broke against the defence. Then they fled before a cavalry charge, leaving many dead behind. The coast column, under Colonel Pearson, was at the time besieged at Eshowe by a strong Zulu army. It was relieved by Lord Chelmsford, after fighting a battle at Ginginhlovo, in which the Zulus were defeated with considerable loss. The Fort of Eshowe was then abandoned.

Battle of Ulundi.—In the meantime heavy reinforcements arrived. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Commander-in-Chief and High Commissioner. The main British force, under the personal command of Lord Chelmsford, who had not yet surrendered his command to Sir Garnet Wolseley, moved into Zululand from the north-west and advanced towards the Royal Kraal at Ulundi on the northern bank of the White Umfolosi River. The force consisted of some three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. The enemy had massed a large army; they advanced with their usual bravery upon the British square. For twenty minutes the Zulus endured being mown down by shot and shell; then they broke and fled, pursued by the Lancers for some distance. The King's Kraal was burnt. Cetewayo fled into the Ingome forest, north of the Black Umfolosi, where he was captured.

Sir Garnet Wolseley supersedes Lord Chelmsford.
—**Subdivision of Zululand.**—Sir Garnet Wolseley assembled the Zulu chiefs at Ulundi, and announced the terms which he decided to impose upon the Zulu people. The dynasty of Tshaka was abolished, and the country divided into thirteen districts, each to be ruled by a chief who was subject to the British Crown. Among the chiefs thus appointed was John Dunn, an

Englishman who had spent many years in Zululand. This settlement was not successful.

Strife among the Chiefs.—Return of Cetewayo.—The chiefs began to fight with each other, and a considerable number of Zulus desired that Cetewayo might be permitted to return. He had been living at a farm in the vicinity of Cape Town, and in 1882 had visited England. In January, 1883, he was taken back to Zululand and installed once more as King of that portion north of the Umhlatuzi River, by Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

Usibepu.—One of the thirteen chiefs appointed at the end of the war was a man called Usibepu, who belonged to the Zulu Royal House. Between him and Cetewayo there existed considerable enmity. Usibepu was permitted to retain his territory. The tract between the Umhlatuzi and the Tugela was constituted a reserve under a British Commissioner. Here such Zulus as did not desire to be subject to Cetewayo were located. Cetewayo's return had unexpected results; he rapidly lost many of his adherents, who joined Usibepu. Soon he was obliged to flee to the reserve, where he lived under protection of the Resident till 1884, when he died.

Dinizulu succeeds Cetewayo.—He calls the Boers to his Aid.—The "New Republic."—The "Usutu," as Cetewayo's adherents were termed, acknowledged his son Dinizulu as Chief. War soon broke out between the Usutu and the followers of Usibepu. The British authorities formally declined to interfere. Dinizulu, being defeated, called to his aid a number of Boers from the Transvaal under Lucas Meyer. These allies soon turned the scale. Usibepu, his followers scattered, fled to the reserve for protection, as Cetewayo had done. Dinizulu ceded to Lucas Meyer and his followers some 3000 square miles of territory in the north and north-west of Zululand. This tract now became the "New Republic" under the Presidency of Lucas Meyer. In 1886 its independence was recognised by Great Britain; two years later it was merged in the South African Republic.

Zululand annexed.—In 1887 Zululand was, with the consent of the people, declared British territory, under the Governor of Natal. In 1884 the British Flag had

been hoisted over St. Lucia Bay ; this step was undertaken with the view of defeating the attempts made on the part of Germany to gain a footing on the coast of Zululand. The Bay had been ceded to Great Britain by Panda in 1834. In 1888 Dinizulu and two other Zulu chiefs rebelled and were banished to the Island of St. Helena. Soon afterwards they were, however, permitted to return. In 1895 Tongaland, lying between the Portuguese possessions and Zululand, was annexed by Great Britain.

Railway Extension.—As soon as the exceeding richness of the Witwatersrand Goldfields became an established fact, strenuous efforts were made to extend the railway inland from the Port of Durban as rapidly as possible. In 1891 communication was opened with Charlestown, close to the border. In 1892 a line was completed to Harrismith in the Orange Free State. In 1894 the Volksraad of the South African Republic granted permission to the Natal Government to extend the line to Johannesburg ; by the end of 1895 this had been effected.

Responsible Government granted.—Responsible Government was granted to Natal in 1893. Two Chambers were constituted : a Legislative Council, consisting of fourteen members nominated by the Governor and a Legislative Assembly of forty-two elective members. The franchise was based on the property qualification of £50 or payment of an annual rent of £10, or a salary qualification of £96 per annum. The Cabinet was to consist of five members. The first Prime Minister was Sir John Robinson.

Fertility of Natal.—Menacing Problems.—Natal is the most fertile of the colonies now forming the South African Union, and deserves its name, "The Garden Colony." Sugar and coffee production have grown to very important industries. Natal also possesses valuable coal-mines, from which there is a very large output. But the enormous and increasing Bantu and Coolie elements in its population present problems of growing menace.

CHAPTER XX

(To 1852)

The Cape Colony under British Rule

Governor Napier. — Major-General George Thomas Napier took the oaths as Governor of the Cape Colony in January, 1838. He was a brother of the historian of the Peninsular War, and a most distinguished soldier. He had lost his right arm when leading a storming party during the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

General Depression. — Scarcity of Labour. — The Colony soon afterwards fell into a most depressed condition; on December 1, 1838, the period of four years' apprenticeship which the slaves had to serve before obtaining complete freedom, came to an end. Labour was unobtainable; the liberated slaves, rejoicing in their new-found liberty, refused to work. The "Great Trek" had drawn away large numbers of the best of the European inhabitants; there had been no corresponding immigration.

Decline of the Wine Industry. — The principal colonial industry had hitherto been the production of wine. This industry had experienced many vicissitudes. In 1813 a reduction of the duty in England gave wine-making such an impetus that ten years later there were three million vines bearing, and upwards of 19,000 leaguers of wine were produced. In 1825 an adjustment of the wine duty was made, which was unfavourable to the Cape product. From this time the industry steadily declined. In 1840 a further unfavourable alteration of the duty inflicted a staggering blow upon the wine farmers, and through them upon the prosperity of the Colony, for it rendered further profitable export of wine impossible. On the other hand, the production of merino wool, which was

found to be exceedingly remunerative, was rapidly increasing. The development of this industry gradually brought back prosperity.

Epidemics of Measles and Small-pox.—In 1839 an epidemic of measles broke out; this disease had been unknown in the colony for upwards of thirty years. It spread rapidly among the coloured people. Early in the following year small-pox was introduced through the landing of negroes from a captured slaver. This, as well as the epidemic of measles, caused heavy loss of life—more especially among the liberated slaves, who had flocked into the towns and villages.

Taxation.—Constitution of Municipalities.—At this period various alterations in the incidence of taxation and reforms in the methods of collecting revenue were introduced. In 1836 an Ordinance providing for the constitution of municipalities had been promulgated.

Improved Educational Methods.—An improved system of education—its details mainly based upon the advice of Sir John Herschel, the Astronomer Royal, and Mr. John Fairbairn—was adopted in 1839. Schools were divided into two classes, respectively termed Elementary and Classical. In 1840 eleven skilled teachers were introduced, nearly all of whom seem to have been Scotsmen. There were already in existence several good private schools. It was usual for the farmers to employ private teachers, but the persons employed were usually quite unfitted for the work. So far the facilities provided for the education of coloured children were much better than in the case of the children of Europeans. There were upwards of fifty missionaries besides a large number of lay teachers, male and female, who were exclusively employed in the coloured schools.

Dutch Reformed Church Ordinance.—In 1843 an ordinance was passed on the lines suggested by a Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, eliminating political commissioners from the personnel of such Synod, and freeing the Church from secular interference in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters.

Construction of Roads.—An important ordinance, having reference to the construction and maintenance of roads, was promulgated. There were three main roads piercing the great mountain barrier lying between

the vicinity of the Cape and the interior. These were the old road through the Tulbagh Kloof, the French Hoek road—which had been constructed in the days of Lord Charles Somerset—and the road over Hottentot's Holland, completed in 1830, and named Sir Lowry's Pass, after Sir Lowry Cole. In the Eastern Province some good roads and bridges had been constructed by the military. Under the ordinance a central board of road commissioners, as well as divisional boards, were constituted. These had the power of levying rates for the purposes of construction and maintenance.

Life of the Colonists.—Genesis of Villages.—The life of the South African colonists at this period was healthful, simple, and, except in the vicinity of the eastern frontier, comparatively free from care. Game was plentiful, there was still ample room for expansion, and that stress which is such a feature of modern life did not as yet exist. Hospitality towards strangers was universally practised. Four times each year the people assembled around the respective churches for the "Nachtmaal" or celebration of the Lord's Supper. At these gatherings, which usually lasted about five days, marriages and christenings took place, and much business was transacted. Villages rapidly sprang up in various parts of the Colony, some very remote. It often happened that a well-to-do farmer donated, or, in dying, bequeathed a site for a church with surrounding it an area of land sufficient to admit of a village being laid out. This land would be surveyed into building lots, the price of which formed a fund for the construction and endowment of the church. A village invariably grew around the church, owing to the well-to-do farmers building cottages for their accommodation during Nachtmaal time. On the approach of old age the management of the farm might be handed over to the sons, and then the proprietor would quietly end his days in the congenial environment created by the church, the doctor and a few cronies. Such was the genesis of most South African villages.

Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland.—In March, 1844, Sir George Napier resigned and was succeeded as Governor by Sir Peregrine Maitland. He likewise was a distinguished military officer and had commanded a brigade at Waterloo. He had subsequently been

Lieutenant-Governor of both Upper Canada and Nova Scotia.

Satisfactory Financial Condition.—Under the sound economic management of Sir George Napier, the Colony had slowly emerged from its depressed condition. The public debt had been almost wholly paid off. For the first time in Cape Colonial history, the revenue was slightly in excess of the expenditure. A large income was being derived from the Guano Islands, off the coast of Namaqualand. Grants of public money were made towards immigration and some five thousand British immigrants were introduced.

Separation Movement.—The inhabitants of the eastern districts had for some time been most anxious for a Government of their own, quite unconnected with Cape Town and the western districts. In December, 1845, a strong petition asking for separation was sent to the Secretary of State. The petitioners were dissatisfied owing to the Lieutenant-Governor having only nominal powers. Their prayer was, however, refused.

Economic Development.—The economic development of South Africa was very marked at this period. In 1844 the Colonial Bank with a capital of £100,000, and in 1847 the Union Bank with a capital of £150,000, were established in Cape Town. In 1847 banks were opened in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, and the Paarl. The South African Mutual Life Assurance Society, which is still such a flourishing institution, was founded in 1845.

Erection of Lighthouses.—In 1842 the first lighthouse on the South African coast was constructed at Mouille Point, Table Bay. In 1845 a revolving light was mounted on a hulk moored off the Roman Rock in Simon's Bay. Many wrecks had happened in the vicinity of Cape Agulhas, so in 1849 a light appeared there. Towards its cost upwards of £17,000 was subscribed by the public. The growing trade of Port Elizabeth rendered a light on Cape Recife necessary; accordingly a lighthouse was constructed there in 1851.

In 1847 some of the Cape Town streets were lit by gas; this was effected by a private company. In 1846 the convict station at Robben Island was closed and turned into quarters for the lepers who had hitherto

been maintained at Hemel en Aarde in the Caledon district. These unhappy sufferers had been taken charge of by the Moravian Missionaries; now, however, the English Episcopal Church undertook their spiritual care.

More Trouble with the Natives.—Lord Stanley, who was now Secretary of State, having practically given a free hand in the matter of dealing with the Natives on the frontier to Sir Peregrine Maitland, the latter, in 1844, proceeded to the Eastern Province, where matters were rapidly drifting into a more than ordinarily dangerous condition. A farmer named de Lange, one of a party pursuing six looters in the Albany district, had been killed. Sandile gave up two of the murderers, but refused to surrender the other four; eventually the matter was settled by the Chief paying fifty head of cattle to de Lange's widow. The Governor held a meeting with certain Bantu chiefs at Fort Peddie. He provided the resident there, Mr. Shepstone, with two hundred muskets wherewith to arm the Fingos in case of attack. At Fort Beaufort he met a number of chiefs of the Tembu and Xosa clans, including Sandile and Maqoma.

Treaties with Chiefs.—Various new treaties were drawn up and signed. In terms of these certain chiefs were granted allowances, subject to good behaviour on their part and that of their people. Treaties with Kreli the Gcaleka chief, and Faku, chief of the Pondos, were also entered into. According to the treaty with Kreli, that chief had to protect missionaries and traders, to deliver up criminals and to return stolen cattle. For so doing he was to be paid £50 per annum. To Faku was granted the large tracts of country between the Umtata and Umzimkulu Rivers, from the Drakensberg to the sea. The treaty with Sandile provided that forts might be constructed anywhere west of the Keiskamma and the Tyume. One was forthwith built at the head of the Sheshegu stream on the watershed between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers.

In November, 1845, as a party of missionaries were encamped near Fort Peddie, they were attacked by men of the Gunukwebe clan, and one, the Reverend Mr. Scholtz, was murdered, together with a Hottentot servant. Sandile began to give trouble; he broke into

a trader's store and helped himself to the goods. He refused, after having previously given his consent, to permit the erection of a fort at Block Drift on the Tyume River. His people stole and he protected the thieves. It was abundantly evident that another war was very near. The Stockenstrom treaties had failed. Since they had been signed there had been one hundred and six persons murdered by Natives on the frontier. There had, moreover, been innumerable robberies. During the same period not a single act of violence had been brought home to any Colonist.

The Seventh Kaffir War, or the "War of the Axe."—In March, 1847, the storm burst; a Native who had been arrested at Fort Beaufort for stealing an axe, was being escorted to Grahamstown; he was handcuffed to another man. A party of about forty Kaffirs rushed out of the bush and rescued the prisoner. They murdered the man to whom he was fastened, and cut off the former's hands. The Chief of the clan to whom the men who effected the rescue belonged, refused to give them up. They took refuge with Sandile, who also refused delivery. The Lieutenant-Governor strengthened the garrisons of Fort Beaufort and Fort Peddie, and distributed arms to those requiring them. The Xosas beyond the border soon began plundering the traders and, in some cases, the missionaries. Thus began the conflict which has ever since been referred to by the Natives as "The War of the Axe."

Military Mismanagement.—All available troops were hurried up from Cape Town. The burghers of the eastern districts were called out. The campaign began with a serious disaster. Without waiting for sufficient reinforcements, and before the burghers had mobilised, the Lieutenant-Governor decided upon an advance. A convoy of 125 wagons, each drawn by a team of fourteen oxen, was sent along a narrow road through broken country in single file. The train was three miles long, and was quite unprotected except by weak advance- and rear-guards. The convoy was attacked by the Xosas while passing through a narrow, forested gorge, near Burnshill on the Keiskamma; sixty-nine wagons and nearly nine hundred oxen were lost. The enemy now overran the Colony as far westward as Uitenhage, burning and looting as was their wont. As the Farmers



ENGAGEMENT AT THE GWANGA.

had received warning, they were in most instances able to draw together for mutual protection, so not more than twelve were cut off and killed. In the first instance it was believed that only the Gaikas and a clan called the Imidangè had risen, but it soon became clear that from Gcalekaland westward practically all the Bantu clans were on the war-path against the white man. The only exceptions were the Fingos and two minor clans, one under a petty chief named Kama, and the other under a man of mixed race named Hermanus. It was found that the enemy possessed a large number of firearms; these had been smuggled in by unprincipled traders. The difficulties incidental to the campaign were enormous. The country was suffering from a long and severe drought. Not alone had some fourteen thousand troops and a large number of wagon-drivers and leaders to be fed, but assistance had to be given to upwards of eight thousand people who had been driven from their farms and rendered destitute by the invasion. There was serious mismanagement evident on the part of the military authorities. At Fort Peddie a considerable force was stationed. One afternoon an attack was made upon the Fingos at the Mission Station four miles away by about a thousand Kaffirs. A column consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was sent to the assistance of the Fingos, but retired without making any attack. The Fingos, however, managed to hold their own. In passing through the Fish River Bush near Trompetter's Drift, a convoy of forty-three wagons fell into the hands of the enemy.

In this campaign occurred the only instance in which British cavalry had the opportunity of engaging Natives in the open. Some six hundred Xosas were encountered in the shallow Gwanga Valley a few miles from Fort Peddie. The enemy were completely cut up, about two-thirds of their number being killed or wounded.

Threatened Starvation.—The difficulties of transport owing to the drought were somewhat reduced through a landing-place being found at the mouth of the Fish River. Sir Andries Stockenstrom was appointed Commandant of the Eastern Province burghers and did excellent work. Strong mutual resentment arose between the burghers and the regular forces. The drought was so severe that had it not been that provisions were

landed on the coast starvation must have ensued. Horses died in large numbers; when burghers were disbanded they often had to return to their homes on foot.

From time to time Sandile, Kreli, and other chiefs expressed a desire for peace, but it was afterwards clear that in so doing they merely wished to gain time. Sandile agreed to restore twenty thousand head of cattle and give up his arms. He surrendered the stealer of the axe whose rescue had caused the war, and a number of his people handed in muskets and assegais of inferior quality; but the cattle were not delivered. Thus a kind of truce was called, which was of far more use to the enemy than to the colonists, for it gave the former the opportunity of reaping their crops and re-organising their plan of action.

Submission of Kaffir Chiefs.—A system of patrolling was afterwards undertaken; this gave the enemy no rest. There were soon signs that the Kaffirs were getting weary of the struggle. In October Sandile with his brother Anta, his councillors, and a number of followers, surrendered. They were sent to Grahamstown, and there detained as prisoners of war. Previous to Sandile's surrender a few of the minor chiefs had submitted.

Governor Sir Henry Pottinger.—In January, 1847, Sir Peregrine Maitland was retired on account of his advanced age. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Pottinger, an officer in the East India Company's service, who was also appointed "High Commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the Affairs of the Territories in Southern Africa adjacent or contiguous to the eastern and north-eastern frontier of the Colony." The Governor proceeded at once to the frontier, and raised a number of volunteers. The war dragged on with varying fortune; troops were landed at the mouth of the Buffalo, the site of the present port of East London, and a chain of forts reaching from there to King William's Town was constructed.

Governor Sir Harry Smith.—Towards the end of 1847 General Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith superseded Sir Henry Pottinger as Governor and High Commissioner. Sir Harry Smith was well known in the Colony; he had been in command of the Province of

Queen Adelaide when such was constituted under Sir Benjamin D'Urban. Owing to Lord Glenelg's influence he had been removed from South Africa. In the interim he had distinguished himself highly in India. It was Sir Harry Smith who conquered the Sikhs at the Battle of Aliwal in 1846. He was received by the inhabitants of Cape Town with every possible demonstration of joy. Eleven days after his arrival the new Governor proceeded by sea to Algoa Bay and thence to Grahamstown.

Extension of Eastern Boundary.—He at once proclaimed a new boundary for the Colony; this was from the mouth of the Keiskamma River to its junction with the Tyume, along the Tyume to its source, thence along the summit of the Katberg Range to Gaika's Kop; thence to the nearest source of the Klip Plaats River, along the latter to its junction with the Zwart Kei, along the Zwart Kei to its junction with the Klaas Smits River, along the Klaas Smits River to its source in the Stormberg, thence to the source of the Kraai River, along the Kraai to its junction with the Orange River, and along the Orange River to the Atlantic Ocean.

British Kaffraria.—Shortly after Sir Harry Smith reached Grahamstown, Pato, the last chief of any importance in arms west of the Kei, surrendered. Thereupon the Governor proceeded to King William's Town, where he proclaimed the whole of the country west of the Kei River, which had been occupied by the Rarabè clans, together with a portion of that occupied by the Emigrant Tembus, as being under the Queen's sovereignty. The territory was not annexed to Cape Colony, but was reserved for the Kaffirs, of whom the High Commissioner was to be Supreme Chief. It was named British Kaffraria.

A Histrionic Function.—A picturesque but somewhat histrionic function took place. Sandile and Anta had been brought from Grahamstown and appeared among a large gathering of Native chiefs. The troops were drawn up; the chiefs, with their thousands of attendants, were seated in a large circle. Into this the Governor rode in state, followed by his staff, and read the proclamation. A sergeant's bâton was produced, which was termed "the staff of war," and a white

wand with a brass head, which was termed "the staff of peace." The chiefs were called forward and ordered to touch which staff they pleased; each touched the staff of peace. They were then addressed at length, promised certain benefits on good behaviour, and threatened with penalties if they misconducted themselves. After this they were called upon to kiss the Governor's foot, as a sign of submission. Sir Harry Smith then shook hands with the chiefs, referred to them as his "children," and presented a herd of oxen as materials for a feast to them and their followers. After this arrangements were made for the government of the new province; Lieutenant-Colonel George McKinnon was appointed Commandant and Chief Commissioner with a corps of native police officered by Europeans.

Imposition of Impossible Conditions.—A strong military force occupying eight separate strategic positions was left as a garrison. These arrangements being concluded, another meeting of the chiefs was convened for January 7, 1848. A schedule of conditions was drawn up; to these all the chiefs had to swear obedience. Nine out of the eleven conditions were the ordinary ones referring to obedience to the law and general preservation of order; but there were two which no one with any knowledge of the Natives could have expected would have been adhered to. One read as follows: "To disbelieve in and cease to tolerate or practise witchcraft in any shape." Now the belief in witchcraft was very deeply ingrained in the Native mind, and could not be eradicated by such simple process; it is not by any means eradicated yet. The other proviso read as follows: "To abolish the sin of buying wives." The payment of dowry to the father of the bride is one of the most deeply rooted of Bantu customs; it is still almost universally practised even among the Christian Natives, and any Native woman would look upon herself as disgraced if married without dowry being paid for her. Such conditions, therefore, struck at the very root of Native social life; those who took the oath to observe them could have had no intention of doing so. The Governor again addressed the chiefs. Once more he called the histrionic to his aid; he pointed to a wagon, which had been prepared

for the occasion and which was standing some little distance away. "Hear me give the word 'Fire!'" he said. At the signal an explosion took place and the wagon was smashed to fragments. The chiefs were told that a similar catastrophe would happen to them if they did not remain faithful. Tearing a sheet of paper to pieces and flinging it away, he exclaimed, "There go the treaties!" Thus the Seventh Kaffir War, otherwise the "War of the Axe," came to an end, but the settlement was not destined to be permanent. Within a little more than two years the war-cry once more went forth and the frontier was again fiercely blazing.

Dr. Philip.—In the matter of this war there was apparently no conflict of opinion; at all events, none was expressed. The *Commercial Advertiser* fell into line with the rest of the South African Press on the subject. Dr. Philip kept silence; he was now dwelling at Hankey, his station on the Gamtoos River. A most bitter domestic bereavement fell upon him; this he bore with Christian stoicism, but it was said that when he heard that Jan Tshatshu, his former *protégé*, had joined Pato's murderous gang, which burned alive Fingo old men, women, and children who fell into their hands, he completely broke down. Henceforth he avoided politics and devoted his energies exclusively to missionary work.

East London founded.—At the end of 1847 the village at the mouth of the Buffalo River was given the name of East London. Shortly afterwards this village and the surrounding ground within a radius of two miles was annexed to the Cape Colony.

The Xosas were much impoverished by the war. A large number of them entered the Colony and sought service among the farmers. Of the Gaika clan many thousands crossed the Kei, seeking food among the Gcalekas and Tembus. At the close of 1848 the census showed that there were over 62,000 Bantu in the province of British Kaffraria.

Sir Harry Smith visited King William's Town in October, 1848, and held another conference with the chiefs and notables, who expressed the most loyal sentiments. The Governor was accompanied by Bishop Grey, who laid the foundation stone of the present

Trinity Church. He had just been appointed the first Anglican Bishop of the Cape. During the previous year the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Island of St. Helena had been constituted a see, the funds for endowing which were provided by the Baroness Burdett Coutts. The ratification of the annexation of the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma, as well as of the creation of the province of British Kaffraria, had been received from the Secretary of State in the previous March. Ten new magistracies were established in the Cape Colony, inclusive of the newly annexed territory. The latter was constituted a district, under the name of Victoria East, with the seat of magistracy at Block Drift, the present site of Alice.

Military Villages laid out.—It was decided to try the experiment of forming villages peopled by military settlers along the upper reaches of the Tyume River; accordingly four villages were laid out with garden lots and granted to soldiers who were permitted to take their discharge. The military force in South Africa had now been reduced to 4703 officers and men.

The "Anti-Convict" Agitation.—In 1848 occurred the celebrated "Anti-Convict" Agitation. An attempt was made by Earl Grey to turn the Cape into a penal settlement. In 1841 a similar proposal had been mooted, but was so forcibly resented that the project dropped. In 1842 the proposal was repeated in another form; this also met with local resistance and was abandoned. On November 8, 1848, the Governor informed the Legislative Council of Earl Grey's proposal; immediately there began an agitation for which no parallel can be found in the history of South Africa. For the time being all class jealousies and racial antagonisms passed away. From every part of the Cape Colony came forth the expression of a vigorous determination to resist the proposed introduction of criminals by every possible means. Memorials were circulated and signed everywhere; these were despatched to England. In notifying the proposal the Secretary of State had said that the convicts would not be sent unless the general opinion in the Colony was found to be in favour of the measure. But in March, 1849, an announcement, taken over from an

English newspaper and published in Cape Town, made it clear that a ship had been despatched to Bermuda for the purpose of conveying convicts from there to the Cape of Good Hope. It was known in England that the various farming industries at the Cape were suffering severely from lack of labour, and the British authorities held the view that convicts would be welcomed, to supply the place of the liberated slaves. Now, however, a document was drawn up and universally signed, pledging the signatories not to employ in any capacity or receive convicts on any terms, and calling upon the Governor to exercise his discretion towards preventing the convicts from landing. It was known that Sir Harry Smith was personally as much averse to the proposal as the Colonists were themselves.

On May 19 a meeting of over five thousand men was held on the Grand Parade Ground. These unanimously declared themselves opposed to the Secretary of State's proposal. A committee with executive powers was elected, and the following pledge drafted and adopted:—

“We, the undersigned, Colonists and inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, hereby solemnly declare and pledge our faith to each other that we will not employ or knowingly admit into our establishments or houses, work with or for, or associate with any convicted felon or felons sent to this Colony under sentence of transportation, and that we will discountenance and drop connection with any person who may assist in landing, support, or employ such convicted felons.”

A Serious Situation.—On June 15 the Governor informed the Legislative Council that he had received instructions from the Secretary of State to arrange for the reception of the convicts, and that it would be his duty to carry out such instructions. He declined to take the responsibility of suspending the order. However, on July 11 he consented to prevent the convicts from landing pending the receipt of further instructions. A number of justices of the peace and field cornets throughout the country threw up their offices; four unofficial members of the Legislative Council resigned their seats. It was impossible to find suitable men who would consent to fill the vacancies. Banks

and insurance offices issued notices to the effect that they would transact no business with any one employing a convict. Owners of houses for hire, tradesmen, and shopkeepers took similar steps.

Arrival of the "Neptune."—Early on the morning of September 20 the tolling of the church bells and the sounding of the fire alarm gong at the Town House announced that the convict ship had arrived. This was the *Neptune*, which had cast anchor in Simon's Bay. She had 282 convicts on board. The square in front of the Town House was filled by an excited crowd. The municipal commissioners addressed a peremptory request to the Governor that the *Neptune* might be at once sent away; this step he considered himself not authorised to take. Orders were, however, given that no one was to be allowed to land from the ship. A monster meeting was held, and at it the draft of a letter written by the chairman to the Governor was approved of. This letter contained the following: "The words of the pledge to drop connection with any persons who should assist in supporting convicted felons, included all departments of the Government by or through or under the authority of which supplies of any kind might be conveyed to the *Neptune*, until that vessel's destination should be changed." This meant the cutting off of all servants of the Crown from the Governor downwards, from the source of supply. On October 10 twelve persons suspected of furnishing provisions to certain Government departments were denounced; they were at once ostracised. So strict was the embargo that an inn at which one of these persons was furnished with a meal lost its custom and had to be closed. A fund was created through which persons adhering to the pledge were indemnified from loss. Next day the Association decided that all stores and shops should be closed except to known customers, and that intercourse with Government should cease. Upon this resolution being put into effect the Governor gave notice that if necessary he would use force to prevent the troops and civil servants from being starved. However, he managed to obtain supplies from other sources. A certain amount of rioting took place, but a fund was subscribed to for the purpose of supplying the unemployed with food, and tranquillity was restored. Cape

Town remained, as it were, in a state of suspended animation for some three months.

Departure of the Convict Ship.—At length, on February 13, 1850, the Governor received instructions to despatch the *Neptune* to Van Diemen's Land, where the convicts were to be conditionally liberated. Cape Town, and in fact the whole country, broke out into jubilation; the city was illuminated that night, and the streets were filled with joyous people. Friday, March 8, was observed as a Day of Thanksgiving for the deliverance of the country from the threatened calamity.

The Europeans of Cape Colony had been singularly free from the grosser forms of crime, and the idea of introducing convicted criminals into the comparatively small community was abhorrent, in view of the contamination to the white race which might have been expected to occur. But there was even a graver objection than this. The slaves and coloured people of nondescript race who congregated around most of the Western Province villages were in such a condition that they would be likely to respond to any influence brought to bear upon them. It was felt that the mingling of degraded Europeans, the waste product of civilisation, with these people would probably have deplorable results. As it happened, the convicts on board the *Neptune* were not offenders of the worst class; if criminals at all, they were made so by circumstances. They had been convicted of agrarian outrages during the famine caused by the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. Among them was John Mitchell, who although technically a convict, has left an honourable reputation. But their landing would have established an iniquitous precedent—one to be avoided at any cost.

A Lull on the Frontier.—For the two years following the "War of the Axe" matters in British Kaffraria and on the eastern frontier remained smooth on the surface. But it is now clear that the peace was only regarded by the Natives as a truce, and that they intended to resume hostilities as soon as they felt themselves strong enough to do so. The chiefs, shorn of so much of their power, had determined to make another attempt to throw off the hated yoke of the white man. The Gaikas had been left in possession of

the Amatole fastnesses; the Kaffir police, from whom so much had been expected, became a grave element of danger, owing to the knowledge which they had acquired of the white man's ways. Strange as it may seem, nothing tended to make the Natives detest our rule so much as the attempts which were made to suppress the atrocities caused by the witch-doctor. In spite of the numbers of innocent victims sacrificed by these scoundrels, public opinion among the Natives was almost universally on their side. In 1850 a prophet arose; his name was Umlanjeni. He claimed the possession of magical powers, and that he was able to distribute charms which would turn the bullets of the white men into water. From far and near the Kaffirs who had taken service among the farmers crowded back to their respective chiefs.

The Governor deceived.—The Governor strongly believed in the permanence of the settlement which he had achieved; up to the latter part of 1850 he considered the alarming reports which were communicated to him to be unfounded. He proceeded to the frontier and sent a notice to the different chiefs inviting them to meet him at King William's Town on October 26. On the day appointed only a few petty chiefs appeared. According to Kaffir custom, the refusal of any chief to appear before his suzerain is regarded as being equivalent to rebellion. The Governor accordingly issued a proclamation deposing Sandile from his position as head chief of the Gaikas, and appointing Mr. Charles Brownlee, a son of the first missionary who had settled at the Tyume, in his place. Mr. Brownlee had been born and brought up among the Gaikas and was thoroughly familiar with the Native tongue. He was a man of great ability and high character and upon certain superstitious grounds was almost regarded by the Gaikas as one of themselves. But being a European it was impossible that he could influence a Native tribe the chief of which in the direct line was still living. The arrangement was soon found to be unworkable, and was abandoned. Then Sutú, Sandile's mother, was appointed Regent with a body of councillors to assist her. The Governor returned to Cape Town persuaded that there was no cause for uneasiness.

The Eighth Kaffir War.—Disaster at the Boomah Pass.—On December 24, a column of seven hundred troops, accompanied by a large party of Kaffir police, proceeded up the valley of the Keiskamma River. The intention was to arrest the deposed chief; it was not thought possible that there would be any resistance. So firmly was this believed that the soldiers had orders not to load their muskets. The patrol entered a rugged gorge lying between jungle-covered hills and known as the Boomah Pass, the mounted men leading. The horsemen were allowed to pass through, then the Kaffirs, who were lying in ambush, attacked the infantry. These fought their way through with a loss of twenty-three killed and a like number wounded. On the same day a patrol of fifteen men was surprised at Debe Nek and destroyed.

Massacre of the Tyume Settlers.—That night the war-cry was wailed from hill to hill, and on every peak signal fires were lit. Next morning the Gaikas fell upon the villages occupied by military settlers in the Tyume. At Woburn every man was killed, likewise at Auckland. The women and children were permitted to escape; the villages were burnt down.

The Governor besieged at Fort Cox.—Sir Harry Smith was at this time at Fort Cox, between the Buffalo and the Keiskamma, which was garrisoned by 250 of the Cape Mounted Riflemen. The fort was immediately besieged by a strong force of the enemy. Colonel Somerset attempted to relieve the Governor from Fort Hare, but was beaten back with heavy loss. However, on December 30 the Governor made a dash through the investing ring and managed to reach King William's Town. A large number of the Kaffir police deserted and went over to the enemy with arms, horses, and equipment. Of this force, upon whose fidelity such hopes had been based, only fifty remained faithful. Once more the frontier was crossed and the border districts overrun; once more the farmers had to abandon their farms with the bulk of their property; again the flames of hundreds of burning homesteads ascended to the sky.

There were certain features in this war which made it somewhat different from the previous one. Several clans, including some who had fought most fiercely

against the Europeans, now remained faithful and took the field against the rebels. Amongst these were the



BOOMAH PASS.

Gunukwebe and the Ndhlabis. Most of the clans on the seaboard either assisted the Europeans or remained

neutral. The Tembus were divided ; one section, under the Regent Nonesi, moved eastward to the Bashee, so as to keep out of the way ; those under Mapassa raised the war-cry.

Rebellion of Hottentots.—But on the side of the hostile clans a new and formidable enemy appeared, for a large number of the Hottentot settlers at the Kat River went into rebellion. These were joined by many who had received a training in the Cape Mounted Rifles, and on discharge had been located at various stations such as Theophilus and Shiloh. Moreover, many deserted from the regiment and went over to the enemy. The leader of the Hottentot rebels was a rifleman pensioner named William Uithalder. He was a man of some ability and planned to form an independent Hottentot state with himself at its head.

Attack on Fort Beaufort.—At Blinkwater, near the Kat River settlement, lived one Hermanus Matroos, the son of a Kaffir woman and an escaped slave. This man had a following of Kaffirs and people of mixed blood, by whom he was regarded as a leader. He had been granted land by Government, and his faithfulness had never been doubted. On January 7, 1851, he led a force to the attack of Fort Beaufort ; the attack was beaten off. Hermanus and fifty of his followers were killed.

Storming of Fort Armstrong.—The Kat River Hottentot insurgents took possession of Fort Armstrong. This was attacked and taken by Major-General Somerset after a stubborn resistance. Great difficulty was experienced in collecting forces sufficient to conquer the enemy, who made another destructive raid into the Colony.

Panda offers Assistance.—Panda, the Zulu chief, offered assistance, saying that his soldiers were weary of peace, but the offer was declined with thanks.

Kreli's Country swept.—In December, 1851, and January, 1852, Kreli's country was swept, and 30,000 head of cattle captured. In February the Governor called up the farmers of the frontier districts to assist in sweeping the forest fastnesses, but very few responded. This war was carried on mainly by regular troops with levies of Fingos, and of those Hottentots who remained faithful.



FORT ARMSTRONG, KAT RIVER.

Recall of Sir Harry Smith.—Sir George Cathcart Governor.—In January, 1852, Earl Grey, being dissatisfied with the manner in which the war was being conducted, recalled Sir Harry Smith and appointed Lieutenant-General the Honourable George Cathcart as Governor in his place. At the same time Mr. Charles Henry Darling was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. General Cathcart took the oaths of office on March 31. He at once handed over the conduct of affairs to the Lieutenant-Governor and proceeded to the frontier, where he had an interview with Sir Harry Smith. Vigorous measures were now taken; heavy reinforcements had arrived. Major-General Yorke, who was appointed second in command of the forces, came to the frontier.

Wreck of the "Birkenhead."—The steam transport *Birkenhead*, bound for the eastern frontier with troops which embarked at Simon's Bay, was wrecked close to a spot on the coast of the Caledon district, which has since been known as Danger Point. She struck a sunken rock at 2 a.m. on February 26. The women and children and a few of the men were saved, but 9 officers, 349 rank and file, and 79 of the ship's company were drowned or otherwise perished in the shark-infested waters. The soldiers afforded a splendid example of discipline. With death imminent they obeyed the order to fall in on the deck of the doomed vessel—as calmly as though they had been parading in their barrack square.

Mounted Police organised.—Sir George Cathcart quickly brought the war to a successful conclusion. Instead of abandoning strongholds such as the Amatole Basin and the Waterkloof—after such had been cleared of the enemy, sometimes at considerable cost—he caused small redoubts to be constructed at suitable strategic points within such strongholds. These redoubts contained stores and afforded shelter to the patrols; they could be impregnable held by a very small force. Another change he made was to reduce considerably the strength of the irregular corps and the Native levies. These had been very expensive, and in the case of the latter zeal was apt to be much greater in the matter of capturing cattle than in actually engaging the foe. A force of 750 European

mounted police was now organised; these men provided their own horses, arms, equipment, and food. They were paid 5s. 6d. per day, and supplied with ammunition. No more efficient force for the work required ever took the field. Within a very short time they cleared the border districts of the enemy.

End of the War.—A force of burghers was assembled at Imvani in August. This with a small detachment of regular troops crossed the Kei, burnt Kreli's kraal and captured over 10,000 head of cattle. The Eighth Kaffir War was now practically over. The chiefs made submission. Sandile, Maqoma, and several others met the Governor at Yellowwoods, near King William's Town. They were informed that neither they nor their followers would ever be permitted to return to the Amatole region. A location was assigned to them farther to the eastward. Umlanjeni, quite discredited, sank into obscurity. Uithalder wandered for a time, with a price of £500 upon his head; eventually he took his own life.

Queenstown District founded.—Most of the country which Mapassa and his Tembus had occupied at the back of the Amatole Range was surveyed and granted to Europeans. Personal occupation and the maintenance of an armed man for each 1000 acres were among the conditions of tenure. The forfeited Tembu territory was constituted a division and named Queenstown. On the Komani River a village was laid out; this has since become one of the most flourishing towns of the eastern district. The land of the Hottentots at Kat River (now named the District of Stockenstrom), who had rebelled, was granted to Europeans, and a village named Seymour, after Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Seymour, the Governor's military secretary, was laid out close to the fort at Eland's Post. This became the seat of magistracy. Colonel McKinnon resigned the Chief-Commissionership of British Kaffraria, and was succeeded by Colonel Maclean, formerly Commissioner to the Ndhlabi clan. As a proof of the efficacy of missions, it may be mentioned that 1500 Christian Natives remained in King William's Town throughout the war and conducted themselves with perfect propriety.

Sir George Cathcart, just before the settlement at

the end of the war, proceeded to Basutoland with a military force, where he suffered a reverse. This episode is dealt with in another chapter. He retired in May, 1854, and returned to England. He was killed at the Battle of Inkerman.

CHAPTER XXI

(To 1861)

The Cape Colony—Constitutional Government

Desire for Representative Institutions.—As a sense of nationality grew in the Cape Colony, the people became more and more desirous of having a voice in the management of their own affairs. However, British politicians, in view of the peculiar racial conditions obtaining in South Africa, were dubious as to what would be the result of granting representative institutions. It was recognised that the two white races were still sharply divided on certain important questions, whilst the coloured people had been so variously described by both friendly and unfriendly critics that no definite idea as to their character or capacity could be formed. From time to time petitions asking for a constitution reached the British Administration. Those from the Western Province as a rule asked for a single chamber, and desired that the Colony should be treated as one and indivisible.

Claims of the Frontier.—But those from the Eastern Province expressed the desire for a separate Government on the British model, or, as an alternative to separation from the West, that the seat of government might be removed to the frontier. It was pointed out with much force that of all questions on South Africa that concerning the relations between the Europeans and the formidable tribes of warlike Natives was by far the most pressing, and that only an executive near the frontier could adequately deal with the important problems there continually arising.

A Draft Constitution.—It was not until 1846 that any definite steps were taken. Then the Secretary of State, Earl Grey, called upon the Government at the

Cape for a report on the general question. Sir Harry Smith requested Mr. William Porter, the Attorney-General, to prepare a draft of a Constitution. In March, 1846, this draft was submitted to a committee consisting of three judges and the members of the Executive Council. Their report was to the effect that the Colonists had lost all faith in the existing Legislative Council, and that great difficulty had been experienced in finding competent men to fill vacancies among the unofficial members. The committee was unanimously opposed to the separation of the eastern from the western portion of the Colony, and was in favour of Cape Town remaining the seat of Government. Further, it considered that no danger was to be apprehended from any rivalry between English and Dutch, and that there was no fear of any attempt being made by either of the European races to treat coloured people unjustly. At the Governor's request the Attorney-General drafted a Constitution, which was forwarded to Earl Grey. After the matter had been referred to the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, and reported upon by them, it was laid before the Queen in Council on January 30, 1850, and approved of.

Views of the Secretary of State.—Constitution granted.—On May 23, Letters Patent were issued, defining the framework of the Constitution for the Cape Colony. There was to be an elected Legislative Council, presided over by the Chief Justice, and an elected House of Assembly; the House of Assembly might be at any time dissolved by the Governor, or the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council simultaneously dissolved, but the Legislative Council might not be dissolved without the dissolution of the other Chamber taking place at the same time. Most of the other details were left to be arranged by the existing local legislature and after determination was to be submitted to the Queen in Council for approval or alteration. The matter naturally aroused great interest in the Cape Colony. Many meetings were held; long debates in the Legislative Council took place. In 1852 the Constitution Ordinance as passed by the Legislative Council was forwarded to the Secretary of State, but owing to a change of Government in Great Britain

a further delay took place. However, on March 11, 1853, the Constitution Ordinance was approved of and ratified; it had to come into effect from July 1. Only one important alteration in the draft, as passed by the Legislative Council, was made. In the original draft one of the qualifications upon which the franchise was based was occupation for twelve months of a house worth £25. This had been raised to occupation of a house with a yearly rental of £10, or possession of landed property worth £50. The Attorney-General and two other members of the Legislative Council supported the lower qualification, but were overborne by a vote of 8 to 3. The idea of raising the franchise had for its object the restriction of the coloured vote. In reinstating the lower franchise the Secretary of State wrote: "It is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that all her subjects at the Cape, without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty and common interest." On April 21, 1853, the mail steamer bearing the approved Constitution arrived. It provided for two chambers: a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Council was to consist of fifteen members of whom eight were to be returned by the Western and seven by the Eastern Province; its duration was to be ten years. The candidates had to be at least thirty years of age, and had to possess fixed property of the value of £200 or freehold property of the value of £4000. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of forty-six members, and was presided over by one of its own members elected, for the purpose and termed "The Speaker."

Both Houses were elected on a franchise based as follows:—

- (a) To have been in occupation of house or land to the value of £25, or for one year, or
- (b) To be in receipt of a salary of at least £50 a year, or
- (c) To be in receipt of a salary of at least £25 a year in addition to board and lodging.

The registration of votes had to take place every second year; only male subjects of the Queen either by birth or naturalisation could be registered. The Ministry was independent of Parliament and consisted of the

Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer-General and the Auditor-General. These officials were appointed in England. They had the right to debate in both Houses, but might not vote.

The First Parliament.—The first Parliament of the Cape Colony met on June 30, 1854; Sir George Cathcart had left to take up a command at the Crimea, so the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Charles Henry Darling, formally opened the Session, which was held in the Banqueting Hall of the "Goede Hoop" Masonic Lodge. Mr. C. J. Brand was elected as Speaker.

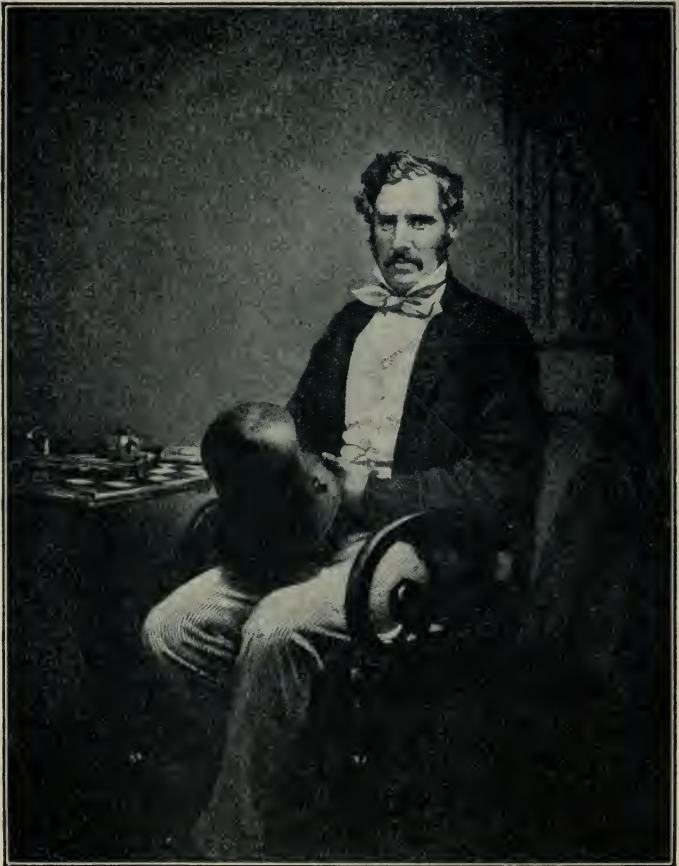
Sir George Grey.—On December 5, 1854, Sir George Grey arrived at Cape Town and assumed the functions of Governor and High Commissioner. He had served as Governor in both South Australia and New Zealand with great success, and had previously distinguished himself as an explorer in what were then unknown parts of Australia. Sir George Grey was a many-sided man. He possessed great tact and had that faculty for dealing successfully with inferior races which is inborn and cannot be acquired. The guiding principle of his career was an intense desire to promote the welfare of whatever province lay in his charge. He was endowed with considerable physical endurance, and he invariably inspired his subordinates with strong personal regard. Moreover, he was an accomplished scholar.

As Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir James Jackson, was appointed to the Eastern Province. He had to reside in Grahamstown. Except in military matters, he was merely the administrative channel between the Province and the Governor at Cape Town. This arrangement by no means satisfied the inhabitants of the eastern districts.

Enlargement of the Supreme Court.—The second session of the Cape Parliament took place in March, 1855. Among the changes rendered necessary through the development of the Colony, and now introduced, may be mentioned the enlargement of the Supreme Court to a Chief Justice and three puisne judges, and the creation of nine new magisterial districts.

Police augmented.—The Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, which had been of such great use in bringing the last Kaffir War to a successful conclusion,

were raised to a strength of 550 men, and placed under the command of Mr.—afterwards Sir—Walter Currie. Most of the officers were young Albany farmers; the



SIR GEORGE GREY.

ranks were mainly filled by young Englishmen of a superior class.

Establishment of Divisional Councils.—Changes in the Tariff.—Divisional Councils were created in

substitution for the Divisional Road Boards. Each Division had a council of six elected members, with the Civil Commissioner as Chairman. Important changes were made in the Customs Tariff, which now placed goods imported from Great Britain on the same level as those imported from foreign countries. This was in accordance with British opinion at the time. Some articles were specially rated, some were admitted free, but the general tariff was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*. The annual value of exports had now reached nearly a million sterling; about two-thirds of this was in respect of wool.

Movement towards Responsible Government.—A resolution in favour of the principle of responsible government was affirmed by both Houses of Parliament in 1855, but was rescinded the following session.

Ravages of Lung-sickness.—In 1855 and 1856 a great misfortune befell the cattle-farming industry. Lung-sickness or pleuro-pneumonia was introduced by a bull imported from Holland in 1854, and landed at Mossel Bay. Within two years upwards of 100,000 head of cattle died. At the same time a severe epidemic of horse sickness raged; it was estimated that some 65,000 animals died in the Colony. The subjects which most engaged the attention of the Parliament during this session were the proposal that the seat of government should be removed to Grahamstown and the question of State support to ministers of religion. The strongest advocate of the voluntary principle was Mr. Saul Solomon, the member for Cape Town, but the majority were so far in favour of State aid.

The Mail Service.—In 1856 an arrangement was entered into by the British Government with Mr. Dundas for the conveyance of mails from England *via* the Cape to Mauritius and India. The contract time between Dartmouth and Table Bay was fixed at thirty-six days. This arrangement only lasted for a year. In its stead a contract was entered into between the Admiralty and the Union Steamship Company to convey mails monthly each way between Devonport and Cape Town in forty-two days. The ships, with the exception of a few in use at the commencement, were to be at least 530 tons burden. Thus began the connection of the Union Company with South Africa.

The Museum.—In June, 1855, the South African Museum was founded, Mr. Rawson W. Rawson, Colonial Secretary, and Dr. Ludovic Pappe being the first trustees. Mr. Edgar Layard, a distinguished ornithologist, was appointed curator. His collection of birds is still one of the most valuable and attractive features of the natural history section. In 1857 the Museum was incorporated by an Act of Parliament. At the suggestion of Sir George Grey, a large building was constructed near the foot of the Avenue leading to the Gardens from Adderley Street. In this the Museum as well as the South African Public Library was housed for many years.

Copper in Namaqualand.—The existence of copper in Namaqualand, south of the Orange River, had been known ever since the days of Simon van der Stel. It was not, however, until 1846 that any attempt was made towards mining the ore. The first efforts failed, but in 1852 a mine was opened at Springbokfontein, where a rich deposit existed. During the following two years there was much wild speculation in copper ventures. Eventually, however, operations became restricted to those few mines which were found to be undoubtedly payable, and the industry thus became a settled one. The transport of the ore over a distance of upwards of seventy miles to the coast was effected by means of wagons drawn by mules and oxen. This, although difficult and expensive, was found to be profitable in view of the high grade of the ore. In the first instance the latter was shipped from Hondeklip Bay; later, however, Port Nolloth, about ninety miles to the northward, was opened up. In 1871 a trolley line between Port Nolloth and the mines was established. Upon this line steam power has since superseded that of mules. The annual value of the ore exported is about £300,000.

British Kaffraria.—Policy towards the Natives.—When Sir George Grey arrived at the Cape the province of Kaffraria was in an unsatisfactory and anomalous state. The idea of appointing a Lieutenant-Governor had been dropped. Within the Province the Xosa chiefs possessed absolute independence in respect of the government of their own people. The few European residents were under the High Commissioner, whose

control was still quite undefined. Colonel John Maclean, the Chief Commissioner, resided at Fort Murray, about seven miles from King William's Town; Mr. Charles Brownlee, the Gaika Commissioner, at the site of the present village of Stutterheim. Captain Richard Taylor, a retired military officer, was magistrate of King William's Town. There were about 2500 troops occupying the various posts in the Province. Within the Colony, but close to the frontier, were some 2200 more. So strict was the principle of non-interference with the jurisdiction of the chiefs, that even crimes such as murders of Natives by Natives were not taken cognisance of by the European administration. Sir George Grey was dissatisfied with this state of things, and brought his strong personal influence to bear upon the chiefs, with such effect that in consideration of a moderate fixed salary they surrendered their right to fines imposed on their people and permitted Europeans to sit in their courts as assessors. With a view to fostering habits of industry among the Natives roads were laid out and constructed by labourers working under European overseers. It was obviously very important to endeavour to undermine the belief of the people in witchcraft. This belief is probably more deeply rooted than any other in the Native mind; even to-day it persists to a considerable extent. Half a century ago it is not too much to say that among the Bantu sickness was invariably attributed to the practice of spells by an enemy. The effects of this were terrible; the witch-finder was continually consulted, and at his bidding large numbers of innocent people were put to a cruel death. With the view of ending this and giving the Natives a true idea of the nature of disease, a large and spacious hospital building was constructed by military labourers assisted by Natives. Thus was founded the Grey Hospital; it was placed under the control of Dr. J. P. Fitzgerald, with whom Sir George Grey had been acquainted in New Zealand. The services of two other skilled physicians and a qualified dispenser were obtained. In the hospital sick Natives were maintained and tended free of charge. Industrial schools in which Natives could be taught various trades were also established by various missionary societies under encouragement and assistance by the Governor. The great

educational and industrial institutions of Lovedale in Victoria East and Heald Town near Fort Beaufort date from this period. The Imperial Treasury treated British Kaffraria with great liberality. For the purpose of civilising the Natives there the sum of £40,000 per annum was granted during 1855 and the two succeeding years.

European Settlers.—Sir George Grey was most anxious to introduce European settlers into the Province. He considered that by this means security would be increased, and that before long the garrison might safely be reduced. On the eastern outskirts of King William's Town he caused to be built a number of comfortable cottages. It was his idea that these should be occupied by married pensioners from the army, to be introduced from England. This scheme fell through, so the cottages were given to married soldiers who received their discharge locally. In 1856 the Crimean War came to an end, and the British Government decided to send the German Legion, which had been enrolled for service in the war with Russia, to British Kaffraria and disband it there. The Cape Parliament voted money for the purpose. In 1857, 2351 officers and men of the Legion, with 559 women and children, were landed in East London and distributed in suitable localities throughout the Province. Of the women, 203 were English who had married Germans when the transports cast anchor in British waters *en route* for South Africa.

Unrest upon the Border.—Early in 1856 there again appeared ominous indications of unrest upon the Border. To those acquainted with the Native character, it was clear that the chiefs were preparing for another trial of strength. The Fingos took to fraternising with their former enemies; intermarriages between Fingos and Kaffirs became common. The Government was, however, fully cognisant of what was going on. When it was ascertained that confidential messages were being exchanged between Moshesh and Kreli, it was regarded as certain that a fresh outbreak of war was imminent. Steps were taken towards increasing the South African garrison; all available troops were moved to the frontier. A regiment stationed at Mauritius, which had been requisitioned for service in South Africa,

was landed at Port Elizabeth and marched to the Border.

Nongqause.—Umhlakaza.—One circumstance which intensified the Native unrest was the outbreak of lung-sickness among the cattle on the frontier. In spite of the obvious circumstance that the cattle of the Europeans were also dying of the disease, the Natives attributed their loss to the exercise of the White Man's magic. Just when war appeared to be on the point of breaking out, something happened which completely changed the trend of events. A little girl named Nongqause, daughter of one of Kreli's councillors, went one morning, as was her wont, to fill her calabashes with water at a stream. On returning she informed her uncle, Umhlakaza, that she had seen near the river some men of strange appearance. Umhlakaza, as he stated, went to the spot indicated and met the strangers. They told him to purify himself ceremonially, offer a sacrifice to the "Imishologu," or ancestral spirits, and return on the fourth day. This he did; again he found the strangers. They informed him that they had come from battlefields beyond the sea to aid the Xosas in conquering the white men, and that he, Umhlakaza, was to be the medium between them and the Xosa nation. One most imperative command they communicated: The people had to kill all their cattle, destroy food of every description, and refrain from cultivation. Then the dead would arise in their myriads and the white men be driven into the sea. Moreover, countless herds of cattle were to emerge from beneath the waves and from the caverns of the earth, whilst in a night the fields would be filled with millet, ripe for the reaping. The old would become young, and those who had died advanced in years would arise in the full strength and comeliness of youth. A dreadful fate was to befall those who neglected to obey the will of the spirits:—a great hurricane would arise and sweep them into the sea, or else the sky would fall and crush them. Nongqause was probably a ventriloquist, for she used to take people to a certain cave, and also to wolf- and ant-bear holes, and there simulate the lowing of the cattle, which, she said, were waiting impatiently underground for the day of their release.

The Cattle-killing.—This wild story gained universal

credence. The people became demented; over large areas every head of cattle was slaughtered, every atom of food destroyed. February 18 was the date fixed for the great miracle; then the sun's course was to be reversed and the earth wrapt in darkness. Before this day arrived, the people had begun to feel the pinch of hunger, but the hushed ecstasy of anticipation in which they lived made them smile at their pangs. On the last evening the old women decked themselves out in trinkets; they were filled with the belief that before the sun again arose youth and comeliness would have returned to them, and that they would once more meet their long-dead husbands.

Terrible Disillusionment.—Famine.—But dawn came, the sun arose, passed the zenith, and declined once more, but no miracle happened. After the manner of his kind, the Prophet had an excuse ready. Faith revived for a few days. But there was an absolute dearth of food, and the people soon began to die. Within a few weeks upwards of 70,000 perished; among these were many of the chiefs and councillors, for famine is no respecter of persons, and gentle suffered with simple. Among those who starved to death was Umhlakaza.

The seashore at the mouth of the Gxara River, eastward of the Great Kei, was the scene of the alleged vision. Umhlakaza had evidently been told about the Crimean War, for he said that the strangers with whom he had conversed called themselves Russians. During the Crimean period, and for about a year before the cattle-killing, look-outs used to be posted on the higher hills of the Transkeian coast to signal the arrival of the Russian ships, which were supposed to be coming with help for the Xosas.

The mortality was frightful; the survivors crept away in every direction seeking food. Numbers went to the sea coast and endeavoured to stay the pangs of hunger by eating shellfish; but the diet disagreed with them, and the greater number died of dysentery. Whole families perished together in their huts; some took to cannibalism; people were known to eat the flesh of their children. The terrible delusion extended to the Tembus, who suffered as severely as the Xosas. Thousands managed to drag themselves over the Border, subsisting upon roots, insects, and unspeakable things.

These obtained work among the farmers. The Gaikas did not suffer quite so much as the other clans, for Mr. Charles Brownlee, Commissioner with Sandile, was able to persuade some of the people to refrain from destroying their cattle.

Results of the Cattle-killing.—One result of the cattle-killing was that the war spirit of the Xosas disappeared for a generation. The dispersal of the people among the farmers for a season and the kindness with which they were treated dissipated many erroneous ideas relative to the Europeans which they had hitherto held. Kreli, the arch fomenter of trouble, was expelled with the sorry remnants of his tribe from the territory the Gcalekas had for so long inhabited. He crossed the Bashee and occupied a small location assigned to him by the chief of the Bomvanas. Sandile's powers were restricted, judicial functions being taken out of his hands and vested in those of the magistrate. His territory also was curtailed. The Tembu chief, Vadana, with some nine hundred mounted men, became a freebooter and raided far and near. His following was, however, soon scattered by the police. Vadana was captured and interned on Robben Island. The Fingos, who had not allowed themselves to be led away by Umhlakaza, became prosperous and in various localities supplanted their former oppressors.

German Immigrants.—In August, 1857, the Government entered into correspondence with the Secretary of State, suggesting the introduction of a large number of German emigrants to British Kaffraria. The proposal was at first favourably received, but was afterwards disapproved of. In the mean time the Governor on his own responsibility entered into an arrangement with a Hamburg firm, in terms of which 2315 peasants from North Germany were introduced. No better settlers than these people ever reached the shores of South Africa: they were located in British Kaffraria and on the western bank of the Keiskamma. But the Governor's action was strongly disapproved of by the British Government, and the emigration was forthwith stopped.

Farms in British Kaffraria assigned to Europeans.—Sir George Grey assigned most of the land in British Kaffraria, which had hitherto been occupied by the now

self-exterminated clans, to European farmers. Such were for the first time enabled to pursue their avocations in security, for, excepting the Fingos located near Butterworth, and less than two thousand Ndhlabhis who had been assigned a location near Idutywa, the great tract of country between the Kei and the Bashee was uninhabited. In 1859 a number of the Xosas flocked back to British Kaffraria, from where they had been scattered among the farmers of Albany and Victoria East, and settled down in certain locations which had been reserved for Native occupation. According to a census taken on December 31 of that year, the Province contained nearly 6000 Europeans and about 53,000 Bantu. There were 302 farms in occupation by the former.

Administration of the Province.—In 1860 Letters Patent were issued, settling the form of government for the Province. The Governor was given the power to enact laws. Subject to his authority a Lieutenant-Governor had to carry on the local administration. The Province was divided into two magistracies, King William's Town and East London. Lieutenant-Colonel John Maclean was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. In 1861 a Supreme Court under a single judge was constituted.

Despatch of Troops to India.—In June, 1857, the news of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny reached Cape Town. The Governor at once took steps to organise assistance for the sorely-pressed Europeans. On August 6 came intelligence of the seizure of Delhi by the mutineers. Sir George Grey did not hesitate for an instant. On his own responsibility he despatched to India as many troops as transports could be provided for. Other transports conveying troops to China put into Table Bay; he changed the destination of these to India. Subsequently the Governor called to the colours for service against the mutineers, a number of the German Legion in British Kaffraria. Many of these were unmarried men of a more or less restless disposition. In doing this Sir George Grey broke the stringent law which existed against levying troops for service outside the sphere of his jurisdiction without authority. But it was recognised that in the tremendous emergency existing, the end justified the

means. This prompt and enlightened action enabled the Indian Government to take vigorous steps towards stemming the tide of revolt long before it was possible to obtain reinforcements from England.

Origin of the Cape University.—Railway Construction.—Harbour Works.—Lighthouses.—The germ of the present Cape University is to be found in a Board of Examiners, which was appointed by Sir George Grey in 1857 and empowered to grant certificates in literature and science. In 1858 an Act of Parliament was passed, providing for the appointment of a board of seven examiners, who were empowered to issue certificates to those wishing to qualify for professions in the colony. Railway construction was begun in 1859, the first sod being turned by the Governor. The first line authorised was that running from Cape Town to Wellington through Stellenbosch and the Paarl. The improvement of Table Bay had engaged the Governor's attention. On September 17, 1860, the Table Bay Harbour Works were commenced—according to plans drawn by Mr., later Sir, John Coode. The construction of a breakwater at Port Elizabeth was begun, but owing to the formation of a sandbank the work had to be suspended and the piles already in position removed. In 1860 a lighthouse was constructed at Cape Point and during the following year another was placed on the Donkin Reserve at Port Elizabeth. The lightship in Simon's Bay was replaced by a lighthouse on the Roman Rock.

Arrival of Numerous Immigrants.—Between 1858 and 1861 upwards of 650 immigrants, many of whom were boys and girls, arrived from Holland. There was very great scarcity of labour. In 1857 an Immigration Act was passed, providing for the introduction from Great Britain of farm servants, agriculturalists, and mechanics. During the years 1858, 1859, and 1860, nearly 8000 immigrants had their passages paid to the Cape. Besides these, upwards of 6000 British immigrants were introduced under a system, in terms of which a portion of the passage money per mail steamer was paid. In addition large numbers belonging to the professional and commercial classes arrived by the mail steamers, for the purpose of making South Africa their home. During 1860 and 1861 a number of families

emigrated to the Cape from North Germany, paying their own expenses. These comprised 1008 men, women, and children.

Depression.—Yine Disease.—The year 1859 was one of misfortune, so it was found necessary strongly to curtail the amounts being expended on immigration. There befell a drought of such severity that in many parts of the Colony agriculture ceased and even traffic was suspended. In the eastern districts a noxious plant, the *Xanthium spinosium*, or “burr-weed,” spread with strange rapidity. This plant bears a burr which imbeds itself in the wool of merino sheep, and much reduces the value of the staple. In the vineyards of the Western Province the blight of *oidium* broke out and spread quickly. It seemed at one time as though the vineyard industry would be completely destroyed. Fortunately, however, it was discovered that a treatment with powdered sulphur checked the scourge. In 1858 an outbreak of small-pox occurred in Cape Town, and did much damage. During the year following the disease spread to the country, but before long its course was checked. The Natives in British Kaffraria suffered severely from its ravages.

Sir George Grey favours Federation.—Sir George Grey, like many great men, saw farther into the future than his contemporaries. He divined the coming development of South Africa, and foresaw the inevitable union of the different States. He saw that while there were five distinct governments in South Africa, no common policy which could successfully meet and overcome the larger problems of the country was practicable. The solution lay in federation between the various states. It was clear to him that this would not only free the Imperial Government from a great deal of responsibility, but would diminish military expenditure, and would have, moreover, the enormous advantage of making possible a local solution of those questions which were better understood in South Africa than in Downing Street. A suggestion towards Federal Union came from the Orange Free State, and this he communicated in words of prescient wisdom to the Cape Parliament at the opening of the session on March 17, 1859. In taking this step the Governor acted in full concurrence with the opinion of his Executive Council,

but unfortunately against the instructions of the Secretary of State. Current opinion in England was at the time opposed to colonial expansion, so the wise course taken by Sir George Grey resulted in his recall.

His Recall causes General Regret.—Deep and general regret throughout South Africa resulted. For the third time within a quarter of a century a Governor who had brought an open mind to bear upon South African problems and had successfully endeavoured to overcome the difficulties and disabilities under which the country laboured had been deprived of his office owing to want of understanding on the part of distant party politicians. Sir George Grey was the first Governor who had gained the trust and affection of the British, the Dutch, and the Natives. Strong petitions were framed asking the Queen to reverse the step taken by the Secretary of State. In the mean time there had been a change of Ministry in England; the Duke of Newcastle had become Minister for the Colonies.

His Reinstatement.—In consideration of Sir George Grey's eminent services and great ability the Minister consented to reinstate him, but only on condition that the policy of non-expansion should be adhered to. This Sir George Grey agreed to, so he returned to South Africa, where he arrived on July 4, 1860. During the period of his absence General Wynward, who was Lieutenant-Governor, carried on the administration of the Colony.

Weights and Measures.—Angora Hair.—In 1861 British weights and measures were brought into use in the colony; hitherto much confusion had resulted through those introduced by the Dutch East India Company being still used in some parts. The land-measure had been fixed in 1857, when the Rhymland foot was taken as the standard (1000 Rhymland feet are equal to 1033 British standard feet). In 1861 a Bill providing for the separation of the Eastern from the Western Province was proposed to the Cape Government, but was defeated in both Houses. A company was incorporated to construct a line of railway from Salt River to Wynberg on the Cape Peninsula. An Act was passed authorising a private company to

construct a telegraph line from Cape Town to Grahams-town. At this time the military had in use a telegraph line between King William's Town and East London. The production of angora hair had now become an important industry. For some years efforts had been made towards improving the Cape stock. To the late Mr. Julius Mosenthal, a merchant of Port Elizabeth, is due the credit of first introducing absolutely pure stock from Asia Minor.

Sir George Grey did much to foster education. The "Grey Institute" at Port Elizabeth, the "Grey College" at Bloemfontein, the Missionary Institutions at Lovedale, Heald Town, Zonnebloem and Lesseytown, all received from him assistance and encouragement at their inception. He had also encouraged the formation of volunteer corps, of which some twenty now existed. It was his idea that the Colony should gradually fit itself to undertake its own defence.

The Secretary of State vetoes Colonial Expansion.—

At this period there was a considerable extent of vacant land on the coast littoral between the Cape Colony and Natal, lying between the various areas occupied by Bantu. Sir George Grey was strongly of opinion that these tracts, which were of great fertility, should be filled with European settlers. But public and official opinion in England was so strongly averse to any extension of Imperial responsibility that the idea could not be carried out. Had such been done much subsequent strife and bloodshed would have been spared.

Sir George Grey transferred to New Zealand.—His Gift to the South African Library.—In 1861 Sir George Grey was appointed Governor of New Zealand, and on August 15 he left Cape Town on board H.M.S. *Cossack* for his new sphere. His departure occasioned universal regret. A few months subsequently he wrote to his friend, Judge Watermeyer, notifying a valuable donation to the South African Library. It consisted of some 5000 rare books, besides a number of manuscripts, the value of which was £30,000. This, "The Grey Collection," forms a section of the South African Library and is open for the use of students.

CHAPTER XXII

(To 1876)

The Cape Colony—Responsible Government

Governor Wodehouse.—His Character.—Sir George Grey was succeeded by Mr. Philip Edmond Wodehouse, who was promoted from the Governorship of British Guiana. He had begun his official life as an Indian civil servant. Mr. Wodehouse was a typical bureaucrat, very deficient in the item of sympathy and with a natural tendency towards autocracy which had been fostered by his training in the East. He assumed duty on January 15, 1862, General Wynward having acted as Administrator since the departure of Sir George Grey.

Immigration.—Depression.—During 1862, 767 British immigrants were introduced. Then the immigration stopped. Owing to a succession of severe droughts the Colony was in a depressed condition, so a number of those who had recently come to South Africa again emigrated, some going to New Zealand and others to the United States. A few immigrants from Germany and Holland arrived from time to time.

British Kaffraria.—At his first assembling of Parliament the Governor in his opening speech favoured the annexation of British Kaffraria. This proposal was very unfavourably received by the Europeans in the Province. A bill providing for the annexation was introduced, but thrown out by the House of Assembly. He next proposed a measure providing for the holding of Parliamentary Sessions alternately in Cape Town and Grahamstown; this was also defeated.

In 1863 the railway line between Cape Town and Wellington was opened; that to Wynberg was completed the following year.

Movement towards Responsible Government.—

During the Session of 1863 a motion in favour of responsible government was introduced by Mr. J. C. Molteno, but was lost. This was followed by a motion providing that the next session of Parliament should be held in the Eastern Province. The motion was carried by one vote. A similar motion in the Legislative Council was lost. Accordingly the House of Assembly session of 1864 was held in Grahamstown. However, the experiment involved so much inconvenience that it was not repeated.

Ostrich Farming.—For some years past the Colony had been in a bad economic condition. In 1863 it had been found necessary to raise a loan of £160,000 at six per cent. In 1864 there was so much distress that relief works had to be started. It was by this means that the road over which the railway now passes was cut into the Tulbagh Basin. In 1865 ostrich farming was begun, an industry which has since enormously developed—especially in the District of Oudtshoorn. It is not quite certain who was the first to farm with tame ostriches. Claims for this distinction have been advanced on behalf of the late Mr. Douglas, of Heather-ton Towers, Grahamstown, and the late Mr. Van Maltitz, of Graaff Reinet. As has been shown, the idea originated with Van Riebeeck, but had lain dormant for upwards of two hundred years.

A Census.—In 1865 a census was taken. The population was found to be as follows:—

Europeans	181,592
Hottentots	81,598
Bantu	100,536
Asiatics and persons of mixed race	132,655
	<hr/>
Total	486,381

Agricultural Development.—The agricultural returns showed that with the exception of mules and asses, Cape sheep and pigs, there was considerably more live stock in the Eastern than in the Western Province. Of woolled sheep, for instance, there were 6,126,786 in the former province as against 2,243,893 in the latter. On the other hand, with the exception of maize it was found that in the production of cereals, fruit and

tobacco, the western districts were far ahead of the eastern.

The Transkei abandoned.—Sir Philip Wodehouse, in opening Parliament, had foreshadowed a scheme under which grants of land in the Transkeian territories would be made to Europeans. After a long delay the conditions governing such proposed grants were made public, but were found to be quite prohibitive. Soon afterwards the Commander of the Forces reported that he believed the occupation of the Transkeian territories by Europeans would lead to increased military expenditure. At once, without making any investigation, the Secretary of State issued instructions for the immediate abandonment of the Transkei. This step was regarded as most unwise by the European inhabitants of South Africa, but was evidently taken in accordance with Sir Philip Wodehouse's recommendation.

Return of the Gcalekas.—The Tembus.—The Fingos located in Transkei.—Even before the instructions arrived, the Governor had communicated with Krelie and offered to permit him to return to, and occupy a portion of, his former territory. Accordingly the Gcalekas moved back and took possession of the coast country between the Kei and the Bashee. Shortly afterwards a number of the Emigrant Tembus were allowed to occupy the inland portion of Krelie's former territory, which now forms the districts of Xalanga and St. Marks. The Fingos in Peddie, Victoria East, and other districts where they had been located, had increased in numbers to an unprecedented extent. The surplus population of the locations, some 40,000 in number, was moved across the Kei to what are now the districts of Nqamakwe, Butterworth and Tsomo. At the same time all sovereign rights were relinquished over the Transkei. At the request of the Natives, British Residents were appointed to the various tribes. Dissensions soon arose, and in 1872 war broke out between the Gcalekas and the Tembus. Year by year it became necessary to interfere more and more in adjusting disputes and in endeavours to keep the peace. Thus the chiefs came in an increasing degree to depend upon the advice tendered them by the Residents.

“No Man's Land.”—Extension of Natal Boundary.—South-west of Natal lay a large tract of country between

the Drakensberg and the sea, which, in terms of the Maitland Treaty had been assigned to the Pondo Chief. This tract was so sparsely populated that it had come to be known as "No Man's Land," but the few inhabitants were lawless and given to raiding, so Faku, being held responsible, desired to get rid of it. Eventually in 1862 the coast portion was ceded to Natal, the south-western boundary of which now became the Umtamvuna River. The inland portion was assigned by the High Commissioner in 1863 to the Griquas under Adam Kok, who emigrated from the south-western portion of the Orange Free State. Soon afterwards Nehemiah Moshesh moved over the Drakensberg from Basutoland and endeavoured to establish himself below the mountains with a freebooting gang, but he was driven back by the Griquas.

Occupation of "No Man's Land" by Native Clans.—
Strife among Natives.—During the war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto, which began in 1865, a number of Moshesh's people were driven into the south-western portion of "No Man's Land." Later came detachments of other clans, including Bathlokua and Hlubis. To all these people locations were assigned by the High Commissioner. The immigrant communities quarrelled with each other, as well as with their neighbours the Amabaca and the Pandomisi, so in 1872 a Commissioner was appointed to investigate and report upon the condition of the country occupied by the newcomers, as well as that held by the tribes on its south-western margin. The Commission found the people weary of constant strife and desirous of the introduction of settled government. Several of the influential chiefs expressed a desire that the administration at the Cape should assume authority over them, and offered to pay hut-tax. In 1873 a Resident was appointed to the Pandomisi Tribe.

The Griqua Country annexed.—Annexation of Transkeian Territories.—In 1875 the Griqua country was annexed and before long British authority had been extended over the surrounding territories. In 1876 a magistrate was appointed to Mount Frere as resident with the Baca Chief, Makaula. Thus, with the exception of Pondoland, the whole area between the Cape Colony and Natal had been annexed.

Annexation of British Kaffraria to Cape Colony.—In 1864 the Governor informed the Secretary of State that both the Cape Colony and the Province of British Kaffraria were much averse to being conjoined, and suggested that the British Government should, by an act of the Imperial Parliament, bring about union between them. This proceeding was much resented in the Cape Colony. However, an act providing for the annexation of British Kaffraria was passed by the Cape Parliament in 1865 in the face of great opposition. At the same time the House placed on record a strong condemnation of the Governor's action.

Destructive Tempest at Table Bay.—A Period of Droughts and Floods.—On May 17 of that year occurred one of the most violent tempests ever known at Table Bay. One steamer and fifteen sailing vessels, besides a number of cargo and other boats, were wrecked. On the same day the village of Swellendam was almost completely destroyed by fire. The Colony was now in such a state of financial depression that the relief works at Tulbagh Kloof had to be stopped owing to lack of funds. A long succession of droughts, punctuated by occasional floods, had borne hardly upon agriculture. Food became so scarce on the frontier that the Xosas again took to thieving; this led to retaliatory measures on the part of some of the Kaffrarian farmers, which were followed by futile prosecutions.

Friction between Governor and Parliament.—Considerable friction arose between the Governor and Parliament over the question of finance. The Governor suggested additional taxation in the form of an impost upon wool and other products. He also foreshadowed a demand on the part of the Imperial Government for a contribution towards the maintenance of the garrison. The House insisted upon retrenchment as the alternative to extra taxation. The general conviction was that it would be impossible to contribute more than the sum already appropriated, namely, £10,000 a year, towards the expenses of the garrison. The Frontier Armed and Mounted Police were now being maintained at the Colony's expense. Matters almost reached a condition of deadlock. Mr. Molteno again introduced his Bill, providing for responsible government; this was rejected by the House of Assembly by a majority of seven votes.

Early in the year an epidemic of low fever of a very fatal kind became general, especially in the larger towns. This was undoubtedly due to bad sanitary arrangements and an inferior water supply.

Affairs in the Northern Border.—For some years the state of affairs upon the Northern Border of the Cape Colony had been very unsatisfactory. Marauding parties of Koranas emerged from the river fastnesses from time to time, and plundered all they could reach. In 1868 the Cape Parliament passed an act authorising the appointment of a Special Magistrate to be entrusted with very large powers and given jurisdiction over the whole of the Northern Border. At the same time a force of police was raised and placed under the Special Magistrate's orders. Within the next few years the marauding clans were dispersed and a number of their members, including the leaders, captured.

The Governor proposes to amend Constitution.—**Departure of Sir Philip Wodehouse.**—In 1869 relations between Sir Philip Wodehouse and the Parliament once more became very strained. Upon Parliament refusing to adopt the estimates submitted by the Governor both Houses were dissolved. Before re-election took place the Governor published the draft of a Bill amending the Constitution by substituting for the existing Parliament a Legislative Council of thirty-seven members, of whom five, including the President, were to be nominated. The Bill received no support. The general sentiment of the country was in favour of attaining a larger measure of political freedom. The Governor's suggestion was retrogressive; its adoption would have involved an acknowledgment of failure, a confession of distrust in the future. On May 5, Parliament was prorogued. Sir Philip Wodehouse left South Africa shortly afterwards, regretted by nobody.

Destructive Forest Fires.—**Floods.**—In February, 1869, occurred a terrible fire which destroyed large areas of the drought-parched forests in the districts of Knysna, Humansdorp and Uitenhage. Some lives were lost, many houses and orchards, many flocks and herds were destroyed. The forests have never recovered from the effects of the conflagration. In September a heavy gale caused enormous damage to

shipping in Port Elizabeth. Of thirteen sea-going vessels in the roadstead only two survived. In October of the same year occurred floods which caused serious damage in the districts of Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West. The long period of drought now came to an end. Regular rains set in and the country was soon covered with verdure. Prosperity returned; there is probably no country in the world that possesses such powers of resilience as South Africa.

Sir Henry Barkly as Governor.—Sir Henry Barkly, who succeeded Sir Philip Wodehouse as Governor, assumed duty on December 31, 1870. He had held a similar post in four other British colonies. Prosperity, owing to the breaking up of the long drought and the increasing trade resulting from the development of the Diamond Fields, had set in like a returning tide.

Soon after his assumption of duty the Governor undertook an extended tour, in the course of which he visited the Eastern Districts, Bloemfontein, the Diamond Fields and Basutoland. The Basuto requested to be brought directly under the Queen's government rather than under a Colonial administration. The Diamond Fields were in a condition of growing unrest.¹

Responsible Government once more.—In opening Parliament on April 27, 1871, the Governor referred to the inadequacy of the machinery of administration that existed in the Colony, and suggested that some system of responsible government should be introduced. On this question the Governor acted independently of the Executive Council, which held a different view. On June 1, Mr. Molteno, the Member for Beaufort West, introduced in the House of Assembly a motion affirming the desirability of—

- (a) Responsible government, and
- (b) Federation between the different South African States.

After a long debate the motion was carried. A Bill embodying the principle of the first part of the motion was drafted; this passed the House of Assembly, but was thrown out by the Legislative Council on the first reading.

During the session of 1871 Basutoland was annexed by Act of Parliament to the Cape Colony, and measures

¹ See Chapters XV. and XVI.

were enacted providing for the improvement of the harbours at Port Elizabeth and East London. A company which had been formed with the object of constructing a railway and a telegraph line between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, was incorporated.

Federation.—In the meantime a commission had been appointed to inquire into and report upon the question of federation. In proroguing Parliament the Governor expressed his regret at the defeat of the Bill providing for the introduction of responsible government.



TABLE MOUNTAIN, FROM KLOOF NECK.

In February a disastrous flood occurred at Victoria West. One night a cloud-burst took place in the valley in which the village stands. The torrent rushed down and swept away more than thirty dwellings; sixty-two persons were drowned.

Responsible Government introduced.—Public opinion in the Cape Colony was steadily growing in favour of responsible government. When Parliament met in 1872 a Bill embodying the principle was introduced as a Government measure and passed by both Houses. Henceforth Cape Colony was to be governed through

a ministry which could hold office only so long as it retained the confidence of Parliament. The ministry or cabinet was to be composed of the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer-General, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and the Secretary for Native Affairs. One or more Ministers without portfolio and drawing no salary might be included. Mr. J. C. Molteno was the first Prime Minister.

Development.—Between 1868 and 1872 the imports of the colony had risen from £1,883,590 to £4,210,526; the exports from £2,215,881 to £4,666,071, and the revenue from £595,556 to £1,039,886. The University at the Cape of Good Hope was constituted and established by Act of Parliament in 1873. In 1877 a Royal Charter recognising its degrees was issued.

Lord Carnarvon favours Federation.—In the mean time a change had come over public opinion in Great Britain on the subject of the Colonies. The spirit which had uncompromisingly opposed expansion was now dead, and Imperialism had been born. Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, was desirous of bringing about federation of all South African States. The subject was mentioned in the Queen's Speech closing the Session in April, 1875, and also by Mr. Disraeli, the Prime Minister, at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. The idea underlying this policy was excellent; it had many supporters in South Africa—even in the Republics—where the people were still smarting under a sense of injustice caused by the annexation of the Diamond Fields. But Lord Carnarvon failed to realise that the impulse towards such a development as federation had to be spontaneous, and that by attempting to coerce the various states into adopting his scheme he destroyed all possibility of its success. A conference on the subject assembled in London in 1876. At this neither the Cape Colony nor the Transvaal was represented. The House of Assembly at Cape Town had already affirmed the principle that any movement towards federation should originate from the Government of the Colony acting in concert with the Legislature.

CHAPTER XXIII

(To 1899)

The Cape Colony—Bechuanaland—Rhodesia

Native Unrest.—The Ninth Kaffir War.—Defeat of the Gcalekas.—In 1876 there were unmistakable signs of unrest among the Natives in the Transkei. Thousands of the Xosas had been at work on the Diamond Fields and had there been permitted to obtain arms. Kreli's army now numbered about twelve thousand men, and there were other clans whose relationship to, and sympathy with the Gcalekas made it certain that in the event of an outbreak they too would rise. The Gcalekas, whose numbers had largely increased, cast jealous eyes upon the adjacent territory occupied by the Fingos. In August, 1877, a wedding-feast was held at the kraal of one Ncaicibi, near Butterworth, and close to the Gcaleka border. This feast was attended by two of Kreli's petty chiefs and their followers. A quarrel took place; one Gcaleka was killed and the two chiefs were badly beaten. The war-cry sounded and Kreli's warriors mustered to be doctored for war. Then the Gcalekas poured over the Fingo border and raided stock. On September 23 an engagement took place at Gwadana. Inspector Chalmers of the Police with eighty Europeans and 1500 Fingos were attacked by a Gcaleka army some 5000 strong. The force had to fall back on Ibeka with a loss of its only field-piece, the carriage of which had broken down. The Fingos were scattered, the Sub-Inspector and six of the Mounted Police were killed. The police camp at Ibeka, where Colonel Griffiths was in command, was attacked on the 29th and 30th by a considerable Gcaleka army, which, however, was beaten off with heavy loss. In the mean time large reinforcements were assembled; these included Mounted Police,

Volunteers, a levy of Fingos, and a contingent supplied by Gangelizwe, the Tembu chief. Several engagements followed, in all of which the Gcalekas were defeated. By the end of October the enemy had been driven across the Bashee with heavy loss of both men and cattle.

Disbandment of Volunteers.—War Renewed.—The Rebellion Spreads.—A number of the Volunteers were now disbanded, but it was soon found that the war was by no means at an end. The Gcalekas, after having placed their women and children in safety in the Bomvana country, returned and renewed the attack. By the end of December the rebellion had spread westward across the Kei and most of the Rarabè clans, as well as a number of Tembus in the Herschel District, had risen. In this upheaval Sandile took the lead. On February 7, 1878, a decisive battle was fought near Kentani, where Captain Upcher was in command of 436 Europeans and 560 Fingos. The camp was attacked by a mixed force of Gcalekas and Gaikas; both Kreli and Sandile were present. The attack was led by one Xito, the war doctor, who had promised that his incantations would preserve the tribesmen from injury by the bullets of the Europeans. The Natives fought with great bravery, but soon realised to their cost that Xito's charms had been proved worthless, so they broke and fled. Kreli once more crossed the Bashee; Sandile returned to Colonial territory and with his followers took refuge in the great Perie Forest on the eastward slope of the Amatole Range. Here he was shot in a skirmish on May 29. The territory between the Kei and the Bashee was now parcelled out into districts over which magistrates were placed.

Moirosi, Chief of the Baphuti clan, located close to Quithing in Southern Basutoland, defied the Government and went into rebellion. This chief occupied a natural fortress of great strength, which was besieged for many months by the Colonial Forces, and was only taken after desperate fighting.

The "Peace Preservation Act."—The Basuto War.—In 1878 an Act entitled the "Peace Preservation Act," providing for the disarmament of Native tribes within the Colony and in the adjacent territories, was passed by the Colonial Parliament. In 1880 an attempt was

made to apply this Act to Basutoland. The Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg, attended a "Pitso" or



WOLF RIVER, AMATOLE BASIN.

General Assembly of the People, and explained the object of the enactment. The Basuto had for years past been encouraged to go to work at the mines, on

the tacit understanding that at the end of their period of service they were to be permitted to obtain guns. These they now refused to surrender, and war followed. This was the first campaign of any magnitude carried on solely by Colonial troops. The Basuto fought with great courage. When the first European column crossed the border a troop of yeomanry on the left flank were charged by the enemy at the foot of the Kalibani Hill and nearly forty slain with battle-axes. The Basuto invariably adopted mounted infantry tactics unless when defending fortified positions. Fierce but fruitless attacks were made by each side. Eventually, after heavy losses, a compromise was arrived at. The Basuto made a show of submission by surrendering a few thousand inferior cattle, but they retained their guns.

War in Griqualand East.—Action of the Amabaca.

—The war fever spread over the Drakensberg into Griqualand East, as No Man's Land was now called. The Pandomisi tribe under Umhlonhlo rebelled and murdered their magistrate, Mr. Hope. The Quati clan under Dalasili, located on the upper reaches of the Bashee, also sounded the war-cry. There was great danger that the Pundos and other tribes in the vicinity would also rise, but the Bacas under Makaula in the district of Mount Frere declared for the Government, attacked the Pandomisi at the ford of the Tina, and defeated them. There is no doubt that this action of Makaula stemmed the flowing tide against the Europeans and prevented a serious catastrophe. A large force of Colonial troops took the field against the Quatis and the Pandomisi. The Natives were defeated and driven into the forests; all their cattle were captured. Dalasile, the Quati chief, was taken prisoner; Umhlonhlo became a fugitive in Basutoland with a price on his head.

Sir Bartle Frere.—Sir Bartle Frere, a distinguished Indian administrator, succeeded Sir Henry Barkly as Governor and High Commissioner in 1877. He came to South Africa as a convinced and confessed supporter of Lord Carnarvon's policy of confederation. But Sir Bartle Frere, too, failed to realise that South Africa could not be hurried along the difficult path of national development.

Sir Hercules Robinson.—In 1880 a resolution in favour of federation was introduced into the Cape Parliament by the Prime Minister, but in the face of considerable opposition was withdrawn. Upon this being reported to the Secretary of State, Sir Bartle Frere was recalled. He was succeeded by Sir Hercules Robinson.

The Afrikaner Bond.—It was at this period that the Afrikaner Bond came into existence. The Bond was a political association mainly composed of Dutch farmers which, at its inception, declared its ultimate aim to be a united South Africa under its own flag. At the same time the existing form of government was explicitly accepted. In 1883 the Bond amalgamated with the Farmers' Protection Society. Later the association came under the control of Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr. A new constitution was adopted in 1887; from this all provisions capable of being construed as anti-British were eliminated. Later, the Bond joined forces with the South African Party in Parliament against the Progressives.

During 1882 there occurred an outbreak of virulent small-pox. The mortality in the poorer quarters of Cape Town was very severe.

Dis-annexation of Basutoland.—Basutoland remained in a condition of ferment after the war. An Act was passed in 1883 dis-annexing the country. On November 28 a "Pitso" was held at which Captain Blyth, the resident, explained to the people the terms upon which the British Government would take over the country and assume responsibility for its administration. Next year Basutoland became a Crown Colony.

Annexation by Germany.—In 1884 an immense tract in South-West Africa was annexed by Germany. This, as arranged by subsequent treaty, included the Atlantic Coast between Cape Frio and the mouth of the Orange River, and included all the country eastward to the twentieth meridian, besides a strip in the extreme north-east extending to the Zambezi. From the tract are excluded the Guano Islands, twelve in number, on the coast of Great Namaqualand, and Walfish Bay with a hinterland of four hundred square miles. The Guano Islands had been in the possession of the Cape Colony since 1874. Walfish Bay was annexed by Great Britain

in 1878, but was handed over to the Cape Colony in 1884.

Complications in Bechuanaland.—Under the Keate Award, which is treated of in another chapter, that vast territory, portions of which are occupied by Bechuana, Batlapin or Barolong tribes, usually called Bechuanaland and which lies to the eastward of the Kalihari Desert, had been cut off from the Transvaal. The chiefs of these tribes quarrelled frequently among themselves, and a considerable number of European adventurers, principally from the Transvaal, were attracted by offers of land to assist respectively the various disputants. After these adventurers had become sufficiently numerous, they banded themselves together in two communities and seized large tracts of land in which they established republics. One of these was named Stellaland and the other Goschen. Later these amalgamated, and the more reckless spirits founded yet another republic, which was called Rooi Grond. The Batlapin Chief, Mankorane, and the Barolong Chief, Montsoia, complained to the British Government and asked for assistance. The situation was complicated by the South African Republic proclaiming a Protectorate over the territory involved. There was considerable anarchy; several British subjects were murdered. With the object of restoring order, and securing the trade route to the North, the British Government despatched an expedition to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren in 1884.

A Protectorate declared.—A Protectorate was established, the Reverend John Mackenzie, an experienced missionary, being appointed British Resident. He held office only for a few months and was succeeded for a short period by Cecil John Rhodes, who was now coming into political prominence. A meeting took place between President Kruger and the Cape Premier, and an agreement was arrived at on the following basis—

- (1) Montsoia, who had been driven from his country, was to be reinstated.
- (2) The claims of freebooters to land were not to be recognised.
- (3) The Imperial Government was to administer the whole territory until the government of the Cape Colony was ready to take it over.

Expedition of Sir Charles Warren.—The British force was not resisted. A satisfactory settlement, to the terms of which the Native Chiefs gladly assented, was effected. Sir Charles Warren's proceedings did not meet with the approval of Mr. Rhodes or Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner. But the Secretary of State nevertheless endorsed what had been done. Bechuanaland was created a Crown Colony, and Judge—afterwards Sir—Sydney Shippard was appointed Administrator. The railway from Cape Town to the north reached Kimberley in 1885; that to Colesberg *via* Cradock was completed during the same year. The latter was extended to Pretoria in 1893. A railway from East London linked up with the line from Port Elizabeth at Springfontein, in the Orange Free State.

Improved Conditions in Basutoland.—Basutoland continued in a state of anarchy. There were fierce inter-tribal fights, and on several occasions the territory of the Orange Free State was violated. Colonel—afterwards Sir—Marshal Clarke was appointed British Resident, and under his beneficent rule order soon succeeded chaos. By 1886 the country had completely settled down and the consumption of brandy, which had been introduced with the connivance of some of the chiefs, was very much reduced.

Vine Disease.—In 1886 the *Phylloxera vastatrix* threatened the vineyards of the Cape with extinction, but by means of the introduction of resistant stocks the evil was overcome.

Amendment of the Franchise Law.—An important amendment to the franchise law was enacted in 1887. The gist of it was as follows: "No person shall be entitled to register as a voter by reason of his sharing in any communal or tribal occupation." In 1892 the property qualification was raised from £25 to £75. The effect of these alterations was to disfranchise a large number of Natives who lived in locations.

The Diamond Fields.—Growth of Corporations.—In the early days of the Diamond Fields the individual digger worked his claim with the aid of a few labourers, but as the excavations at the Dry Diggings grew deeper and deeper, many difficulties arose. Of these the principal were in connection with the inflow of water and the falling of the "Reef" as the friable surface of

the containing volcanic pipe was termed. Many diggers sold their claims to speculators; later, companies were formed. Later still the principal mines fell into the hands of a few corporations. The most important mine of all was that at Kimberley; next in importance was the one known as De Beers.

Cecil John Rhodes.—The Mines Amalgamated.—The former was controlled by Mr. Barnard Barnato, the latter by Mr. Cecil John Rhodes. After a great struggle Rhodes obtained the mastery, and the whole group of mines known as the “Dry Diggings” was amalgamated as one vast corporation. In drawing the trust deed, Mr. Rhodes inserted a proviso giving the De Beers Diamond Mining Co., as the corporation was called, the right to spend its resources on practically any object approved of by the directorate. It was this proviso that enabled the British South Africa Company subsequently to acquire and open up Rhodesia and secure the vast territories beyond the Zambezi.

Customs Convention.—Treaty with Lo Bengula.—In 1888 a Customs Convention was entered into by the various South African States, excepting the Transvaal, which held aloof. In terms of this a general *ad valorem* tariff of 12 per cent. was imposed, with higher duties on wines and tobacco. A treaty of peace and amity was concluded between the High Commissioner and Lo Bengula, King of the Matabele, and the huge tract between the Zambezi and the Transvaal and as far westward as the twentieth degree of longitude was proclaimed as within the sphere of British influence.

Sir Henry Loch.—Bank Failures.—Sir Hercules Robinson retired from his post in 1889 and was succeeded by Sir Henry Loch, Governor of Victoria. In 1890 public credit received a serious shock through the failure of two banks—“The Cape of Good Hope,” and the “Union.” In the case of the latter, the shares imposed unlimited liability upon those who held them; consequently, many people were ruined.

The British South Africa Company.—Rhodesia.—Mr. Cecil John Rhodes and a few of his colleagues obtained a concession of mining and trading privileges in Matabeleland. The British South Africa Company was formed and granted a Charter by the Imperial Government. The extension of its operations to the

Bechuanaland Protectorate and the country north of the Zambezi as far as Lake Tanganyika was sanctioned. The territory was named Rhodesia.

The Pioneer Expedition.—A police force was raised and a Pioneer Expedition traversed Southern Matabeleland and entered Mashonaland. The extension of railway and telegraph lines northward from Kimberley was begun. In 1890 Mr. Rhodes became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

A Census.—According to a census taken in 1891 the population of the Cape Colony was as follows:—

Europeans	376,987
Kaffirs	608,456
Fingos	229,680
Hottentots	50,388
Malays	13,907
Other coloured persons . . .	247,806
Total	1,527,224

Export of Fruit.—In 1893 a Fruit Growers' Association was formed in the Western Province. The export of fruit had now become a very important industry, and the trade obtained facilities from the Administration which placed it upon a satisfactory basis.

War in Rhodesia.—In July war broke out in Rhodesia. A Matabele impi raided the environs of the village of Victoria and slew a number of Natives in the employ of Europeans. No satisfaction could be obtained from the King. Four hastily-gathered columns converged upon Buluwayo, the Royal residence. The Matabele were defeated in several pitched battles. Lo Bengula fled northward; Major Wilson with a party of thirty-five pursued him closely, but was cut off by the King's bodyguard. After a desperate fight the brave band was slain to a man. Soon the Matabele submitted, the township of Buluwayo was founded on the site of Lo Bengula's blood-stained kraal, and the general administration of the country undertaken by the Chartered Company.

The Glen Grey Act.—In 1894 an important measure was introduced by Mr. Rhodes, and passed by the Cape Parliament. This was the "Glen Grey Act." The measure was permissive; it provided for the survey of

land, and the substitution of individual for communal tenure in areas occupied by Natives. Each district had a council; representatives of the district councils met and formed a General Council, which had taxing and spending powers. Road-making, the formation of plantations, and industrial education were also under the control of the General Council. This system, which has since been applied throughout the Native Territories, has had most excellent results.

Annexation of Pondoland.—During the same year Pondoland was annexed; a Protectorate had been proclaimed over this territory in 1887. Pondoland was the last independent Native state south of Natal. In 1895 British Bechuanaland became a portion of the Cape Colony. Sir Henry Loch retired, and Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead) returned to South Africa as Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner.

In 1896 the Batlapin, a degraded Bantu tribe located in Southern Bechuanaland, went into rebellion, in which they were joined by many waifs and strays from other tribes. Under a leader named Luka Jantje the rebels took refuge in the arid fastnesses of the Lange Bergen. A long and troublesome campaign followed; in this were engaged police, volunteers, and Native levies. It was nearly ten months before the rebellion was crushed.

The Rinderpest.—For several years it had been known that the plague of rinderpest was steadily advancing from the north, destroying practically every bovine animal. Herds of buffalos lay dead on its track. Various devices, such as fencing, were adopted with the view of fending off the scourge, but it leaped over every obstacle. In the middle of 1897, the disease broke out in the Native Territories. Fortunately Dr. Koch had discovered that the bile of infected animals injected into those that were uninfected fortified the latter against the disease. It was found difficult to induce the Natives to permit the application of the bile treatment to their herds. In many instances whole districts were cleared of cattle. In others, where the treatment was adopted, a fair proportion were saved. By the time the rinderpest had reached the herds of the Europeans, organisations for the application of the bile treatment had been established, and thus the

course of the disease was stemmed. Had it not been for Dr. Koch's magnificent discovery widespread ruin would have resulted.

Resignation of Mr. Rhodes.—The Matabele Rebellion.

—On account of his complicity in the Jameson Raid, Mr. Rhodes resigned the Prime Ministership and retired to Rhodesia. During the absence of Dr. Jameson and his force, the Matabele arose in rebellion in March, 1896, and murdered 141 Europeans. The Imperial Government sent troops to assist in suppressing the revolt, under the command of Sir Frederick Carrington. For five months a severe struggle lasted. The Matabele found they could make no stand against European arms in the open; accordingly they took refuge in the rugged Matoppo Mountains, from which it was found practically impossible to dislodge them. A conference with the chiefs was arranged, and with great bravery Mr. Rhodes, with four companions, ventured unarmed into the rebel fastnesses and arranged terms of peace.

Sir Alfred Milner.—Sir Hercules Robinson, now Lord Rosmead, retired, and was succeeded as Governor and High Commissioner by Sir Alfred Milner.

Sir Gordon Sprigg became Prime Minister as Leader of the Progressive Party, upon the resignation of Mr. Rhodes. A Redistribution Act was passed in 1898. This placed the Sprigg Ministry in a minority, so in the following year Mr. William Philip Schreiner took office with a Ministry representing the South African Party. In 1900, during the early stages of the war with the Republics, the Schreiner Ministry resigned and was succeeded by one under Sir Gordon Sprigg.

CHAPTER XXIV

(To 1910)

The South Africa Commonwealth

Lord Milner as High Commissioner and Governor of the Conquered Republics.—Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson.—Lord Milner, retaining his functions as High Commissioner, was appointed Governor of the conquered and annexed Republics, which were named respectively, "The Transvaal Colony," and "The Orange River Colony." Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, the Governor of Natal, succeeded Lord Milner as Governor of the Cape Colony.

An agitation having for its object the suspension of the Cape Constitution followed on the proclamation of peace. This was supported by Mr. Rhodes and the Progressive Party, and had the approval of Lord Milner. The petition in favour of suspension was refused. There happened to be a gathering of the prime ministers of the self-governing colonies in London at the time when it was presented, and their opinion was strongly averse to the proposal.

Death of Cecil John Rhodes.—His Career.—Mr. Rhodes, whose health had been failing for some time, died at Kalk Bay on March 26, 1902, before the thunder of the guns had ceased. According to his wish, the body of the great Empire-BUILDER was removed for burial to the Matoppo Hills. Cecil John Rhodes came to Natal in 1870, and began his career as a coffee-planter. He made an immense fortune at the Diamond Fields, and entered public life as a member of the House of Assembly for Barkly West in 1881. He and Paul Kruger were undoubtedly the two greatest men of their generation in South Africa. Rhodes stood for British dominion; Kruger for a state in which Dutch

ideals should be dominant. Both were conscientious. The Dutchman failed to keep pace with the developments of the age ; his outlook was that of a dweller in the early seventeenth century. The Bible was to him what the Koran is to the orthodox Mahommedan. Its



Photo : W. & D. Downey, 57, Ebury Street, London.]

THE RIGHT HON. CECIL J. RHODES.

tenets covered all spheres of human activity ; all knowledge outside its scope was superfluous and therefore negligible. And his mental poise was such that he was apt to regard the teaching of the Old Testament as more authoritative than that of the New. Herein lay

his strength and his weakness. The Englishman's mind outstripped the natural development of his environment; he sought for fruit before the blossoms had fallen. The traveller who keeps to the high-road usually reaches the end of the journey before the one who takes short cuts.

Death of Paul Kruger.—Within a little more than two years Paul Kruger followed his great opponent to



Photo: Elliott & Fry.]

PRESIDENT KRUGER.

the grave. He died an exile in Switzerland (1904). His body was brought back to South Africa and laid to rest in Pretoria, the capital of the state he had so ably helped to found, and in whose tragic and momentous history he had played so strenuous a part.

Mr. Chamberlain visits South Africa.—In 1903 Mr. Chamberlain visited South Africa and undertook an extended tour, in the course of which he listened to expressions of the views of various political parties.

He held out no immediate hope of constitutions being granted to the new Colonies. Nominated Legislative Councils were established. In these the Boer leaders refused to accept seats.

The "Premier" Diamond Mine.—A rich diamond mine—"The Premier"—was discovered in the Pretoria district. In 1909 the output of diamonds had reached 1,877,486 carats, valued at £1,176,680.

The Customs Convention.—A South African Customs Convention came into force in 1903. This provided for preferential treatment of imports from Great Britain and reciprocating British Colonies. Such were allowed a rebate of 25 per cent.

Introduction of Chinese Labour.—After the close of the war there was a scarcity of Native labour on the Rand. This was, under the circumstances, only to be expected. Then the mine-owners decided to reduce the rate of wages by nearly 50 per cent. To meet the deficiency of labour, the Legislative Council passed an Ordinance authorising the introduction of Chinese labour. As the "Annual Register" somewhat artlessly phrased it: "the mining industry and the official hierarchy were as one" on the subject. The Secretary of State sanctioned the measure and at once a stream of Chinese coolies began pouring in. In 1906 the number on the Rand was 51,427. Outside mining circles, public opinion was strongly averse to the introduction of the Chinese.

Unsatisfactory Results.—The experiment did not work smoothly. It was found impossible to confine the Chinamen to their compounds; they broke out from time to time and roamed about the country in bands; they committed atrocious crimes. Many were armed with knives nearly a yard long. Terror reigned in certain localities; lonely farmhouses were in a state of siege. A feeling that the Chinamen must be got rid of grew throughout South Africa. Both Australia and New Zealand had protested against their introduction.

Mr. Chamberlain resigned his position as Secretary of State for the Colonies and was succeeded by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton. The latter published the draft of a limited constitution for the Transvaal, but not for the Orange River Colony. However, in 1905, the general election placed the Liberal party in power, and Lord

Elgin, the new Secretary of State, immediately announced that full responsible government would forthwith be granted to both Colonies. Pending the constitution for the Transvaal coming into force, he prohibited any further introduction of Chinese. At this time Lord Milner had resigned, and Lord Selborne had been appointed High Commissioner and Governor in his stead.

A Census.—A general election held in the Cape Colony in 1904 gave the Progressive Party a majority. This was increased through a redistribution measure which was shortly afterwards passed. A general amnesty to all rebels, except those convicted of murder, was now granted. A census was taken throughout South Africa; it showed the European population to be 1,135,016, and the coloured 5,198,175. In 1905, Lerothodi, paramount chief of the Basuto, died. He was succeeded by his son Letsie. The shadow of general commercial depression, the inevitable consequence of the long war, fell upon South Africa.

Responsible Government granted to the Annexed Republics.—In 1906 full responsible government was granted to the two new Colonies respectively. It was arranged that Native Territories, such as Swaziland, were to remain under direct control of the Crown. General Botha became the first Prime Minister of the Transvaal; Mr. Abraham Fischer of the Orange River Colony. General Botha at once announced that no more Chinese would be introduced and that those already in the country would be repatriated at the expiration of their indentures. Practically no difficulty has been experienced in providing an equivalent in Native labour.

Native Rebellion in Natal.—Native unrest in Natal, due to imposition of a poll tax, culminated in a revolt. A chief named Bambata with his fighting men endeavoured to break through into Zululand. About five thousand Colonial troops took the field. Between three and four thousand Natives were killed, with hardly any loss to the Europeans. The operations came to an end in July.

Commercial Depression.—Distress due to the commercial depression deepened throughout South Africa. In Cape Town riots took place.

The railway bridge across the vast gorge just below the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi was opened for traffic. Thus another stage towards the realisation of one of Mr. Rhodes's great conceptions—the Cape to Cairo Railway—had been attained.

The Asiatic Registration Act.—In 1907 the New



Photo: Russell & Sons.]

THE RIGHT HON. LOUIS BOTHA.

Parliament of the Transvaal met at Pretoria, and sat for only two days. But one measure was passed; it met with the support of both political parties. It had reference to the registration of Asiatics. At this time there were nearly fifteen thousand Indians in the Transvaal, many of whom held fraudulent certificates

of registration. There was considerable agitation among the Indians against the methods of registration, which included the giving of finger-print impressions. A widespread movement of passive resistance followed. After considerable trouble a compromise was arrived at, on the basis of persons voluntarily registering not being required to give their finger-prints. At Johannesburg occurred a strike of white miners, which for a time threatened to disorganise the mining industry.



Photo: Elliott & Fry.]

GENERAL THE HON. J. C. SMUTS.

Unrest among the Zulus.—There were fresh symptoms of unrest among the Zulus. One chief who had distinguished himself by evincing loyalty to the Government was murdered. Attempts were made on the lives of several other loyal chiefs. An expedition was sent to arrest Dinizulu, who, however, voluntarily gave himself up. A preparatory examination in the matter of a number of charges of sedition brought

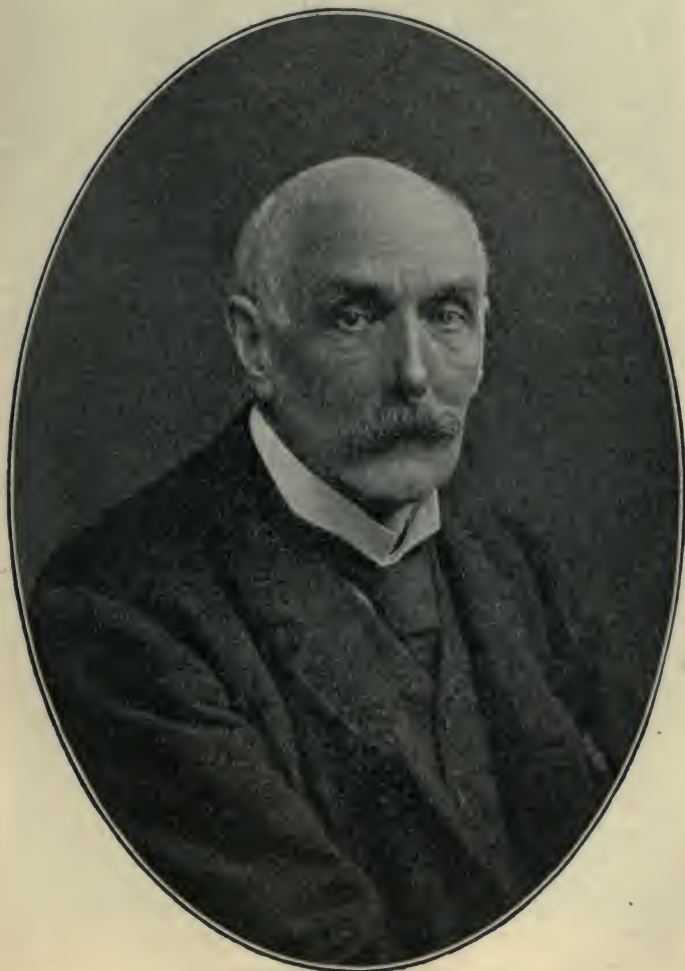
against him was held at Maritzburg. The Chief was subsequently tried and acquitted upon all but two minor charges. Upon these he was somewhat severely sentenced. Not long afterwards, however, he received a pardon.

A general election in the Cape Colony resulted in a sweeping victory for the South African Party. Mr. Merriman became Prime Minister; he was faced with a deficit of three million pounds. Stringent retrenchment and increased taxation followed.

Movement towards Closer Union.—The question of closer union of the different South African States was now engaging general attention. It was recognised that such union was highly advisable. In 1895 the country had been brought to the verge of war through President Kruger closing the drifts of the Vaal River in favour of the Delagoa Bay Railway, and against goods imported through the Cape Colony. It was evident that the varied and conflicting interests of the different States, more especially in regard to railway matters, were bound in course of time to lead to practically irreconcilable disputes; South Africa had to “unite or fight.” The first authoritative utterance favouring closer union was made by Sir Matthew Nathan in replying to an address of welcome on his assumption of duty as Governor of Natal. In response to an invitation from the Premier of the Cape Colony, made with the concurrence of the Executives of the various States, Lord Selborne drew up an able memorandum on the subject. There were various schemes mooted; the principal ones being federation of the several States or an unconditional union under one central Government. In May, 1908, an inter-colonial Conference was held, and a unanimous resolution in favour of an early union of the several self-governing colonies under the Crown of Great Britain was passed. A further resolution contemplating the inclusion of Rhodesia at some future time was adopted.

Union of Dutch Reformed Church under one Synod.—In 1909 the various branches of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa resolved to unite under one synod.

The National Convention.—A National Convention was appointed, in which the Cape Colony was



From a photograph by Peters, Cape Town.]

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN X. MERRIMAN.

represented by twelve delegates, the Transvaal by eight, the Orange Free State and Natal by five each. Mr. Hofmeyr, who strongly favoured federation instead of union, declined to serve on the Convention.

The National Convention finished its labours in February, 1909. An Act providing for the union of the four States was drafted. The principal difficulty had been in regard to the qualification of voters. In the Transvaal and the Free State all persons of colour were disqualified from the franchise. In Natal such persons theoretically might become enfranchised, but only through a process so difficult that it amounted to practical disfranchisement. In the Cape Colony Natives could qualify for the franchise on the same terms as Europeans. As a compromise it was decided that the franchise as existing locally in the several Colonies should not be disturbed.

The South African Commonwealth created.—Special sessions of the Parliaments of the several Colonies were held at the end of March for the purpose of considering the Draft Act. The Transvaal Parliament passed the latter without alteration. The modifications suggested by the Parliament at Bloemfontein were unimportant, but in the Cape Parliament various fundamental alterations were suggested. The principles of "one vote one value," proportional representation, and three-membered constituencies were not accepted. The Natal Parliament refused to adopt the Draft Act without a referendum; this was taken in June, and the majority in favour of union was found to be overwhelming. The Convention reassembled at Bloemfontein in May to discuss the suggested amendments, and after some difficulty an agreement was arrived at. Proportional representation and three-membered constituencies were abandoned. A delegation in which Mr. Hofmeyr was included carried the amended Draft Act to England. It was passed by both Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent on September 20. Thus, as from May 31, 1910, the South African Commonwealth was created.

Death of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr.—Mr. Hofmeyr never returned to South Africa. He died in England in 1909. His body was brought back to the land of his birth for burial. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, although

often misunderstood, exercised a beneficent and steady influence in South African politics. It was he who

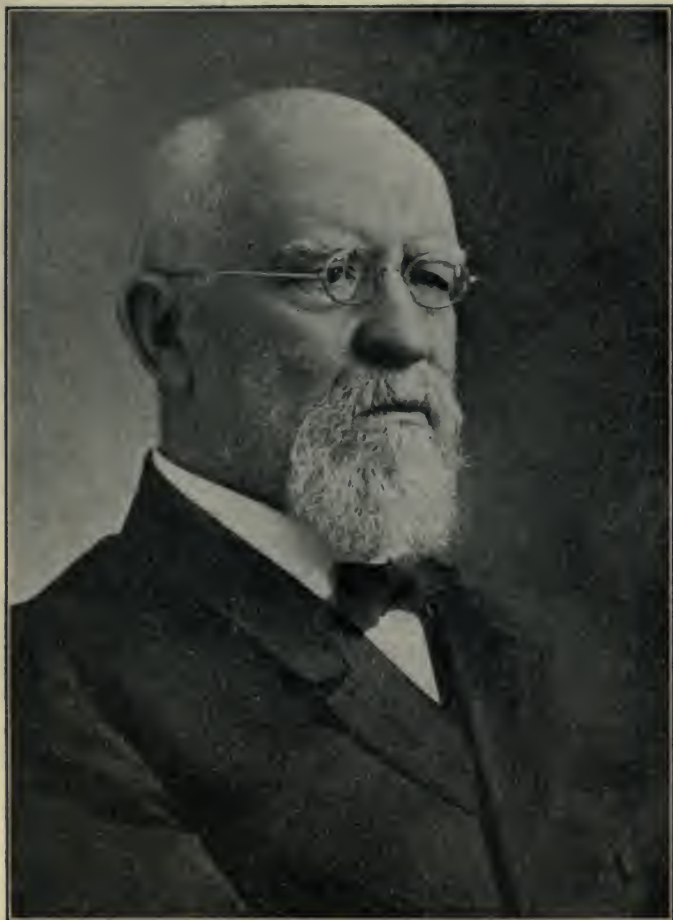


Photo: Elliott & Fry.]

THE HON. JAN HENDRIK HOFMEYR.

proposed the first feasible scheme of federation of the British Empire, by means of a tax to be levied on

imports, the proceeds of which should be spent on Imperial defence. He rather shrank from assuming



direct responsibility in public affairs, preferring to exercise influence from outside the administrative circle. His political opponents named him "The Mole."

The Constitution.—According to the Union Act, Pretoria was constituted the administrative capital, Cape Town the legislative capital; whilst the seat of the Appeal Court was fixed at Bloemfontein. Lord Gladstone was appointed Governor-General. General Botha became the first Prime Minister of the Union.

The Union Parliament consists of two chambers—the Senate and the House of Assembly. The Senate is composed of forty members, eight being elected from each of the four provinces, and eight nominated by the Governor-General in Council. Of the latter four are to be chosen by virtue of their special knowledge of and interest in the Natives. Senators are appointed for life, but at the end of ten years changes in the composition of the Senate may be made. The House of Assembly is composed of members elected according to the existing franchise in the four respective provinces. The numbers returned by each province are determined by the population. To the first Parliament the Cape Colony returned fifty-one members, the Transvaal thirty-six, Natal and the Orange Free State seventeen each. At or before the expiration of five years the House of Assembly has to be dissolved, and a fresh election must take place.

The Racial Bar.—No one may belong to either the Senate or the House of Assembly unless he be a British subject of European descent. No analogous racial or colour line has been drawn in any other of Great Britain's self-governing colonies.

APPENDIX.

According to the Census taken in 1911, the population of the Union was as follows:—

Europeans in the Cape Province	582,377
" " Natal	98,114
" " the Transvaal	420,562
" " the Orange Free State	175,189
	<u>1,276,242</u>

Coloured in the Cape Province	1,982,588
" " Natal	1,095,929
" " the Transvaal	1,265,650
" " the Orange Free State	352,985
	<u>4,697,152</u>

Grand total 5,973,394

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