A FRAGMENT

OF

BASUTO HISTORY.

1854 to 1871.

BY

GEORGE McCALL THEAL,

Member of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden.
Membre Correspondant de la Commission pour l'Histoire des
Eglises Wallonnes. Formerly Keeper of the
Archives of the Cape Colony.

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PREFACE.

This fragment of the history of South Africa was compiled under the following circumstances:

In 1880-81 the rebellion of the Basuto tribe brought to view a strong military power which had grown up almost unheeded under the eyes of colonial officers. At once there was a demand for reliable information concerning a people who had for the previous ten years been supposed by nearly every one to be a peaceful tribe intent only on adopting European civilization. The demand could only be met with opinions. Previous to 1871 the Cape Colony had very little to do with the Basuto, the transactions with Moshesh having been conducted by the Governor in his capacity as High Commissioner. There was no published history to refer to. Even in our legislative chambers the most contradictory statements were made concerning events of less than thirty years ago.

No one could in justice be blamed for this. The Native Department of the Colonial Government only came into existence in 1872, and it had no records beyond that date. In the Colonial Secretary's office there were many documents dating from 1833 to 1872 referring to the Basuto tribe, but they had never been kept separate and were consequently almost lost in

the vast mass of manuscript accumulated there. By far the greater quantity of Basuto records was in the High Commissioner's office, in which there is so little space that everything not frequently required is of necessity deposited in a store room. Add to this, that a generation ago very little importance was attached to documents relating to tribes in what was then the far interior, and the difficulty may be realized of even Government officers obtaining in 1881 information that could not be contradicted.

Early in 1882 the Government resolved to have all the authentic records that could throw light upon the history of the Basuto tribe collected and published, and the duty of carrying out this work was entrusted to me. It was not supposed at the time that the quantity was as great as it was subsequently ascertained to be. The Government of the Orange Free State was applied to, and with the utmost cordiality opened its archives for our use. A clerk was engaged for some months at Bloemfontein copying documents which had not previously been supplied to the High Commissioner. The missionaries in the Lesuto were not less ready to help. The early letter books of Moshesh were in their possession, and these were forwarded to me with many other papers of the utmost value for the object in view. The journals, reports, and maps of the first missionaries in the Lesuto were copied and supplied in the most obliging manner. When collected and arranged the papers consisted of:

(a) Correspondence between the Home and Colonial Governments, between the Colo-

nial Governments and the Basuto Chiefs, between the Sovereignty and Free State Governments and the Basuto Chiefs, and between the High Commissioner and the Free State Government.

(b) Treaties between the Imperial and Free State Governments and the Basuto Chiefs.

(c) Reports of Commissions, of Imperial, Colonial, and Free State officers sent to confer with the Basuto Chiefs, of the British Resident in the Sovereignty, of the High Commissioner's Agent, of the Superintendent of the Wittebergen Reserve, of the Civil Commissioners of Colesberg and Aliwal North, and of military officers of the English and Free State forces serving against the Basuto.

(d) Discussions and resolutions of the Cape Parliament, the Legislative Council of Natal, and the Volksraad of the Orange Free State.

(e) Proclamations by officers of the Imperial and Free State Governments and by Moshesh.

(f) Reports and journals of missionaries.

(g) Printed accounts by travellers who visited the Lesuto.

(h) Articles from the leading South African newspapers of different views.

(i) Statements made by Basuto Chiefs.

(j) Declarations made on oath by various individuals, and evidence given before Commissions.

(k) Minutes of Meetings, Petitions, Memoranda, Addresses, Instructions, &c., &c.

These documents date from 1833 to 1872. After excluding those of secondary importance, that is those which contained only information given in others of greater weight, there were published three volumes, containing 2,141 closely printed royal octavo pages, and there were 1,712 pages of foolscap manuscript ready for the press when the Cape Government was relieved of Basutoland and the work was stopped. In print and in manuscript which has been recently indexed and bound, the Basuto records are thus as complete as it is possible to make them down to the date of the creation of the Native Department.

As soon as it was ascertained that the bulk of these documents was so great that very few people indeed would have time or inclination to go through them, it was arranged that I should out of office hours condense their substance into two or three hundred pages, in such a way that the essence of the contents of each volume should appear as an introduction to the succeeding one. As fast as I could prepare it, slips were printed and sent for criticism to those who were best acquainted with the subject and to those who had taken part on both sides of the strife in years gone by. The object was to get an accurate version of events, one that could be referred to in confidence by all parties, and not to favour any particular theory or any opinions whatever.

With the return of the first slips sent out it was evident that it would be difficult to compile a history of the Basuto that would be acceptable to every one. Men who had throughout their

lives regarded every black man as an Uncle Tom and every colonist as a Simon Legree could not view events in the same light as those whose kindred had been butchered by the Zulus or had been reduced to destitution by the faithlessness of Moshesh. It very rarely happened that a set of slips was returned with marginal comments pointing in one way but another set would be returned with comments on the same events in exactly the opposite direction. These extreme views were, however, held by very few individuals, and the comments referred to served the useful purpose of compelling me to verify what I had written by careful reference again to the documents from which the information was drawn, and in a few instances only caused me to alter the wording of sentences. Most of those who assisted in reviewing the work were satisfied that strict justice was being done to all, and were content with pointing out small omissions, suggesting additions, or referring to sources of information. After the publication of the second volume of records it was not possible for those who had previously maintained the integrity of Moshesh to do so any longer. And I believe that the number is now very small, if indeed there are any at all left, who hold that these papers are capable of being read in any other way than that in which I have read them.

It is more than two years since the work was brought to a close, when the portion of Basuto history before the public extended in records to March 1868 and in the condensed form to the end of 1861. The remainder of what was then

ready,—records to December 1872, condensed form to 1871,—has from that time been lying unused. In March 1884 Basutoland was re-transferred to the Imperial Government, and politically we have now no more to do with it than with New South Wales. But its history has an abiding interest for all South Africans, and no one will consider it inappropriate that even a fragment like this, upon which so much labour has been expended, should be printed for general use. A few months ago the Hon. Mr. De Wet, Secretary for Native Affairs, was kind enough to give me permission to publish it in the form in which it is now before the reader.

GEO. M. THEAL.

Cape Town, April, 1886.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

(In order to cover the whole period of the existence of the Orange Free State, this chapter is reprinted, with a few trifling additions, from the Introduction to the third volume of the *Basutoland Records*.)

SELDOM has a civilized community been thrown entirely upon its own resources under circumstances so unfavourable as those in which the Orange Free State commenced its existence. Its territory looks large on a map, but it is in no part capable of supporting a dense population. Though covered at certain seasons with rich grass, the great plain is in times of drought a dreary waste. Its soil is shallow, and its rainfall is so uncertain that agriculture cannot be carried on unless water is conserved by artificial means. Adapted only for cattle and sheep runs, several thousand acres of ground are required by each stock breeder, for its capabilities must be reckoned when it is at its worst.

In 1854 vast herds of springbucks and other antelopes grazed on its pastures, and their dried flesh formed no inconsiderable portion of the food of the inhabitants, white and coloured. Far removed from a seaport, the settlers had little intercourse with the outer world, and lived in general in a condition of rude simplicity. Few and scattered as they were, they were divided into parties and factions, and there was no individual among them so prominent by his abilities as to be an accepted leader.

Beside the infant State in its weakness was the Basuto tribe under the ablest chief in South Africa. For every white man that could take the field he had at least twelve well armed warriors at his back, and an almost impregnable country to defend himself in. His people were also multiplying rapidly, by adoption from other tribes and by that amazing natural increase which distinguishes the Bantu race,* to counteract which nature seems to have provided that their normal condition should be one of frequent and destructive intertribal war.

On the withdrawal of British authority, Sir George Clerk handed over the administration of affairs to a Provisional Government, consisting of a Council of seven members, of which Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman was President. The Council earnestly besought the British Commissioner not to abandon the territory before distinctly announcing its boundaries and obtain-

* See memorandum on Increase of the Native Population in the Cape Colonial Bluebook on Native Affairs for 1886.

ing the consent of Moshesh to them. But this was just what Sir George Clerk resolved not to do, and all that the Council could draw from him was an expression that they could depend upon the justice of Moshesh. On his way towards Colesberg he met Adam Kok, and endeavoured to come to some arrangement, but found the Griqua captain indisposed to permit of the sale of any land within the Reserve created by Sir Peregrine Maitland. Sir George Clerk told him that the Maitland treaty was null and void, and then passed on, leaving him to get out of his difficulties as best he could.

The Provisional Government called upon the people to elect representatives to meet and frame a constitution. On the 28th of March 1854 these representatives came together in Bloemfontein, and the first sitting of the first Volksraad of the Orange Free State took place. There were present two representatives of the village of Bloemfontein, one representative of each of the villages of Sannah's Poort (now Fauresmith), Winburg, Harrismith, and Smithfield, and twenty-three representatives of as many field-cornetcies into which the five districts bearing the same names as the villages were divided. On the 29th the Provisional Government handed over its authority to the Volksraad, and immediately afterwards the discussions commenced.

The debates lasted until the 18th of April, during which period a constitution was framed. The Orange Free State was created a Republic, the supreme and sole legislative authority of which was vested in a single chamber termed

the Volksraad. Each village and each field-cornetcy was entitled to return by election of its inhabitants one member to the Volksraad, who should hold his seat for four years. At the end of two years half the members of the first Volksraad, selected by lot, were to retire, so that thereafter in perpetuity there should be an election every alternate year of half the full number. The Volksraad was to meet in ordinary session at Bloemfontein on the first Monday in February of every year.

The executive authority was entrusted to a President, to be elected by the burghers of the State for a term of five years from a list of names submitted by the Volksraad. The President could declare war and make peace, enter into treaties and appoint officers when the Volksraad was not in session, but all these acts required to be ratified by the Volksraad. He could propose laws, and had a voice in debates; but had no vote, much less a veto. He had the oversight of all public departments and the control of everything in connection with the public service, but was responsible to the Volksraad, to which body there was an appeal against any of his acts. He could summon the Volksraad to meet in extraordinary session. He was to be advised and assisted by an Executive Council, to consist of the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, the Government Secretary, and three unofficial members to be chosen by the Volksraad.

Every healthy male in the State between the ages of sixteen and sixty was made liable to perform military service, mounted and armed at

his own expense. The burghers of each district were to elect their own Commandant. In time of war the Commandants were to elect a Commandant-General, but only for the period of the war. The State President, the Commandants, and the Fieldcornets were then to form a Council of War (Krygsraad).

The liberty of the individual, the freedom of the press, and the security of property were guaranteed by the constitution. It provided for the creation of courts of landdrost and heemraden, for a court of combined landdrosts, and for remission or mitigation of sentences by the President with the advice of a majority of the Executive Council. It contained also many clauses relative to matters of less importance, which need not be referred to here.

The Volksraad appointed an Executive Council, and requested Mr. J. P. Hoffman to act as Provisional President until its next session, which was to be held on the 4th of September, when the elected President would be installed in office. The election was to take place on the 15th of May. The following four names were submitted to the electors, to choose a President from: Josias Philip Hoffman, of the District of Smithfield, Orange Free State; Captain Struben, a magistrate in Natal; Jacobus Nicholas Boshof, of Maritzburg, Natal; and Andries du Toit, late Commandant of Beaufort West, Cape Colony. The Volksraad then closed its first session.

With a view to conciliate their powerful neighbour, the moderate parties in the Free State combined, and elected as the first Presi-

dent Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, who was well known as a philanthropist of the same school as Wilberforce and Buxton. Thirty years earlier he and his father had accompanied Lieutenant Farewell's first party to Natal, but they had not remained long in that country. Since that time he had been engaged in various callings, and had resided in many parts of South Africa. Mr. Hoffman had not the advantage of more than a very limited school education, but he was naturally shrewd and clever. He was a cripple, whose power was of the mind, not of the body. For several years he had been living on a farm at Jammerberg Drift given to him by Moshesh, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, and in dealing with whom he maintained that nothing but moral force was needed. With many admirable qualities, the first President of the Free State had one great failing, want of candour. He was a man whose ideas of diplomacy were those of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century.

At the commencement of his tenure of office the relationship between the Europeans and natives was apparently satisfactory, for Moshesh, who had been watching the course of events with some degree of bewilderment, was keeping his people in tolerable order. But it was not long before difficulties began to crop up. In the Winburg District parties of Basuto under Molapo and other captains invaded and took possession of a tract of land that had been purchased from Rantsane, the chief of highest hereditary rank in the whole country; in the Smithfield District

cattle lifting was renewed ; while in Harrismith Witsi's followers assumed the character of organized robber bands.

The losses occasioned by the raids of these last named were very considerable. Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, Landdrost of Winburg, whose opinion of Moshesh coincided with that of the President, was employed as a Special Commissioner to endeavour to obtain redress. The Basuto chief, who claimed no control over Witsi, sent his brother Moperi with Mr. Orpen to counsel the robber captain to give up his spoil. But the mission was fruitless. Witsi neither restored the cattle, nor would he allow Mr. Orpen and Moperi to inspect the herds in his country. The President then went upon the same errand himself, and met with a like rebuff.

In August Mr. Hoffman visited Moshesh, and held several conferences with him and his principal men. It was arranged to bring further moral pressure to bear upon Witsi, when if he should still remain obstinate the President was to send an armed force to punish him, and Moshesh promised in this event neither to assist him nor to give him shelter. One of Witsi's brothers with his following, against whom no charge was made, at his own desire and with the President's approval was received as a vassal by Moshesh, and a tract of land in the Lesuto was given to him to live upon. A promise was made by the Basuto chief to call in his subjects who were trespassing on the ground purchased from Rantsane, which he admitted was rightly the property of the white people, though he

ignored Major Warden's boundary between his country and the Free State in that direction as well as elsewhere.

The cattle lifting in the Smithfield District was a matter not so easily settled, for many elements of discord were present there. The Boers and the Basuto were in some parts intermingled, and neither were the best specimens of their class. The Boers were sometimes guilty of hasty and imprudent acts that drew upon them the hostility of their neighbours. The Basuto were mainly adherents of two of the most notorious robber captains in all South Africa, Poshuli and Kuane or Jan Letele.

With the first of these, Moshesh's brother Poshuli, the reader is already acquainted.* His stronghold was Vechtkop, which he had occupied for the last nine years.

The other, Kuane or Jan Letele, was the representative of the family of the last Paramount Chief in the country before the rise of Moshesh. He was a grandson of Motlomi, and in his pride of birth looked with anger and scorn upon the upstart, as he deemed him, who had usurped dignity and power to which he had not been born. He was in the habit of speaking with contempt of Moshesh and his family, and asking such questions as "who is the son of Mokatehane, whom the white men as well as the Basuto regard as a great chief? Can any man trace his descent or connect him with the heads of our race?" This Jan Letele had grown

* See *Boers and Bantu.*

up in the Colony, where for many years he had been in service. He was acquainted with the Dutch language, but had learnt in his exile nothing else that was useful. He had collected a band of disaffected characters about him, and was continually disturbing the peace by his robberies and riotous acts. With Poshuli he was at variance, as a matter of course, and Moshesh, who had always tried to conciliate such persons rather than reduce them by force, seemed afraid of proceeding to extremities against him.

Though fair promises were made by the Basuto chief and his councillors, matters remained in a state of confusion between the Caledon and the Orange. There was no desire on the part of Moshesh that Europeans should live comfortably there, as he wanted the ground for his own people to expand upon. At the end of the year Mr. Orpen visited Thaba Bosigo again as Special Commissioner, but obtained nothing more than a renewal of the promises made to the President.

Moshesh, at this time, gained much credit with the friends of the missionaries in South Africa and in Europe by an ordinance which he published prohibiting the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Lesuto. The form of this ordinance must be attributed to European influence, but there is no reason to doubt that its object met with the approval of the great chief personally.

Of late years Europeans had been introducing spirituous liquors into the Lesuto, and it needed

not the teaching of the missionaries to convince Moshesh that brandy was hurtful to his subjects. From time immemorial they had used fermented liquors made of millet, a kind of weak beer, indeed, forming a large proportion of their food. But the distiller's art was unknown to them, and brandy came therefore as a new thing into the country. Few individuals in the condition of the Basuto can resist the temptation to use strong liquor when it is before their eyes. Seeing this, Moshesh, by the advice of the missionaries and with the concurrence of his councillors, issued, in November 1854, an ordinance under which all spirituous liquor brought among his people was to be poured upon the ground, without the owner having any claim for compensation. And that every one might be made acquainted with the law, it was drawn up in writing and published in Dutch and Sesuto. But it was never thoroughly carried out, though it had some little effect in diminishing the quantity of spirits brought into the country.

At a later date Moshesh, by the advice of the missionaries, issued ordinances against punishment on charges of practising witchcraft and against circumcision. The first of these was only intended to gratify the missionaries, and no attempt was ever made to enforce it. Where the belief that certain individuals had power to bewitch others was partially undermined by Christian teaching, the punishment of persons smelt out by witchfinders ceased, but nowhere else. Circumcision has been abolished by some sections of the tribe, but is still prac-

tised by others, Moshesh himself at a later date having withdrawn his opposition to it.

During President Hoffman's visit to Moshesh in August 1854, he was received at all the principal stations with salutes of musketry fired in his honour. Ammunition seemed plentiful, yet Moshesh asked for a present of gunpowder. The President promised him some, and upon his return to Bloemfontein sent him a keg containing fifty pounds. In the report of his journey laid before the Volksraad during its next sitting this circumstance was not mentioned, but soon after the close of the session it became known. At once there was a great outcry against Mr. Hoffman, raised by those who had all along accused him of lowering the dignity of the Europeans by dealing with the Basuto chief as if the Free State was his vassal. They now openly spoke of him as guilty of treason. In February 1855 the Volksraad met again, when it was found that the report in the records contained information concerning the gunpowder. The result was that Mr. Hoffman was compelled to tender his resignation, which was immediately accepted, and a committee of four members, with Mr. J. J. Venter as Chairman, was appointed to administer the Government until another President could be elected. Mr. J. N. Boshof was recommended to the people by the Volksraad, and in course of time was duly elected.

The intercourse between the Executive Committee and Moshesh was carried on in a friendly manner, each expressing a desire for the con-

tinuation of peace. But as the depredations upon the border farmers increased greatly after Mr. Hoffman's retirement, Mr. Venter wrote to the chief that the only means of preserving peace would be for him to require his people to do no wrong to the burghers of the Free State. Robberies followed, however, on such an extensive scale that many farmers were compelled to remove, while Moshesh continued as usual to deprecate war.

Mr. Venter then arranged for a meeting, which took place at Platberg on the 9th of August 1855. It was there agreed that any one losing cattle by theft should be at liberty to search for them in Moshesh's country, provided he went unarmed and carried a pass from the head of the State. Nothing could show more plainly than this agreement the helplessness of the infant republic, or the desire of its Government to avoid a rupture with the Basuto. Mr. Venter was a man of common sense and knew that such an arrangement was worthless, yet he felt that under the circumstances nothing else could be done.

On the 27th of August 1855 Mr. Jacobus Nicholas Boshof was installed as President of the Free State. He was a man of some education, and had received such a training in office work as enabled him to put the various departments of the public service into something like order. With regard to Moshesh, he was disposed to adopt a firmer course of dealing than Mr. Hoffman had done, not because he was less anxious to preserve peace, but because he

believed conciliation had been carried so far as to destroy the respect due to a civilized Government.

In the meantime Sir George Grey had arrived in South Africa as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony, and it was already apparent that he possessed great ability in dealing with native questions. He saw at once that matters were fast drifting towards war between the Free State and the Basuto tribe, and that such a war must endanger the prestige of the Europeans throughout South Africa. To prevent it if possible, while at the same time taking care not to involve the British Government in any responsibilities, he arranged for a meeting between Mr. Boshof and Moshesh at Aliwal North, at which he should be present as a friend of both and endeavour to bring about a good understanding between them, though without assuming the title of arbitrator. The President and the Chief entered into the plan with apparent cordiality, but on the appointed day Moshesh failed to appear. After waiting some time, the Governor and the President proceeded to Smithfield, and on the way met the Chief with a party of his people, who rode on with them.

On the 5th of October a formal meeting took place at Smithfield, but little good seemed likely to result from it, as Moshesh declared that he had not come on business but on a friendly visit. Next morning, however, Sir George Grey sent for him with his sons, Letsie, Masupha, and Nehemiah, and a few of his principal councillors, when he pointed out the necessity of coming to

some understanding. In fear of offending the Governor, Moshesh then consented to meet Mr. Boshof again, and an arrangement was entered into between them, which was drawn up in the form of a treaty, and which provided :—

That every Mosuto entering the Free State should be furnished with a pass signed by a chief or missionary ;

That hunting parties should obtain permission from the landdrost of a district before entering it ;

That subjects of Moshesh disobeying these regulations should be liable to punishment by the Free State courts ;

That in case of the spoor of stolen cattle being traced to any chief's location, information thereof should be given to such chief, who should follow it up ;

That any further measures in connection with such cases should only take place between Moshesh, or the chief to whom the spoor was given over, and the landdrost of the district from which the cattle were stolen ;

That in the event of any chief, to whose location thefts should be traced, restoring the stolen cattle and delivering up the thief to be punished according to the laws of the Free State, no further compensation should be demanded ; but if the thief should not be given up, the stolen property should be restored, together with a fine of four times its value ;

That every such case should be settled within two months of demand being made ;

That subjects of Moshesh trespassing on the farms of Free State burghers, and refusing to remove when desired to do so by a field-cornet, should be driven away by force ;

That in case of dispute about the ownership of land by any burgher of the Free State, the matter should be settled by the Chief and the President jointly, or by officers appointed to act for them ;

That burghers of the Free State trespassing on land in the territory of Moshesh, and refusing to remove when called upon to do so, should be driven away by force.

The above were the conditions of an agreement which, if faithfully observed, would have preserved peace and friendship between the Boers and the Basuto. No boundary line was referred to in them, but the clause respecting the ownership of ground met that difficulty, for the farms up to the Warden line were held under British titles, and the Free State Government claimed nothing further. Moshesh signed the agreement, as he afterwards asserted, to avoid offending Sir George Grey ; but he took no trouble to observe it. There was no power to compel him to keep an agreement, and without that a document was valueless.

During this visit of Sir George Grey to the country north of the Orange, he proposed to the French missionaries to establish a training school in the Lesuto, in which native schoolmasters and evangelists could be educated, and young men be instructed in such handicrafts as those of the blacksmith, carpenter, and mason. The

Governor had at his disposal a considerable sum of money supplied by the Imperial Treasury for the purpose of improving the natives of South Africa, and on this fund he spoke of drawing to meet the preliminary expenses. The institution he proposed should be under the direction of the French Mission.

The design, however, was not carried out. The French missionaries entered heartily into the plan, and took the preliminary step of securing a suitable site by means of transfer from Moshesh, but by the time the arrangements were completed the Governor found that the whole of the funds at his disposal would be required elsewhere, and the design therefore fell through.

Sir George Clerk had stationed Mr. John Burnet, an old Sovereignty civil servant, at Bloemfontein, with the title of British Agent, and had been in favour of placing a similar officer with Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo. But Sir George Grey looked unfavourably upon this plan, which, in his opinion, would only cause jealousy between the Europeans and the Basuto; and in April 1855 he removed Mr. Burnet to Aliwal North, where he gave him the appointment of Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, while retaining his services as a medium for obtaining information upon events occurring north of the Orange.

Witsi's people were still plundering their neighbours, and a large part of the Harrismith district, abandoned by the farmers, was overrun by them, when early in 1856 the Volksraad

determined to send an expedition against the marauders. Moshesh informed the President that having used all his influence in vain to induce Witsi to restore the stolen cattle, he would give that chief no assistance if he were attacked. This course of action was in accordance with his policy of bringing all the petty chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Lesuto to acknowledge him as their head. Witsi was acting in entire independence, and thus it suited Moshesh's purpose to see him chastised.

A burgher commando was with great difficulty got together, for there was hardly a district in the State that the occupants could leave without exposing their families to be attacked during their absence. In May the burgher force, under Commandant Botha, marched against Witsi. It was accompanied by a son of Moshesh and by the commander of his warriors, who were sent by the great chief to act as mediators in case Witsi should submit. A demand was made upon the robber captain of seventeen hundred head of cattle and three hundred horses, as compensation for his people's thefts, with the alternative of active hostilities within twenty-four hours. This demand not being complied with, the burghers entered his country, defeated small parties of his people in a couple of skirmishes, and seized about as much stock as he had been called upon to surrender. Thereupon the commando broke up, every man returning to his home.

The dispersion of the Free State forces, before adequate punishment had been inflicted on the

robbers, left the district of Harrismith at Witsi's mercy. The President then entrusted the settlement of matters there to Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, Landdrost of Winburg and Harrismith,* who managed to get together a small commando, with which he entered Witsi's country, drove out his retainers, and laid their villages waste. The refugees fled into the Lesuto, where they were received by Moshesh, who now became their advocate and pleaded with the Free State Government not to punish them further. The cattle, however, were by order of the great chief allowed to fall into the hands of the farmers.

For a few weeks after the agreement made by Moshesh in presence of Sir George Grey, the number of thefts along the border greatly diminished, but cattle lifting was soon resumed on as extensive a scale as before. In March 1856 the Basuto chief in writing to the President laid claim to the country as far as a line running from Commissie Drift by the southern side of the Koesberg to the Orange River. Between this line and that of Major Warden, which the Free State claimed, the district thereafter became the scene of unchecked lawlessness. Jan Letele, Lebenya, Poshuli, Seperi, and other petty captains, though quarrelling with each other, were

* In the extraordinary session of September 1854 the Volksraad resolved to have but one landdrost for the two districts of Winburg and Harrismith. The resolution was acted upon, and at this time Mr. Orpen was the head of both districts, but a little later it was found necessary to have a landdrost in each.

one in plundering and insulting the farmers. Most of these in despair abandoned their farms, went into lager, and became clamorous for open war as an evil less than that they were enduring. Moshesh as ever spoke constantly of the advantages of peace, but made no effort to suppress the hostile acts of his subjects.

While matters were in this condition, Mr. Boshof sent a deputation to Thaba Bosigo to demand the stock stolen prior to the agreement and four times the quantity stolen after that date, or the surrender of the robbers. If this demand should not be complied with, he threatened to attack the offending clans, in which case he desired the great chief not to protect them. In reply Moshesh promised to hold an assembly of his leading men, when if they would not agree to punish the thieves and make compensation as demanded he would leave the marauding clans to their fate. But he did not keep his word, and Mr. Boshof thought it prudent not to carry out his threat.

The Basuto chief was really making preparations for war, in case the farmers would not give up the disputed district. He did not fear the Free State in the least, but he was too astute to draw upon himself the enmity of the Colonial Government at the same time. He was therefore secretly intriguing with the coast tribes, with a view of keeping the attention of the colonists occupied nearer home, while he was endeavouring to make Sir George Grey believe that he was doing everything possible to preserve peace. So great was his power of

deception that the missionary Arbousset, otherwise a very observant man, mistook a scheme of his to get the British Authorities to assist in keeping his warriors together, for the peaceable design of preventing trespass over the colonial frontier. And so great was his assurance that he actually applied to the Landdrost of Smithfield for a supply of guns and ammunition to enable him, as he said, to chastise the robbers.

Sir George Grey, however, was not the man to be so deceived. He had agents among the Kaffir tribes observing from widely separated points, who placed the fact of the Basuto chief's intrigues beyond all question, though so secretly and carefully were they carried on that the details could not be ascertained. The Governor informed Moshesh that he was aware of the communications passing between him and the most powerful chief on the eastern frontier, who was then destroying his cattle and corn preparatory to attacking the Colony. Moshesh in reply asserted his loyalty and fidelity to the British Government, flatly denied having had any intercourse with Kreli for more than three years, and appealed to President Boshof to testify in his favour. The missionary Jousse, who acted as secretary on this occasion, was so deceived that Moshesh's statements appeared to him to be worthy of credence. But though the chief managed to blind even such sensible men as Messrs. Arbousset and Jousse, who were apparently in a most favourable position for observation, but who really had no such sources of information as Sir George Grey had at com-

mand,* the Governor's letter convinced him that he must act with still greater caution in future and endeavour to throw the whole blame of provocation upon the farmers, or he would not be left to deal with them alone.

The demand which the President had made was for 768 horses and 535 head of cattle, of which the chief had restored only 6 horses and 141 head of cattle when in October 1856 the Volksraad met in extraordinary session. As nothing better could be done, it was resolved to send another deputation to Thaba Bosigo. Messrs. Gerrit Visser and Jacobus Hoffman accordingly visited Moshesh and induced him to sign a document in which he undertook to deliver within one month the horses and cattle still due, and further promised to do his best to prevent robberies in future, so that the farmers might occupy their lands in safety without being disturbed by his people. It was necessary to do something now, so to meet the first part of his engagement Moshesh called for contributions in stock from each of his vassal chieftains. He did not attempt to punish the robber clans or even to compel them alone to make restitution. The result was that the thieving continued as before.

*There are very few instances indeed in South African history of missionaries detecting preparations for war which were being made all around them. On nearly every occasion when an outbreak has occurred they have been taken completely by surprise. Some curious instances of their having been led astray by appearances are given with the utmost candour by the French missionaries in their Journal.

Early in 1857 the Basuto chief delivered to the Landdrost of Smithfield 1,359 of the most wretched cattle in his country, but only 36 horses, as the tribe refused to part with animals required in war. The Volksraad, however, declined to accept cattle in place of horses, and after deducting the number due, the remainder were sent back to Moshesh.

Just at this time the Free State Government was disturbed by the claims of Mr. M. W. Pretorius, who was endeavouring to unite the different republics, and who had numerous partisans south of the Vaal. He presented himself at Bloemfontein, and attempted to obtain from the Volksraad an acknowledgment of his right to the Government of the State. He entered into negotiations with Moshesh also, but the chief was careful not to commit himself, although he led Mr. Pretorius to believe that he favoured his cause.

While the republic was thus distracted with internal dissension, Moshesh was sparing no efforts to secure the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of the Colonial Government. He offered to submit the question of the ownership of the ground in dispute to Sir George Grey's arbitration, but under conditions that would have left him master of the situation no matter what the decision might be. In his reply the Governor declined to interfere until made acquainted with all that had transpired between him and Pretorius. This letter must have increased Moshesh's conviction that Sir George Grey was watching him closely. He now sent

his son Nehemiah to reside at the Koesberg, and gave him instructions to suppress stocklifting, which Nehemiah did pretty effectually for several months, thus showing that Moshesh had power to control his subjects, if he were but inclined to use it. The efforts of Nehemiah to preserve order relaxed, however, about the beginning of 1858.

To force the burghers to commence hostilities was the object of the Basuto. In answer to the continued demands of the Free State Government for the horses which the great chief had bound himself to deliver (of which he had sent in only 45), letters of the most frivolous nature were written, indicating that Moshesh was treating the matter with contempt. Hunting parties of from three to five hundred armed and mounted men entered the Free State when and where they pleased, and trespassed upon farms in defiance of the owners. In the districts of Harrismith, Winburg, and Smithfield, farms held under English titles were taken possession of by petty Basuto captains, and when attempts were made to remove the intruders, Moshesh and Letsie claimed the right of interfering. Events had reached that condition which can only be remedied by war.

In February 1858 the Volksraad, feeling the grave responsibility of the step, but convinced that further remonstrances would be futile, authorized the President to prevent intrusion upon the territory of the State. They claimed the Warden Line as their boundary, which Moshesh did not cease to ignore. The President

accordingly wrote to Moshesh requesting him to warn the marauding chiefs that "henceforth "cattle stealing, and more particularly the "intruding upon any part of the State by armed "bands for whatever purpose or upon what-"ever pretence, without permission previously "obtained, would be regarded as acts of open "hostility, and that measures would be taken to "punish such parties and their chiefs in such a "manner as to teach them to respect the rights "of the burghers and the peace of the territory." The illusion was maintained throughout this letter that the great chief was personally inclined for peace, and that the hostile acts of the petty captains were committed in disobedience of his orders. It was therefore stated that the Raad had no intention of disturbing the good understanding between him and themselves, and trusted that he would not support the marauders. But that there might be no doubt as to what was really intended, a sentence was added that "no further warning would be given."

Five days after this letter was written, Moshesh's brother Poshuli, with his own followers and some retainers of the Baphuti chief Morosi, took forcible possession of one of the best farms in the Smithfield district, which had previously been in the occupation of Mr. Jan de Winnaar, and to which the Mission Station of Hebron was subsequently removed. The petty chief Lebenya (who was a cousin of Jan Letele) had previously seized several other farms in that neighbourhood, and had destroyed the buildings and orchards upon them. It was

known at the same time that Letsie had assembled a large party of warriors, and was ready to move in any direction. There could no longer be a possibility of staving off war, except by the abandonment of the country. The Landdrost of Smithfield therefore called out the burghers of his district, and as soon as the tidings reached Bloemfontein measures were taken to mobilize almost the entire force of the State. While this was taking place, Letsie and Moperi were writing to ask what all the excitement was about, and Nehemiah was protesting that Poshuli had made the inroad in ignorance that he was doing anything wrong.

There was some correspondence, and several meetings were held, but all was hollow on both sides. The Free State Government was trying to gain time to collect the forces of its western and northern districts, and Moshesh was trying to make it appear that the farmers were the aggressors. The Basuto chiefs all denied positively that they were assembling their warriors, but it is certain that they had already done so. Only four days after the raid, Morosi and those of his followers who had not previously joined Poshuli crossed the Orange to aid Letsie. At the same time that these events were taking place in the south, Molitsane and his Bataung were plundering the inhabitants of Winburg, where five robbers were shot dead and two others and a farmer were wounded.

By the 10th of March a tolerably strong commando was encamped on the border of the disturbed district. The President was there with

several members of the Volksraad, the Landdrost of Smithfield, and other influential men.

On that day came Jan Letele with a party of his followers to the Free State camp, and requested the President to receive him as a subject. He had been one of the most troublesome of all the petty captains on the border, and there was no affection wasted between him and the farmers; but in such straits did the Government of Mr. Boshof feel itself to be, that the Council which met to consider the matter resolved to accede to the request. In most cases of the kind the defection of a clan from the tribe to which it belongs is only feigned for strategic purposes. In this instance it was not so, and the burghers knew that the enmity between the grandson of Motlomi and the family of Moshesh was so bitter that they could depend upon his doing nothing to favour their foes. Yet the acceptance of Jan Letele as a subject, even in these exceptional circumstances, proved to be a great blunder. It carried with it the necessity of protecting him thereafter and the responsibility for his and his people's acts.

On the same afternoon a Council of War was held, with President Boshof as Chairman. It was decided to endeavour to get together further forces, and to commence hostilities after fourteen days, unless Moshesh in the meantime should acknowledge the Warden Line and agree to make compensation for all thefts traced to his people.

On the 11th the President sent to Moshesh an ultimatum, in which, after a recital of recent events, he demanded a reply to the following

questions, to be sent to Bloemfontein before the meeting of the Executive Council on the 19th of the month ; and informed the chief that upon his answer would depend peace or war :—

1. "Are you willing to force and oblige Poshuli and Lebenya within the period of one month to pay the damages caused by them or their people to the farms of our burghers as above stated, according to a fair valuation ?"
2. "Will you promise to take prompt measures to prevent cattle stealing in our territories, and to remove Poshuli and Lebenya far away from our boundaries ?"
3. "Will you engage, without any further delay, to pay up the arrears of compensation for horses stolen by Basuto, as already undertaken by you, and to cause compensation to be made, according to your agreement with me, for such thefts as can be shown to have been subsequently committed by your subjects ?"
4. "Will you engage to respect the boundary lines of our State, such as you agreed to with Major Warden, and which were confirmed by Her Majesty the Queen of England's High Commissioner Sir Harry Smith, until such time as any alteration may be agreed to therein by the Paramount Chief of the Basuto nation and the Authorities of the Free State, either by mutual consent or by way of arbitration as proposed by you to His Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony, to which this Government is inclined, upon fair and reasonable terms, to

accede,—and prevent your people from entering our State armed on any pretence whatever, on pain of being treated as enemies, unless previous consent shall have been obtained from the Landdrost?"

Of the first three of these demands Moshesh took no notice whatever, though to the third he might in justice have replied that as a very large proportion of the thefts had been committed by adherents of Jan Letele, the acceptance of these people as Free State subjects absolved him from payment of the balance of the debt. To the fourth demand he only replied after the date named, in consequence of which war against the Basuto was proclaimed at Bloemfontein on the 19th of March 1858.

There were among the burghers rash and thoughtless men who entered eagerly into this war, but the great majority of them felt that nothing but the direst necessity could justify their embarking in it. Few as they were, they had always been divided by factions, and only recently the most active party in the State had become violent opponents of Mr. Boshof's Government. They had no soldiers, not even a body of police. They would be obliged to take the field entirely at their own expense, while during their absence from home not only must their ordinary employments be suspended, but their families must be left without protection. Their enemy occupied a country which was one vast fortress, from any point of which he could send out parties of light horse to pillage the plains while they were engaged at a distance.

He would fight only behind defences which they must attack, and his force was to theirs as fifteen or twelve to one. Lastly, it was then supposed that the Basuto were as well armed as the farmers. Some renegade whites had shewn Moshesh's people how to make gunpowder, and they had prepared a supply, which, however, was found after the war commenced to be of inferior quality.

The events which led to hostilities have been traced in preceding pages, but it may make the subject clearer to summarise them here. Land was the chief factor in the quarrel. Each party claimed a considerable strip of territory, and each had grounds for asserting a right to it. It had been given to Moshesh by Governor Sir George Napier in a formal treaty, and the chief maintained that his subsequent cession of it to Major Warden had been cancelled by higher Imperial officers. It was partly occupied by his subjects, and had been so for twelve or fifteen years. The Europeans claimed it by right of possession taken when it was vacant, and of holding their farms under English titles issued by the Sovereignty Government. In their view it was part of a great district utterly waste before the simultaneous migration into it of themselves and the Basuto, between whom the Warden Line was a boundary which gave a fair proportion to each. That Line had been consented to by Moshesh in writing, had never to their knowledge been cancelled, and was the boundary recognized by the Government from which they had taken over the country.

Constant thefts of cattle by the Basuto, and the impossibility of obtaining redress, must next be considered. And here one is struck by the apparent anomaly of the Free State Government requiring Moshesh to keep order over people on ground claimed by itself. But this was consistent with the policy constantly pursued by the Dutch from the beginning of their colonization of South Africa, of interfering as little as possible with the internal affairs of native tribes, of bringing them under subjection to European courts of law only in cases where Europeans were also concerned. In effect it was saying to Moshesh: these thieves are your people, you claim jurisdiction over them and we have no desire to interfere between them and you, we wish you to remove them from our country, but if you do not, then you must keep them in order; otherwise you must engage not to protect them, and we will punish them ourselves. This line of action was quite in accordance also with Basuto law. Every native tribe in South Africa, if plundered as the Border Boers had been, would regard such treatment as a declaration of war. Moshesh must have directed or at least connived at Poshuli's conduct, with a view of forcing the white people to abandon the disputed territory. As for Jan Letele and Lebenya, the great chief did not choose to punish them for their depredations and violent conduct, for he had built up his power by conciliation, and he had too little regard for the Free State Government to dread its resentment.

Active hostilities commenced at Beersheba Mission Station on the 23rd of March. This station had been founded in 1836 by the Rev. Mr. Rolland, who had gathered together a mixed body of natives, with whom he still resided as pastor. Each of the clans there had its own government, but the missionary and such residents as were of the Basuto tribe acknowledged the supremacy of Moshesh. It was considered necessary, before the Free State forces should enter the Lesuto proper, to guard against the danger of leaving a body of the enemy behind, and therefore Mr. Sauer, Landdrost of Smithfield, was directed with the burghers of his district to disarm the natives there and drive out such as would not submit.

Having ascertained that some Basuto warriors from Elandsberg were on the way to join their friends at Beersheba, Mr. Sauer sent a company of his men forward to the ford of the Caledon to prevent their crossing, and with the remainder of the burghers he proceeded to the station. Moeletsi, the most powerful of the chiefs, had however received intimation of his approach, and during the preceding night had gone off with his followers capable of bearing arms, leaving the women, children, and feeble of his clan under the care of the missionary.

Early in the morning the Basuto from Elandsberg arrived at the ford where the burgher patrol was waiting for them, and the first skirmish of the war took place, in which about twenty natives were killed.

Mr. Sauer having called upon the men of the

station to surrender their arms, one of the chiefs, a Morolong named Mooi, complied. Sufficient time having been allowed, and the other residents of the place having declined to give up their weapons, fire was opened upon them and about thirty were killed. The retainers of Mareka, a Basuto captain who had shown resistance, were driven from the station, and their property was confiscated. Mareka himself was made a prisoner and taken to Smithfield, and it was thought prudent to retain Mooi also as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people. The only casualties of the burghers during the day were two men slightly wounded.

Thus the war commenced by the destruction of a mission station, for Beersheba never recovered from the events of that day. The people who had been living there were comparatively inoffensive, and yet they were the first and most severe sufferers. Mr. Rolland saw the fruits of twenty-two years of labour scattered to the winds in a couple of hours. One does not need to answer the vexed question as to which does most towards the civilization of the natives, the farmer or the missionary; for no matter what reply is given, one must feel strong sympathy for a man in Mr. Rolland's position. Yet there was no other course open for the Free State Government than to do as it did. To have left the people of Moeletsi and Mareka armed in the rear of the commando entering Basutoland would have been an omission of egregious folly. There was no military or police force available to watch those chiefs and prevent them from

executing hostile acts. It was thus necessary to disarm them, and to proceed to extremities against such as would not yield. The measure was carried out without any undue violence, and it was only after every reasonable effort to prevent bloodshed had failed that fire was opened. It was war, and war spares not those who hesitate to lay down their arms.

The plan of the campaign adopted by the Free State Government was to send two commandos into the Lesuto, one from the north, the other from the south, to meet before Thaba Bosigo and endeavour to carry that stronghold by storm. By this means it was hoped that the attention of the Basuto would be taken up with the defence of their villages and cattle, and that the field of operations might be limited to their country.

But in Moshesh the Free State had to deal with one whose early manhood had been passed in war, and who had risen to power by means of military ability displayed chiefly as a strategist. He had forgotten nothing since the days of Matiwane and Umpangazita, but had learnt much. He sent his cattle into distant and almost inaccessible mountain ravines, and then gave orders to his captains to fight at every point of advantage, but when pressed close to fall back and draw the Boer commandos after them.

Commandant General Hendrik Weber with the burghers of the southern portion of the State and Jan Letele's people marched first to Vechtkop, the headquarters of Poshuli. On the

28th of March Nehemiah and Poshuli were met with there, and after an engagement retreated, leaving the villages of the latter to their fate. On the following day they were fired, and the commando then proceeded northwards. On the 3rd of April it was at "the Hell," where in an ambush it lost sixteen men killed and wounded, but had the satisfaction of killing nearly four times as many Basuto as well as one renegade European, and of capturing a few hundred cattle. From "the Hell" the commando marched against Letsie, but its progress was impeded by the action of the Council of War, a debating society before which all questions of importance were required to be brought and to whose decisions the Commandant was obliged to conform. This Council resolved that it would be imprudent to attack Letsie, and the commando therefore fell back to Jammerberg Drift.

The column formed of the burghers of the northern part of the Free State was in two divisions, under Commandants F. Senekal and W. J. Pretorius. On the 25th of March Moperi and Molitsane were defeated at Koranaberg by Commandant Pretorius. On the 12th, 13th, and 14th of April, at Cathcart's Drift, this column had a series of engagements with the warriors of Molapo, Moperi, and Molitsane, who surrounded and threatened to annihilate it with their overwhelming numbers. But by this time it was known that the gunpowder manufactured by the Basuto was incapable of carrying a ball further than a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards, so that the difference of number was

more than compensated. The column forced its way out of the dense ring of warriors, but not before it had lost seventeen men, killed and wounded.

On the 25th the two columns effected a junction. Three days later Mr. F. Senekal was elected Commandant General in place of Mr. H. Weber, and an attack was made upon Letsie, who was posted with about four thousand warriors on the heights close to his village, the mission station of Morija. After some skirmishing Letsie gave-way, and retreated to Thaba Bosigo. The commando then took possession of his village, when the burghers were horrified by finding portions of the corpses of some of their friends who had fallen at "the Hell." The Basuto priests had brought these ghastly relics there for the purpose of using them as matter to bewitch and bring evil upon their opponents, and had concealed them from other eyes,—particularly from those of women,—in a laboratory of their own, which was discovered when the commando entered. Exasperated by this sight, the burghers condemned the village to the same fate as that to which they had devoted the kraals of the robber Poshuli, and spared only the church and the property of the missionary Maeder.

The Rev. Mr. Arbousset with his family and six English traders and mechanics, who had been living at Morija, left the place before the commando entered it. It was fully believed by the burghers that they had fought on the Basuto side, but this has since been disproved. Mr.

Arbousset removed his family to a cave in a neighbouring mountain, owing to the illness of one of his daughters, and his fear that if the place were attacked the excitement might prove fatal to her. Why the traders left Morija has never yet been satisfactorily explained, for as neutrals they had nothing to fear from the Free State forces. Mr. Maeder, who remained at his house, suffered no molestation, nor did any other peaceable individual encountered by the commando in the Lesuto. The property of those who fled, being left without protection, met with the same treatment as that of the Basuto. This event caused a great deal of discussion in South Africa and among the Mission Societies of Europe. The French Consul at Cape Town requested the High Commissioner to protect his countrymen, and the British subjects whose property had been destroyed petitioned him to obtain compensation for them from the Free State Government. But all parties in the end, though regretting the event, came to see that the destruction of property under such circumstances was nothing unusual in war. The Imperial Government declined to interfere in the matter, and the Volksraad refused to recompense either the missionary or the traders, but voted £100 to the Paris Mission Society to make good the damage its buildings had sustained.

From Morija the Free State forces marched to Thaba Bosigo, where they arrived on the 6th of May. A body of Basuto encountered at the foot of the mountain made a show of resistance,

but after skirmishing for four hours took to flight. The burghers had before their eyes at last the object of their expedition, and they recognized at once the hopelessness of securing it. The frowning precipices of the great citadel, hundreds of feet in height, were beyond the power of man to scale, and the few steep pathways to its summit were fortified in the strongest manner and defended by a garrison amply provided with munitions of war.

During the fortnight preceding the arrival of the burgher forces before Thaba Bosigo, various rumours had reached the camps that the Basuto had invaded the Free State and were spreading devastation far and wide. What was at first doubtful was by-and-by confirmed. It was known that on the 14th of April, while the northern column was fighting at Cathcart's Drift with one great swarm of natives, a body of light horsemen had spread over the District of Winburg, had swept off all the stock in its track, and had left behind nothing but smouldering ruins. It was known too that this was only the first of a series of raids in that direction. And now came intelligence that on the 26th of April the District of Smithfield had been pillaged and laid waste in a similar manner. With such tidings in their ears and with an impregnable stronghold before their eyes, there came but one thought to the burghers, that of returning to their families. A Council of War was speedily held, and a resolution to break up the commando was adopted. Without an hour's delay

it was acted upon, and every man set off for his home as quickly as he could.

Even before this utter collapse President Boshof saw plainly that the Free State was unable to hold its own in war against the Basuto. He had asked the sister republic beyond the Vaal for help, and had ascertained that the union of the two States must precede the granting of assistance. The Governor of the Cape Colony had proclaimed a strict neutrality, and though a few individuals could not be prevented from going to aid their brethren, nor a few adventurers from crossing the river to take service as substitutes for burghers who could afford to pay them liberally, the whole succour thus obtained was probably less than that which Moshesh was receiving from neighbouring native tribes. Moroko's Barolong, indeed, were in arms on the Free State side, but their weight was trifling in the scale against Moshesh.

On the 27th of April Mr. Boshof wrote to Sir George Grey, asking for his intercession as a humane and Christian act. The Cape Parliament was then sitting, and the Governor without any delay informed the Chambers of the President's application. Hereupon the Legislative Council unanimously resolved "that a respectful address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, thanking him for his message relative to the melancholy state of affairs in the Orange Free State, and expressing the cordial approval of this Council of a friendly mediation on the part of His Excellency, and their earnest hope that he may thus be enabled to restore peace and

amicably to settle all differences between the President of the Free State and the Basuto Chief."

In the House of Assembly a resolution was passed "that His Excellency the Governor should be requested by this House to tender his services to mediate between the President of the Free State and the Chief of the Basuto, with the view of bringing about a termination of the disastrous war now raging in their territories, and of settling the disputes between them which have unfortunately led to the war; but it is the opinion of this House that in case of either party declining to accept His Excellency's mediation, His Excellency should not further interfere, or take any step which might, either directly or indirectly, involve or compromise this Colony in the differences existing between the Free State and the Basuto."

As soon as these resolutions were passed the Governor tendered his services as a mediator to Mr. Boshof and Moshesh. The President and Executive Council of the Free State gratefully accepted the offer, and the Volksraad, as soon as it met, approved of their having done so. Moshesh also agreed unconditionally to the Governor's mediation, for though he was apparently master of the situation, he was wise enough to see that if he pushed his advantages too far he would bring a new enemy into the field. The union of the two republics, which many people were then speaking of as necessary to the existence of the Free State, was a contingency that he had to take into consideration.

Before Sir George Grey's offer of mediation reached Bloemfontein the Free State forces had dissolved, and Mr. Boshof was compelled to make overtures to Moshesh for a suspension of hostilities. He wrote asking the chief if he would receive a deputation, or if he would consent to President Pretorius of the Transvaal arranging an armistice. Moshesh replied in a haughty and sarcastic manner, threw the blame of the war upon the Free State, accused the burghers of acting as barbarians, and stated that he had not yet begun to fight; but he consented to receive a deputation to arrange a truce. Messrs. L. J. Papenfus and W. G. Every were then sent to Thaba Bosigo, and on the 1st of June an armistice was agreed upon and signed, under which all military operations on both sides were to be suspended until Sir George Grey should arrange the final terms of peace. There was, however, to be no intercourse other than by official messengers between the contracting parties during that interval.

It was not until towards the end of July that Sir George Grey was able to leave Cape Town. On the 20th of August he reached Bloemfontein and arranged with the President that the Commissioners appointed by the Volksraad should draw up their case concisely in writing, and have it, with any documents to support it, in readiness to lay before a meeting with Moshesh and his Councillors, which he proposed to hold at an early date.

At Bloemfontein the Governor received urgent despatches requiring him to send all the

troops that could be spared immediately to India. To establish peace between the Free State and the Basuto thus became a matter of the first importance, for until that was accomplished not a soldier could be missed. Moshesh's success had caused a feeling of restlessness among the tribes on the colonial border, and if the war should be resumed it was feared that it might become general between whites and blacks throughout South Africa. And notwithstanding the truce of the 1st of June and a subsequent agreement of a similar nature, to which the South African Republic was also a party, there was the utmost danger of an immediate renewal of hostilities. Thieving along the whole border was as rife as ever, houses were still being burnt down far within the limits of the Free State, and great armed hunting parties were traversing the country wherever they pleased. Nor was the provocation confined to Moshesh's people. To Jan Letele, subject of the Free State, times of truce as well as times of peace were times of plunder. His retainers lost no opportunity of lifting the stock of other Basuto, and were especially delighted when they could rob Poshuli.

Even on the colonial border disturbances were threatening. The Superintendent of the Wittebergen Native Reserve (now the District of Herschel) had taken advantage of the presence there of a strong body of mounted police, and had required Morosi to remove his adherents to his own side of the Tees. The Baphuti chief, who laid claim to a great tract of land on the

colonial side, to which he had about as much right as Moshesh had to the Lower Caledon, in retaliation was plundering the Reserve and the adjoining districts.

Matters were in this condition when Sir George Grey rode from Bloemfontein to Thaba Bosigo, and met Moshesh. He desired the chief to discuss his case thoroughly with his sons, councillors, and great vassals, and then to attend a meeting with the Free State Commissioners at Aliwal North, when both sides could bring forward their claims. Moshesh professed himself willing to do as desired, but requested that instead of Aliwal North, Beersheba should be the place of meeting, as more convenient to himself. To this Sir George Grey assented, and the 15th of September was fixed as the date of the conference.

After making these preliminary arrangements, the Governor galloped to King William's Town, put everything in order for moving the troops, and was back at Beersheba on the 14th of September. The Free State Commissioners, nine in number, were there, but Moshesh was not. A certain blind boy, who claimed to have communication with the spirit world, had a dream that evil would result from the chief's going to the meeting. Probably this dream accorded with Moshesh's views; at any rate he professed to consider it as a warning, and stayed at home. And so, after all the trouble the Governor had taken, he found at Beersheba only a letter asking him to excuse the chief, as he was old and subject to headache, and had therefore sent a

number of men to represent him. But among these representatives there was not one of his sons of high rank, and it was evident to every one that Moshesh was trifling.

Peace, however, was so ardently desired by Sir George Grey that he did not feel inclined to abandon without further effort the attempt to secure it. He perused carefully all the documents submitted to him by the Free State Commissioners, made himself thoroughly acquainted with their views, and then went a second time to visit Moshesh. He found the chief at Morija, and obtained from him a statement of what he and his tribe desired as conditions of peace. Moshesh's pretensions were so extravagant that practically they amounted to the extinction of the Free State. On the other hand the commissioners of the republic were very unwilling to make any concessions, and even maintained that as the war had been brought on by the Basuto, they should be condemned to pay the cost of it. With such conflicting claims, it seemed almost impossible to reconcile the contending parties.

The Governor at length induced Moshesh to appoint commissioners with full power to act for him, and accompanied by these men he rode to Aliwal North. They were Makwai, the individual highest in hereditary rank of the house of Moshesh ; Job, Moshesh's half brother ; and David Raliye, a nephew of Molitsane. At Aliwal North the Governor framed a document containing such conditions as he considered just and reasonable, and the commissioners on both

sides after long argument having agreed to the several clauses, it was formally signed on the 29th of September.

The treaty confirmed the Warden Line between the Europeans and natives on the north and west, but gave to Moshesh a large portion of the disputed district between the Caledon and Orange rivers. The new boundary as defined in it was to be marked out by the Governor or by commissioners chosen by him. Each party was to withdraw its subjects to its own side, without compensation from the other, a reasonable time being allowed for the removal of crops and buildings.

The district of Beersheba was recognized as belonging to the Free State, but six thousand acres of ground immediately surrounding the mission station, to be marked out by the Governor's commissioners, were reserved for the French mission in full property.

In the eleventh clause it was agreed that in case of robberies being committed by any chiefs under the paramount authority of Moshesh, or in case of incursions by armed bands into the territory of the Free State, Moshesh was either to punish the criminals himself, or to allow the Free State to do so without interference or without a general war with the Basuto tribe being the consequence.

The remaining clauses provided for the opening of a public road between Hebron and Aliwal North, the mutual extradition of criminals, the restitution of stolen property, the punishment of thieves, the responsibility of every chief for

cattle whose spoor should be traced to his territory, the prohibition of hunting parties in any district of the Free State without previous permission from the landdrost, and the protection of Jan Letele and Moroko from molestation by the Basuto on account of having aided the Free State in the war.

After the signing of the treaty, Sir George Grey proceeded in person to see the new line properly marked with beacons. The commissioners on both sides accompanied him, and as it was found that in some places the strict wording of the treaty could not well be followed, they consented to a few slight modifications. When this was completed Makwai was sent with the treaty to Moshesh for ratification, but the great chief returned it without his signature, though in a letter he stated that he agreed to it.

Mr. Burnet was therefore instructed to proceed to Thaba Bosigo with the treaty. He found Moshesh averse to several of the conditions, and evidently dissatisfied because he had not obtained all that he asked for. That as a conqueror in war he had received a cession of territory, that his unpaid debt to the Free State had been cancelled, that he had been required to surrender nothing except a nominal sovereignty over lands to which his claim was at best but shadowy,—were lost sight of in discontent that his people should be restrained from hunting in Free State territory without leave or license, and that he should be compelled to make restitution for thefts. It was at first very

doubtful whether all the trouble taken by the Governor had not been in vain, but after long wavering on the 15th of October Moshesh affixed his seal and mark to the treaty, though with evident reluctance, and, as shown in the sequel, with no intention of adhering to it.

THE WAR OF 1865

BETWEEN THE

FREE STATE AND BASUTOLAND,

WITH THE

EVENTS THAT LED TO IT.

BY

GEORGE McCALL THEAL.

CHAPTER I.

Among native chiefs of South Africa Moshesh stands out prominently as the most intelligent and the most humane. Like Tshaka he built up a great power by his own ability, but he did it without that vast sacrifice of human life which marked the career of the Zulu despot. Alone among barbarian leaders, he had risen more by conciliating than by crushing his opponents. At the head of a mixed tribe, many members of which had once been cannibals, and many others refugees from robber hordes, he had favoured the introduction of the arts of civilization and had befriended and encouraged European missionaries. No other South African chief was so capable as he of forming and carrying out elaborate plans for the advantage of his people

none could weigh opposing forces so carefully, none knew so well how to turn every opportunity to good account.

But with all this, Moshesh had not, and could not in reason be expected to have, the higher virtues of Europeans. At no period of his life had he any regard whatever for his promises. He lost nothing, either in self-respect or in the opinion of his people, by breaking faith with others. He signed the treaty of 1858 to avoid the displeasure of Sir George Grey, but as there was no force to compel him to observe it, he made no effort to carry out its provisions. The plundering of the border farmers went on as before. Hunting parties continued to traverse the Free State, without troubling themselves to ask permission from a landdrost, though Mr. Boshof offered to place every facility in their way if they would comply with a few simple and necessary regulations.

Sir George Grey had seen, when arranging the terms of the treaty, that Jan Letele's presence on the frontier was a formidable obstacle to the preservation of peace between Moshesh's people and the farmers. The upper portion of the district below the Drakensberg which was then called Nomansland, and is now known as Griqualand East, had been included by Sir Peregrine Maitland in the territory over which the Pondo chief Faku was recognised as paramount ruler in the treaty of 1844. It was, however, almost unoccupied except by roving Bushmen, for whose acts Faku had long since declared that he ought not to be held responsible. He did not want the territory, he said repeatedly to Colonial

officials, the Governor had called it his in the treaty, but he had no subjects in it nor use for it. Sir George Grey therefore regarded the district as being at his disposal, notwithstanding the letter of the Maitland treaty, and he proposed to give land in it to Jan Letele and Lehana, the son of Sikonyela. The last named was the head of the Batlokua in the Wittebergen Native Reserve, where there was not sufficient room for him, and where his presence caused much jealousy.

But this plan of the Governor, though favourably received by Letele and Lehana, was frustrated by the action of Moshesh. It was only natural that the Great Chief should be averse to the establishment of a rival Basuto tribe beyond the mountains, which would draw from him disaffected subjects and seriously weaken his own power. For many years he had been in close communication with Faku, who had offered him the vacant district, a contingency entirely unforeseen by Sir Peregrine Maitland when he acknowledged the Pondo chief as its owner. As soon therefore as the rumour of Sir George Grey's plan reached Moshesh's ears, measures were taken to counteract it, but in such a manner that the Governor should have no suspicion that he was being thwarted.*

To this end Nehemiah met Sir George Grey at

* There is no positive statement to this effect, by any competent authority, to be found in the records of Basutoland; but I think no other conclusion can be arrived at, if the conflicting evidence contained in the official papers of the next ten years be carefully weighed.

Morija, and professing that he was not on good terms with his father, requested that he also might have a location in Nomansland. The Governor was not disposed either to grant or refuse the request without further consideration, and told Nehemiah to write to him after his return to Cape Town. As this would cause delay, however, Moshesh's son decided to move at once, and before the close of 1858 he was established with about seventy men on the western bank of the Umzimvubu, near the source of that river. A little later, when returning to the Lesuto for the purpose of inducing a larger number to join him, he wrote to the Governor that he "would be very thankful if His Excellency would inform others who might wish to press in that his child Nehemiah had already settled in the new country with his good will." Of course, with Nehemiah on the Umzimvubu, Jan Letele made no attempt to settle in Nomansland, and when in the following year Lehana went to inspect the district he was deterred from moving his people into it by the threats of some Pondomisi chiefs who were then acting in concert with Nehemiah.

The Volksraad of the Free State, though considering that the treaty was all to the advantage of Moshesh, approved of the acts of their commissioners, and tendered their thanks to Sir George Grey for the trouble he had taken. The farmers were not permitted to return to the Basuto side of the new boundary, and were compensated for their losses as far as possible by grants of land in the Beersheba district.

The French Mission Society petitioned for a larger area than the six thousand acres secured to it in the treaty, but the Raad declined to comply with the request, and further resolved to protect the friendly headman Mooi there, and not permit him to be forced out by the pressure of Moeletsi's Basuto.

In February 1859 Mr. Boshof sent a deputation to Moshesh to represent to him that on account of the constant robberies and violence of the followers of Molitsane and Poshuli the farms along the Winburg and Caledon River borders were abandoned, and to urge him to act in conformity with the treaty. Messrs. Schnehage and Meyer, the members of the deputation, met with a friendly reception at Thaba Bosigo and from the chiefs along the route, but obtained no satisfactory reply from Moshesh, who merely desired that a meeting of Poshuli, Letele, Mr. Boshof, and himself should take place. The Great Chief, in turn, sent a deputation of five members to Bloemfontein, but when they had an interview with the Volksraad they declared that they were without authority, having been merely instructed to listen.

In despair of being able to overcome the difficulties in which the State was now involved, Mr. Boshof tendered his resignation. The Volksraad (21st February 1859) earnestly requested him to continue in office, declaring their entire confidence in him, and expressing the opinion that his retirement would be most disastrous to the country. He, however, obtained six months' leave of absence to visit Natal, and Mr. E. R. Snyman was appointed Acting President, which

position he occupied until February 1860, as Mr. Boshof never returned.

It would be wearisome to enter minutely into events on the Basuto border during the time that Mr. Snyman was Acting President of the Free State. Sometimes there was a lull in the thefts, but there never was any security for property in cattle. Meetings were held between representatives of both sides,—one in May 1859, another in January 1860,—without any good result. Mosesh said plainly that he would redress no wrongs until Letele, who lost no opportunity of robbing his people, was compelled to give up the spoil or placed under his jurisdiction. The reception of this vagabond as a subject of the Free State was a very sore point with the Great Chief. But Mr. Snyman's Government could not in honour either surrender or abandon him, and it had no means of keeping him in order.

The most important event at this time was an accession of territory which added considerably to the strength of the republic. In 1833 the Rev. Mr. Pellissier, of the French Society, had led a Batlapin clan under the chief Lepui from the neighbourhood of Kuruman to the junction of the Caledon and the Orange, and had taken possession of the tract of country there which has ever since been known as the District of Bethulie. For nearly a quarter of a century hardly anything was heard except in mission reports of Lepui and his people. They did not interfere with their neighbours, nor did their neighbours with them. They took no part in any of the wars of the country. Moshesh

claimed no jurisdiction over them, and their only connection with outsiders was the connection of their missionary with those of the same Society labouring in the Lesuto.

This happy condition was terminated by a quarrel between the missionary and the chief. Each then claimed the ownership of the district, and ignored the other. The people of Lepui with his sanction offered a large portion of their vacant land for sale, and when some farmers made purchases Mr. Pellissier protested. Notwithstanding his protests the sales were carried out. Mr. Pellissier then, on the 24th of January 1859, offered the Free State Government to cede the sovereignty of Bethulie to it on condition that the ground should remain a Native Reserve under control of the Paris Evangelical Society. This offer was declined, but ten days later (2nd of February 1859) Lepui made a formal application to President Boshof to be taken with his subjects and territory under the laws and government of the Orange Free State.

Owing to Mr. Boshof's retirement, several months elapsed without any steps being taken on this application, but on the 8th of October Acting President Snyman entered into an arrangement with Lepui by which Bethulie became part of the Free State. In deference to Mr. Pellissier some concessions were made, and he was understood as giving his consent to the agreement, but after its ratification by the Volksraad on the 13th of February 1860 he protested against it, complained to Sir George Grey, and even urged the French Consul in Cape Town to interfere to prevent any portion

of the district being occupied by white people; but all to no purpose.

In February 1860 Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius became President of the Free State. He had been elected, not with any view to union with the South African Republic, which was still a favourite project with him, but because he was son of the famous Emigrant leader who had broken the Zulu power, and because he had the reputation of considerable ability in dealing with natives.

As soon as possible Mr. Pretorius arranged to have a personal conference with Moshesh. The meeting took place during the first five days of May, at Wonderkop, in the District of Winburg, and was made an occasion of festivity as well as of diplomatic intercourse. Moshesh came attended by his sons, vassals, and a body-guard of six thousand horsemen; Mr. Pretorius, to show his confidence in the Great Chief, would not permit more than twenty farmers to accompany him. Long speeches were made in the most friendly manner by the chief and his leading vassals, who acknowledged that their existence as a powerful tribe was due to the Emigrants. Mr. Pretorius proposed to "Old Father Moshesh," as he termed him, to establish a combined European and native tribunal on the border for the trial of thieves, and to support it with a body of Basuto police. To this the chief at once assented. It was agreed that the court should be stationed at Merumetsu, which place should thenceforth lose its old name and be called on this account "Ha-bo'Khotso," the Abode of Peace. A treaty to this effect was

drawn up and signed on the 4th of May. Thereafter the principal men on both sides dined together, when complimentary toasts were drunk, and Moshesh's educated sons sang English songs. The following morning the President reviewed the Basuto cavalry, and witnessed a grand dance, in which Moshesh himself took part. The meeting then broke up, and the farmers returned to their homes elated with hope that their troubles with the Basuto were at last at an end.

In a very few weeks that hope was lost. The aborigines of the district between the Lower Caledon and the Orange had never been wholly exterminated, though possession of the land was so fiercely disputed by Boers and Basuto. After the war of 1858, Poshuli constituted himself the patron of such Bushmen as remained, and furnished them with horses and guns, upon condition of receiving a portion of their plunder. He allowed them to live on his mountain, Vechtkop, where they served him also as spies and sentinels, giving notice of approaching danger. The depredations of these robbers were frequently brought to the notice of Moshesh, whose reply was always that the Bushmen were not his subjects, and that the Boers were at liberty to follow them up and punish them in his territories. In March 1860 a party of burghers accordingly pursued the Bushmen, but found that to attack them was to attack Poshuli also, and that there was no possibility of capturing them while under Basuto protection.

This was one of the questions brought forward at the Wonderkop conference, when Moshesh undertook to have the Bushmen removed from

Vechtkop within ten days. He did not keep his engagement, however, and on the 20th of June those robbers, with some of Poshuli's Basuto, attacked and plundered a farmhouse during the absence of the head of the family, murdered a boy, and severely wounded two women and three children, the only other occupants. Mr. Pretorius immediately mustered a patrol, and followed the robbers to Vechtkop, where six of them were shot, but the remainder escaped with the greater portion of the booty. The President then requested Moshesh to cause the stolen property to be restored and the murderers of the boy to be given up to the Free State Authorities for trial, and also to inflict upon Poshuli such punishment as his crimes deserved. The Great Chief paid but little regard to this request, so it became evident to the burghers that the prospect of tranquillity which the Wonderkop conference gave for a moment would not be realized.

In August 1860 His Royal Highness Prince Alfred, when on a tour through South Africa, was waited upon by Moshesh at Aliwal North. The Great Chief was accompanied by twenty-five of his captains and an escort of three hundred men. To the Prince he professed the most unbounded loyalty, and he did not hesitate to declare that in all his troubles he had been faithful in his allegiance to the Queen. In somewhat vague language he asked that he might be restored to the position he occupied under the Napier treaty. This request, made by Moshesh to the Colonial Government, sometimes in one form sometimes in another, meant merely a

desire on his part for such a relationship between the Governor and himself as existed between him and one of his great vassels ; it meant that he should be countenanced and patronized, without being subjected to control in the administration of the affairs of his tribe. It was not then known exactly what Moshesh wished, but this much was ascertained a little later, after an application which he made to the High Commissioner towards the close of the following year.

At the beginning of April 1861 another conference took place between the President and the Great Chief, which lasted three days, and was conducted in a very friendly manner. It was held at Mabolela, the residence of Moperi, near Platberg. The establishment of a mixed court on the border was again referred to, when Moshesh professed once more to fall in with the President's views, but desired that some other place than Merumetsu should be selected. Mr. Pretorius made no objection to this, and the Chief and his Councillors promised to give effect to the late treaty.

The Basuto were then in occupation of many farms in the District of Winburg, and ignored altogether the Boundary of the treaty of 1858. This matter was discussed at Mobolela, and Moshesh undertook to recall his people from farms belonging to burghers of the Free State, but he was careful not to admit that he had any knowledge of the line.

The boundary betweeen the Free State and the Lesuto from Jammerberg Drift to Paul Smit's Berg was, however, arranged between the two parties, by a slight modification of the old

line of Major Warden, in favour of Moshesh. But it was impossible to satisfy every one concerned in defining limits to territory. In this instance Moroko felt himself aggrieved, and complained that land equal to two full sized farms had been taken from him.

This chief, Moroko, had always been held in great regard by the Boers, partly on account of the assistance he had given to the early Emigrants, but mainly owing to his inoffensive disposition. For a native he was considered upright and honourable in his dealings, though intellectually inferior to Moshesh. Mr. Boshof had placed such confidence in him that no restraint was put upon his obtaining as much ammunition as he pleased, but Mr. Pretorius, in his desire not to offend Moshesh, had seen fit to place some restrictions upon this trade. Thereupon Moroko felt doubly aggrieved. The Volksraad, however, as soon as these matters were brought before it, took steps to rectify them, for the members were anxious to keep on good terms with the Barolong.

The settlement of Nehemiah in Nomansland brought the Basuto into collision with the section of the Pondomisi tribe under Umbali, between whom and Faku, the ally of Moshesh, there was a long standing feud. In 1860 hostilities broke out, but the operations were on a very petty scale. In June of the following year Masupha and Poshuli went to Nehemiah's assistance with a large body of warriors, but were drawn into an ambuscade, and lost nearly all their horses, many guns, and thirty or forty men. The extreme jealousy of his brothers

which was felt by Letsie prevented further assistance being sent across the Drakensberg, and Nehemiah's influence there was consequently much weakened from this time forward. In February 1861 he had again requested Sir George Grey to "concur in his retention" of the district in which he had settled, but the Governor made no reply to his letter.

Since Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset, and Gossellin first made their appearance in the Lesuto, a generation had grown up, and the effects of the teaching of these missionaries and those who followed them were perceptible everywhere in the country, for indirectly nearly the whole mass of the population had been affected by their presence. Clothing, ironware, saddlery, &c., of English manufacture, had come largely into use, the value of such articles, first appreciated on mission stations, having soon been recognised by residents in kraals where the doctrines of Christianity had found no entrance. A considerable trade was carried on in the Lesuto by colonists who exchanged goods imported from England for wool, hides, millet, and even wheat. Unfortunately the French missionaries and English traders were not the only Europeans in the Lesuto. A number of renegades, deserters from the army, vagrants, and men of abandoned character, had taken up their abode in the country, and were teaching its people the vices of their class. They were engaged in various kinds of fraud, carried on a contraband trade in guns and ammunition, manufactured gunpowder, trafficked in stolen horses, and generally set a wretched example of debauchery and crime.

In September 1861 Mr. Van Soelen, Landdrost of Bloemfontein, was sent to Thaba Bosigo as a Special Commissioner from the Free State Government to ascertain from Moshesh when he would keep his promise to remove the Basuto from the District of Winburg, and if he agreed to certain regulations drawn up by the Free State Attorney General for the establishment of the mixed court on the border.

Moshesh felt himself at that time in a position of security. Sir George Grey, of whose penetrating eye he had always stood in awe, had left South Africa. The Basuto were supplied with as many rifles and as much ammunition as they required, and though they had not succeeded in an attempt which they made to manufacture cannon, they had been able to procure several serviceable field-pieces. With all the neighbouring tribes of any consequence they were on terms of close friendship.

Under these circumstances Moshesh spoke what he meant without any reservation or deception. He would not acknowledge a boundary line, nor had he any intention of withdrawing his subjects from the Winburg farms. As for the court at Ha-bo'Khotso, he rejected it altogether. Mr. Pretorius, he said, was free to have a police force in his own country and among his own people if he wished. But no courts excepting those of their own chiefs were needed by the Basuto.

This would seem to be a plain issue, but the republic was quite unable to enforce its rights. Moshesh's reply to Mr. Van Soelen signified not only that he set the Free State at defiance, but

that he would keep neither treaties nor promises when it suited him to break them. So matters stood at the close of the year 1861.

In the earliest days of 1862 the south-western border was convulsed by disturbances more serious than any which had previously taken place. On the night of the 3rd of January two of Poshuli's captains, with Moshesh's concurrence, crossed over and attacked Jan Letele's clan, killed several of his people, set fire to his kraals, and drove off the whole of his cattle. The farmers in the neighbourhood were in great alarm, and abandoning their homesteads, they went into lager as fast as possible. A despatch was sent with all haste to the President at Bloemfontein. Mr. Pretorius at once proceeded to Smithfield, where he found men gathering in arms from the country far and near. Jan Letele was threatening immediate retaliation, in which case a general inroad could hardly be prevented. Already this vagabond was driving the partizans of Moshesh from the mission station of Beersheba. The traders were hurrying from the Lesuto, believing their lives to be in danger.

At that time Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, who had long since left the service of the Free State, was residing at Beersheba. This gentleman was known throughout South Africa as a warm partisan of Moshesh and an enthusiastic advocate of what he held to be Basuto interests. For some years his influence at Thaba Bosigo was greater than that of any other white man, not even excepting the old missionaries, with whose views regarding the tribe he was in full accord.

On this occasion he resolved to prevent a war, if possible, with which object he hastened to Moshesh's residence. The chief himself was not desirous of pushing the matter further, for he was always anxious to make it appear that his opponents were the first to break the peace, and in this instance it was clear that he could not do so. Mr. Orpen advised him to attach his seal to a letter to the President, proposing a friendly settlement and promising to restrain his followers from attacking Letele, and to forward it by two members of his own family who should remain with Mr. Pretorius as pledges of his sincerity. To this Moshesh agreed. His son Tsekelo and a young man of Letsie's household were sent as hostages, and their arrival at the President's headquarters was followed by an immediate cessation of the excitement that had up to that moment prevailed.

Mr. Pretorius received Moshesh's overtures with great satisfaction. He replied that he found much to blame on the part of Letele, and that he had placed an officer in charge of this chief, who would not in future be permitted to cross the border. He announced his intention of appointing a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the causes of the disturbances, and invited the great chief's coöperation.

The Commission consisted of Messrs. Charles Sirr Orpen, Robert Finlay, Pieter Wessels, Jan Olivier, Job Harvey, and A. Swanepoel. After taking evidence during a fortnight, on the 5th of February they sent in a report, which was most damaging to Jan Letele. The robberies from the Basuto of Moshesh committed by his

retainers were proved to exceed in value those committed by the Basuto of Moshesh from him. A number of degraded white men were found to be mixed up in these proceedings. They encouraged the robbers on both sides by acting as disposers of the stolen property, diverting to themselves the larger portion of the ill-gotten gains. The Commission recommended as the only effectual remedy the removal of Jan Letele's people from the border, the allotment of ample lands elsewhere for their maintenance, and the establishment of a powerful police. But this implied resources in men and money which the Free State had not then at its command. What was possible to be done in that direction by a community so small, so jealous of its rulers, and so averse to taxation, was attempted. A few policemen were engaged, and an officer, Daniel Foley by name, was appointed with the title of Superintendent, to endeavour to exercise some control over the natives between the Orange and the Caledon.

Jan Letele never fully recovered from the losses he sustained on this occasion. In 1863 he was invited to remove to the northern part of the State, where he was offered an ample tract of excellent land; but he declined the proposal. A good many of his followers in the course of the next two years, finding that he was no longer the lucky robber captain he had formerly been, abandoned him and went over to one or other of Moshesh's vassals. He and a little band of adherents remained behind to be a source of constant anxiety to the Free State Government. We shall meet him again in this

history, but never more in a condition to play an important part in the disturbances of the country.

On the 15th of January, while the occurrences just related were filling all minds with anxiety, Sir Philip Wodehouse arrived at Cape Town and assumed office as Governor of the Colony and Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa. Twelve days later he wrote letters which prove that Basuto affairs must have occupied much of his attention during the interval. To Moshesh he said that a Commission was about to proceed to the Lesuto to ascertain his views and wishes respecting his and his people's relationship to the Colony. To President Pretorius he wrote in terms of strong remonstrance and emphatic warning. The disturbances, he said, were caused by Jan Letele, but the responsibility rested with the Free State Government that had not compelled him to live in an orderly manner. If his depredations were not suppressed the British Authorities would be compelled to set aside the existing treaties and make new arrangements for the preservation of the peace of the country. Mr. Pretorius replied, explaining the action of the Free State Government, asserting that Letele's raids were only retaliations upon Poshuli, and stating his intention of appealing to Her Majesty if the treaties were set aside. Thus the intercourse between Sir Philip Wodehouse and the President was unfriendly from the very first.

Before the close of the month Messrs. Joseph M. Orpen and John Burnet were appointed a Commission to visit Moshesh and obtain information as to what he really wanted, the language

of his letters being too vague to be understood. From the 11th to the 21st of February they held conferences with him and the leading men of his tribe at Thaba Bosigo, and ascertained that what the chief desired was merely that a diplomatic agent of the British Government should be stationed with him, and that the High Commissioner should recognize his ownership of the land below the mountains on which Nehemiah was living, which he claimed as having been ceded to him by the Pondo chief Faku. He did not propose to part with any authority over his people, but desired to be under the shield of England in order to extend that authority over a larger area.

As regards the land below the Drakensberg, Sir Philip Wodehouse refused to admit Faku's right to cede it to the Basuto, but on the 13th of May he wrote to Moshesh that he would not disturb Nehemiah there as long as he conducted himself as a faithful friend of the British Government. Nehemiah was not satisfied with this promise, however, and endeavoured to obtain some document which at a future period might give him a claim to the district. On the 27th of November he wrote to the Governor thanking him for permission to occupy the land, and requesting that he might be supplied with a chart of it.

Shortly after this date Adam Kok with the Griquas from Philippolis moved over the Drakensberg and settled in the valley of the Umzimvubu. The disputes between these Griquas and the Emigrant Farmers had at length been settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

On the 26th of December 1861 Adam Kok and his council through their agent Henry Harvey signed a document whereby all the unappropriated lands in their territory, together with the sovereign rights over the whole of their possessions north of the Orange, were ceded to the Free State, in consideration of a payment of four thousand pounds sterling. The individual Griqua landholders had some time before received permission to sell their farms to white people, and with hardly an exception they had done so. Sir George Grey had offered them a more fertile and in every respect better territory along the head waters of the St. John's River, in the unoccupied portion of the country which the Pondo chief had recently ceded back to the Colony.*

Adam Kok and his people moved away in 1861, but it was not until January 1863 that they arrived at Mount Currie. The interval was spent on the border of the Lesuto, where overtures were made to Kok to occupy the new country as a vassal of Moshesh. When he rejected these advances Poshuli's followers began to plunder him, and he had hardly been in his new home a month when he was obliged to write to the High Commissioner complaining of Nehemiah. The object of the Basuto chiefs was to compel the Griquas to become Moshesh's subjects or to leave the country.

On the 8th of June 1863 Nehemiah again wrote to the High Commissioner asking for a chart of

* For details see the papers on Pondoland and Griqualand East in the Cape Colonial Blue Book on Native Affairs for 1885.

the district, and stating that Moshesh was satisfied on account of Her Majesty's Government having formally ceded the territory to his son. Almost simultaneously Sir Philip Wodehouse received a letter from Adam Kok informing him that Nehemiah had incited several of the petty chiefs on Faku's border to attack him, and that Poshuli had crossed over to share in the plunder. Reports from the colonial officers on the frontier left no doubt of the correctness of Kok's statement. The High Commissioner determined not to interfere, but to let the disputing parties fight their quarrel out. On the 4th of August he wrote to Nehemiah declining to furnish a map and denying that the country had ever been ceded to him by Her Majesty's Government, and then he left matters to take their course.

All through 1863 and 1864 the quarrel continued, without either side gaining an advantage. In 1864 Lehana with some of his followers moved into Nomansland from the Wittebergen Reserve, and joined his forces to those of Kok.

In March 1865 the Griquas made a supreme effort and succeeded in driving the robber bands of Nehemiah and Poshuli from their fastnesses. They managed, however, to get their cattle and effects safely into the Lesuto. In May they swooped down with a large force and secured a considerable quantity of plunder, but before they could get away with it they were attacked by the Griquas and were routed, when most of their followers were made prisoners. This event compelled them to abandon the country below the mountains, and for several years

Moshesh's followers made no further attempt to occupy it.

The Secretary of State took Moshesh's desire to have a British agent resident with him into favourable consideration, and on the 5th of June 1862 wrote to the High Commissioner approving of such an arrangement, if the services of a trustworthy and judicious person could be obtained. But the Governor professed to find a difficulty in the selection of a suitable officer, and the project was never carried out.

Prior to this date the principal disturbances had taken place along the south-western border of the Lesuto, but after the ruin of Jan Letele by Poshuli in January 1862 that part of the country remained for some years in a condition of comparative peace. The scene of strife henceforth was confined to the territory on the north forming the districts of Winburg and Harrismith.

Wherever there was vacant land there small parties settled on it, and as soon as they had thus got a foothold they commenced to encroach on the occupied farms. There was no police to check them. They did not go as warriors, but as settlers, taking their families with them, and professing that nothing was further from their thoughts than hostilities with the farmers. Now and then, however, a murder was committed, and thefts of stock became alarmingly frequent.

In March 1862 the Volksraad appointed a Commission consisting of three of its members, Messrs. J. J. Venter, J. Klopper, and J. Schutte, to

proceed to Thaba Bosigo and remonstrate with Moshesh. They were to demand, in conformity with the sixth clause of the treaty of 1858, that the murderers of a young man named Philip Venter should be given up for trial by the Free State courts. The murder had taken place in the district of Winburg in November 1861, and a son of Moshesh's brother Mohali was implicated in it. Next the Commission was to propose that Moshesh should cede to the Free State a small piece of land in compensation for the cattle stolen by his people. And lastly, they were to request Moshesh to send some of his principal men with them to inspect the northern line that no one might be able thereafter to say he was unacquainted with it.

The Commissioners proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and after some delay Moshesh fixed nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th of March for an interview. Punctually to the time appointed they were at his door, when the great chief sent them word they must wait till he had finished drinking his coffee, and then took no further notice of them or their messages. Mortified by the insult, but preserving their dignity as well as they could, the Commissioners sent to Moshesh to say that they were about to leave the mountain, and would remain at its foot till the next day ; if he wished to speak to them he must follow. On their way down they met Masupha, who asked them to return, which they promised to do if Moshesh would send for them.

After a while a messenger came and invited them to go back. They complied, and in the afternoon met Moshesh and his Councillors, to

whom they made known the objects of their mission. No reply was given that day. Several interviews took place subsequently, but though at the last Moshesh assumed a friendly tone, he would do nothing satisfactory. He declined to surrender the men charged with murdering Venter, but said he was willing to make the family of the murdered man some compensation in cattle, according to native custom. As for the northern boundary, he entirely ignored it. Who made it, he asked, and what right had they to define it? It was not his act, and he did not feel bound by it.

The Volksraad then determined to appeal to the High Commissioner. The State President, Mr. M. W. Pretorius, and the Government Secretary, Mr. J. Allison, were requested to proceed to Cape Town, and were charged (*a*) to ascertain from Sir Philip Wodehouse the cause of the unfriendly language towards the Free State used in his correspondence and in his speech at the opening of the Cape Parliament, (*b*) to supply full information concerning the conduct of the Free State and of Moshesh, and (*c*) to request the Governor to send a Commission to point out the boundary line.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Moshesh he caused a letter to be written to the President, in which he stated that he was sending his brother Moperi and his son George to be present at the erection of beacons along the line. Some Commissioners on the part of the Free State were thereupon appointed, but they were so thoroughly convinced that Moshesh was not in earnest that they failed to appear at

Winburg at the appointed time. This gave the great chief an opportunity to assert that it was not he, but the Free State, that was putting obstacles in the way, though in his next letter he admitted that Moperi and George had only been sent to see the line and report to him, that he might thereafter approve or disapprove of it.

In July Messrs. Pretorius and Allison arrived in Cape Town and laid their case with a mass of documentary evidence before the High Commissioner. They asserted that all the farms for fifteen miles on the Free State side of the Warden line were at that time occupied by Basuto, and they requested His Excellency to send a Commission to point out to Moshesh the boundary as defined by Sir Harry Smith during the British sovereignty. Sir Philip Wodehouse consented, provided both parties would bind themselves to accept his definition of the line, and he wrote to Moshesh to ascertain if he was willing to do so. The great chief would not give a direct refusal, but sought some pretext for evasion, that he might at least gain time to push his people further forward. His answer was therefore that he would prefer to have the boundary settled by direct negotiation between himself and the Free State, but failing that he would agree to the appointment of a Commission by the Governor.

While this correspondence between the High Commissioner and Moshesh was going on, the Free State Authorities were writing the most urgent letters, entreating His Excellency to use all haste in interfering, as otherwise the condition of affairs must lead to war. At the begin-

ing of November they first learned Moshesh's plans for gaining time, and immediately appointed another Commission, more with the object of proving that they were doing all that was possible to preserve peace, than with any hope of arranging matters.

Moshesh now increased his efforts to push back the Europeans. Great hunting parties were sent far into the Free State, with instructions to drive the game through the farmers flocks and herds and past their very doors. These parties polluted the water in the reservoirs, damaged the gardens, and insulted and terrified the owners of the ground. In several instances farmers were driven from their homes by violence. A small police force had been raised, but it was too weak to be of any use, and there were no funds to employ more men. In the Lesuto public meetings were held, at which the best methods of driving back the farmers were openly discussed, and arrangements for further advances were made. The lawless condition of the disturbed districts cannot be better exemplified than by the following circumstance. On one occasion an exasperated farmer named Fouché shot a Mosuto. The next day a party of Basuto went and murdered the farmer's son in retaliation. And on neither side could any punishment be inflicted.

During the summer of 1862-3 the Basuto generally were in a state of violent excitement, for in addition to the effort to enlarge their territory, a movement of a religious nature was taking place. Certain individuals who professed to have communication with the spirit world

were exhorting the people to reject the teaching of the missionaries, and were everywhere being listened to with attention. Moshesh himself was encouraging the introduction anew of old rites and customs, which in some places had partially fallen into disuse. The utterances of the revivalists showed in a grotesque manner the effect on the whole mass of the people which Christian teaching during thirty years had in modifying the ancient Bantu creed. To their fathers God had been a shadowy being, with unknown attributes, residing in the bowels of the earth. One of these revivalists, who professed to have had direct communication with the Great Being, now found him above in the skies, though another met him below. He had now become in their ideas a Great Chief, the road to whose residence was not a narrow path, as the missionaries declared it to be, but a broad highway constantly full of crowds of people. He was a polygamist, they asserted, Jesus was his son by one wife, the Holy Spirit by another. And yet, so irrational were they, the spirits of the dead chiefs of the segments of their tribe were the sole objects of their prayers and sacrifices, without any inquiry as to whether the God thus depicted was one of them or not.

On the 28th of November the State Secretary wrote to Moshesh that a Commission consisting of Messrs. C. von Brandis, Landdrost of Winburg, W. G. Every, Commandant of the Police, J. Schutte, and R. du Toit, had been appointed to coöperate with his representatives in settling the boundary, and that Mr. Von Brandis had been empowered to arrange the details and time

of meeting with him. It was not until the 1st of January 1863 that any reply to this communication was made. Then, by Moshesh's instructions, the Rev. Mr. Jousse wrote to Mr. Von Brandis that "the Basuto were busy in their gardens and had no time to spare for anything else at the moment."

On the 14th of January 1863 President Pretorius again addressed Sir Philip Wodehouse, informing him of Moshesh's insincerity and urging him to appoint a Commission. This letter had the effect of causing His Excellency to press upon Moshesh the necessity of arranging matters amicably, which he once more promised to do.

Again therefore the Free State Government appointed a Commission: Messrs. Venter, De Villiers, Schutte, and Naude, who proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and there, on the 2nd of March, were joined by a few men of no rank or position in the tribe, whom Moshesh sent to report the proceedings. To these people every beacon along the line was shown, and they then returned to their chief. On the 9th of April Moshesh wrote to the High Commissioner that the line shown to his delegates cut off a considerable number of villages inhabited by Basuto, adding that he trusted the Government of the Free State would not insist upon it, and asking for advice.

At this stage Mr. Pretorius retired from the Presidency of the Free State. On the 5th of March 1863 he tendered his resignation to the Volksraad, which was then sitting, but was requested by that body to withdraw it, and as

he urged that private affairs in the Transvaal Republic required his attention, a resolution was adopted granting him leave of absence. On the 15th of April, however, he sent a final letter of resignation to the State Secretary, on the receipt of which Mr. Allison called the Volksraad together in extraordinary session. The members assembled on the 17th of June, and on the 20th appointed Mr. Jacobus Johannes Venter Acting President until a regular election should take place. For the next seven months Mr. Venter was at the head of affairs in the State.

In May another deputation, consisting of Messrs. Job Harvey, W. G. Every, P. Greyling, and J. Olivier, was sent to Moshesh, to endeavour to induce him to recall his people who were trespassing. The deputation met the great chief with his principal men at Morija, and on the 28th a public conference took place. Moshesh refused either to recognise the line or recall his people. He would not even promise to punish thieves as long, he said, as Jan Letele was protected by the Europeans. Nothing whatever was settled. But on the following day Moshesh proposed that another Commission should be sent, in order that he might point out where he wished the boundary to be.

A resolution adopted in despair by the Volksraad, empowering the Acting President to arrange with Moshesh to allow the Free State to pay regular salaries to the border chiefs for the suppression of robbery, and to give special rewards for the delivery of thieves and stolen stock,—which a moment's cool reflection would

have shown to be useless,—was the next attempt at a settlement. Then followed another letter to the High Commissioner, and again another, imploring his intervention. All had been done, said the State Authorities, that was in their power to bring Moshesh to reason, but without avail. After this, Landdrost Van Soelen was sent to ascertain from Moshesh and Letsie whether the intruders could be forcibly expelled without those chiefs taking their part, to which Moshesh replied significantly that he was their ruler. And even while Mr. Van Soelen was talking, Sophonia, with a thousand men at his back, was hunting far beyond the border and defying the farmers.

On the 27th of August the High Commissioner wrote to Moshesh that in conformity with the second article of the Treaty of Aliwal North he was willing to appoint Commissioners "for the purpose of marking out so much of the Boundary Line described in the First Article of that Treaty as lay to the northward of Jammerberg Drift; but before doing so wished to receive the Chief's assurance that he would be prepared to carry out their award."

Moshesh now saw that he must do something, or the High Commissioner would be offended. He therefore, after creating as many delays as he could, consented to Mr. Venter's proposal that they should meet personally with a view of coming to a friendly arrangement. On the 25th of November the conference took place at Platberg, the gathering of subordinate chiefs and leading men being very great. Moshesh rejected the Warden line, but proposed in writ-

ing a new boundary which would extend the Lesuto to the Vaal River and cut off from the Free State nearly half the districts of Winburg and Harrismith, including about two hundred and fifty farms held under British titles. Such a proposal could not, of course, be entertained by Mr. Venter.

The year closed with another appeal from the Acting President to the High Commissioner, to which a reply was made that His Excellency was ready to render assistance in concert with both parties.

On the 2nd of February 1864 Mr. John H. Brand assumed office as President of the Orange Free State. On the following day the Volksraad empowered him again to request the High Commissioner to point out the boundary, and on the 5th the President wrote in the very strongest language, entreating him to do so. To this the now stereotyped reply was received that His Excellency was willing, if his mediation was distinctly accepted by both parties. And to bring the matter to a close, the High Commissioner not only wrote to Moshesh asking him to state plainly whether he would accept or decline the proposal, but he directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and personally confer with the great chief.

Mr. Burnet, in reporting the result of his mission, stated that he found Moshesh pretending to be ignorant of both the Warden Line and the Treaty of Aliwal North, and refusing to listen to a word about either. He talked with his children and missionaries from Monday till Wednesday evening, and then came to a con-

clusion which he embodied in a letter, and which left him free to do what he liked, if he should not be satisfied with the High Commissioner's decision. Mr. Burnet told him that he would make no arrangement for the mediation upon any such document. He had drafted an act of acceptance, which was fully and clearly translated by the Rev. Messrs. Maitin and Mabille, and after much wild rambling talk at 11 o'clock at night the great chief signed it. Mr. Burnet added that it was only fear of the British Government which induced Moshesh to agree to the mediation.

And so at last there was a prospect of relief before the Free State, for the Government and people cherished the hope that if the High Commissioner pointed out the line Moshesh would respect it. The President wrote to His Excellency expressing his warmest and most sincere thanks, and the Volksraad, with every demonstration of satisfaction, appointed two of its members, Messrs. C. J. de Villiers and H. A. L. Hamelberg, to form with the President a deputation to meet His Excellency and represent the State.

Mr. Burnet was directed to confer with the President, and make the necessary arrangements for the High Commissioner's journey. The Free State provided transport waggons and horses, which were sent on to Aliwal North. It was arranged that the work of inspecting the line should be commenced on the 14th of March. All the parties were to meet at Mekuatling on that date. But very heavy rains set in, and a week's postponement became necessary. This gave Moshesh an opportunity to seek further

delay, and he wrote requesting that on account of the heavy rains and swollen rivers the meeting might be postponed indefinitely.

On the 16th of March the High Commissioner arrived at Aliwal North. The Free State deputation was in waiting upon the opposite bank of the river. But now a difficulty entirely unforeseen arose. On the 26th of February, before leaving Graham's Town, the High Commissioner had written to the President that he was undertaking the journey in the supposition that he would be allowed to make such modifications of the line as he might consider just and reasonable and calculated to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Free State Government was desirous that His Excellency should point out the line defined by Major Warden, proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, and ratified in the treaty of Aliwal North; but was willing that he should make such modifications in it as both parties might agree to. When Sir Philip Wodehouse reached Aliwal North, he addressed a letter to the President, asking for a clear understanding on this point. The President could only reply in terms of the Free State view. Under the Constitution, the Volksraad was the only authority that could grant such powers as the High Commissioner desired, and that body was not then in session. Several letters passed between the High Commissioner and the President, and on the morning of the 17th they had a personal interview. It ended by Sir Philip Wodehouse declining to proceed on the mission, the difference between his views and the powers of the Free State deputation remaining as implied

in the phrases "what the High Commissioner may consider just and reasonable" and "what the Free State and Basuto deputations may think expedient."

From Aliwal North Sir Philip Wodehouse proceeded to Morija, where he met Moshesh. The great chief spoke in his usual manner of his love of peace, and promised the High Commissioner to abstain from all acts of hostility towards the Free State. But such promises were valueless, for his people continued as before to press upon and harass the farmers of Winburg and Harrismith.

The President returned with all speed to Bloemfontein, and immediately summoned the Volksraad to meet in extraordinary session on the 4th of May. On the 5th the Raad resolved, in its wish to prevent war, to empower His Excellency to make such modifications in the Warden Line as he might consider just and reasonable and calculated to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations, and that His Excellency's decision should be considered as final.

With these extensive powers Sir Philip Wodehouse consented to define a boundary, but it was not until October that he was able to absent himself from the Colony. On the 6th of that month he reached Jammerberg Drift, where Mr. Burnet had arranged that all the parties to the dispute should assemble. The High Commissioner was accompanied by Lady Wodehouse, Sir Walter Currie, Commandant of the Colonial Police, Mr. Josias Rivers, Aide-de-camp, Mr. J. Burnet, Dr. Watling, and Land Surveyor Dowling. With the President were

Mr. J. J. Venter, late Acting President, Commandants Fick and De Villiers, and Fieldcornet De Wet. Moshesh was accompanied by a host of his sub-chiefs and attendants. Moroko was there also. And beside all these, there were present many individuals, farmers, missionaries, and others, interested in the question or drawn together by curiosity.

On the 7th there was a formal conference which lasted six hours. Each side laid its case before the High Commissioner. The Free State simply asked that the boundary established by the British Authorities in 1849 and confirmed by the treaty of 1858 should be maintained. Moshesh's case was that there had once been a time when the whole land between the Lesuto and the Vaal River was occupied by Bantu tribes. The remnants of those tribes were now living in the Lesuto. He handed to the High Commissioner a list of the names of chiefs and titles of clans whose ancestors had occupied the country beyond the Warden Line, and he asked that the ground should be restored to the heirs of those who owned it before the wars of Tshaka. The High Commissioner stated that he would examine the ground in person, and make known his decision afterwards. But he gave both parties distinctly to understand that whatever his award might be, he had neither the disposition nor the authority to take the slightest step to enforce compliance with it.

On the 8th of October Sir Philip Wodehouse, accompanied by the Commissioners of the Free State and of Moshesh, commenced an inspection of the country. As the party proceeded, one

Basuto delegate after another returned home, when the district in which he was interested was left behind. But the claims which they made, like those of Moshesh, would in the aggregate have involved the extinction of the Free State. The delegates of the republic confined themselves to pointing out the Warden Line and proving that the ground beyond it was unoccupied when the farmers first took possession of it.

The examination occupied rather more than a fortnight, but by the 28th the High Commissioner had reached Aliwal North on his return, and on that day delivered his award in writing. It was wholly in favour of the Free State. Both before and after this event Sir Philip Wodehouse showed that he was not entirely untainted by the prejudices against the unlettered and unrefined farmers of the interior of South Africa which most Europeans of culture are prone to feel. At the time of his mediation he believed the Free State to be too weak as a military power to contend successfully with Moshesh, but his sympathies were not attracted to the farmers by their supposed helplessness. He had read letter after letter informing him of the distress, the misery, and the danger of the white inhabitants of Winburg and Harrismith, without showing any emotion. At the very time that some of the most urgent of these letters, imploring his mediation, were coming to his hands, he had made a present of a quantity of gunpowder to Moshesh, not sufficient indeed to do much damage in case of war, but ample to show on which side his private inclinations

were. He came to this country believing that the conduct of the whites of the Free State towards their black neighbours was oppressive, as is proved by the first letter which he wrote to President Pretorius. That three years after this mediation he prevented the destruction of the Basuto power is known to everyone.

But in this boundary question the High Commissioner could only be guided by the simplest rules of justice. And in accordance with those rules he decided that the Warden Line must remain the boundary, with only a single modification. During the period of British Sovereignty a small tract of land north of one section of the line had been set aside by the magistrate of Winburg for the accommodation of Gert Taaibosch's Koranas. These people had long since moved beyond the Vaal, and the High Commissioner now gave the abandoned ground to Moshesh. In the letter to the Chief informing him of the award, Sir Philip Wodehouse described the country as he found it in the following terms :—

"I have satisfied myself that the Line known as the Warden Line was so drawn as to do no more, except in one portion, than preserve the farms for which British certificates have been given ; and likewise that up to the time of the signing of the Aliwal Treaty the rights of the owners of the farms had not been questioned, nor their possession disturbed. What is the present state of affairs? From one end of the Line to the other, and in most cases to a considerable distance within the Line, parties of your tribe, without a pretence of right, and without any formal declaration on your part, have squatted on the several farms, have established villages, cultivated large tracts of land,

introduced large quantities of cattle, and have by intimidation driven off the lawful owners. Everywhere are to be seen deserted and roofless farm houses, with valuable orchards fast going to destruction."

Immediately after the delivery of the award the President requested Moshesh to cause measures to be taken for the removal of his people from Free State territory before the end of November. Moshesh replied that he would call a meeting of his sub-chiefs to discuss the matter, and communicate the result.

A pitso, or national gathering of the Basuto, was thereupon held. At these meetings there is liberty of speech for every one, and on this occasion even the common people uttered their sentiments freely. All were in a state of violent excitement, and all, with two exceptions, clamoured for war rather than relinquishment of the coveted territory. The exceptions were Moshesh and his great son Letsie. The latter had none of the abilities of his father, except sufficient cunning to conceal his designs. He had intelligence enough, however, to know that his brothers were his superiors mentally, and that as the tribe was of recent formation they might easily wrest large sections of it from him on the death of their father. Extension of the Lesuto north of the Warden Line meant increase of the power of Molapo and Masupha, which Letsie had no wish to see, and therefore he was probably in earnest when he gave his opinion that the agreement to abide by the High Commissioner's decision should be faithfully observed. Moshesh's reasons were very different. There was nothing further from his

mind than submission to the award in good faith, but he was far too prudent to put himself in the wrong with the British Government. In that figurative language which he was so fond of using, he told the assembly that they were in this matter governed, but that some other cause for war might arise. His people understood him. It was thereupon resolved, though not expressed in words, that to save appearances the Basuto squatters should be withdrawn from the Free State, and that a cause for war would be found such as would not forfeit the sympathy of the British Government.

This is now made so clear by subsequent events, and by the collection and publication of letters written by instruction of the different chiefs and contemporaneous records from the pens of Colonial and Free State officials, that no one at all acquainted with native ways attempts to dispute it. But so wary was the great chief that Sir Philip Wodehouse was completely deceived. Five months after the award, during all which time the Basuto were devising plan after plan to draw the farmers to attack them, the High Commissioner informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that his decision had been faithfully accepted by Moshesh, and that all fear of a collision was at an end. And both the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State complimented the chief upon his loyal and faithful conduct.

What that conduct was in reality must now be shown. The chiefs who attended the pitso had no sooner dispersed than cattle lifting was resumed on a very extensive

scale along the southwestern border, from which that quarter had for nearly three years been tolerably free. From the ground north of the Warden Line the women, children, and horned cattle were removed, but the men and horses were left behind. A strong patrol of farmers was assembling, to be ready on the 1st of December to expel any intruders who might then remain. While matters were in this condition, on the 22nd of November a letter was handed to the President by some Basuto, who stated that it had been sent by Moshesh. The seal of the great chief was not, however, attached to it. Its purport was that if Sir Philip Wodehouse would not give another line than that of Major Warden, Moshesh would not submit. The object evidently was to provoke an attack before the expiration of the month. The President, however, was too cautious to be thus imposed upon. He sent Commandant Wessels to Moshesh to ascertain if he acknowledged the document, when the great chief declared it to be a forgery.

About the same time some farms near Bethlehem were pillaged by a party of Basuto under Lesawana, or Ramanela as he is now called. This Ramanela was a son of Moshesh's brother Makhabane, and was married to Moshesh's daughter of highest rank, who was a full sister of Letsie. The attack upon the farms was entirely unprovoked. The homesteads were damaged, the loose property was destroyed, and the cattle were driven off. As this act did not provoke retaliation, Moshesh affected to throw all the blame upon Ramanela, promised to

punish him for it, and engaged to compensate the farmers to the extent demanded by Commandant De Villiers, namely to restore their stock which had been driven off and to pay seventy head of good cattle as damages.

When the award was communicated to the President, the High Commissioner had counselled moderation in requiring its fulfilment, and had expressed an opinion that it might be found practicable to permit some of the Basuto squatters to remain within the Free State on reasonable conditions. The Free State Government was not unwilling to adopt this recommendation, and overtures from Ramanela himself were being favourably entertained at the very time when he plundered the Bethlehem farmers. After this, naturally, the Free State Authorities resolved that none could remain.

At the beginning of December the President with a strong patrol inspected the line, and found no Basuto within it, except in one place a few who appeared to be panic stricken. He then left a guard of two hundred men on the border, and returned to Bloemfontein. Moshesh's letters at this time, as ever throughout his life, were filled with peaceful expressions. He had ordered his subjects, he said, to withdraw within his boundary, and he believed they had all done so, except a few of Ramanela's clan who would move without further delay. He informed the President of a rumour which he asserted he had heard, that the Free State, the South African Republic, and Moroko had entered into alliance with a view of attacking him, and innocently

asked if there was any truth in it. He stated that his people had abandoned the territory north of the line so hastily that they had been unable to remove the corn which was stored in baskets or their loose goods and effects, and he requested that they might be permitted to return for such property and also to gather the crops then growing in the gardens which they had made. Moperi and Molapo also wrote, making similar requests. The President, in reply, gave the chiefs permission to send people for the corn and loose goods at any time before the end of January 1865, provided the people so sent were unarmed and conducted themselves properly. As for the crops growing in the gardens, he would submit the question of their removal or otherwise to the Volksraad.

Some of Ramanela's people still remained in secluded parts of the territory restored to the Free State by the award. On the 27th of December they attacked the Border Guard as it was patrolling in the Harrismith District, but were driven back with a loss of one man killed and five wounded. The President then called upon Moshesh to remove these subjects of his, and to fulfil the engagements he had made a month before. The great chief repeated his promise, spoke of his love of peace and desire to do what was right, asked that a commission should be sent to confer with him upon the punishment of Ramanela, and when Mr. Job Harvey, landdrost of Smithfield, was sent with this object, would do nothing. While time was thus being spent in fruitless negotiations, Ramanela's people were busy plundering, and

in the second week of January 1865 two burghers were severely wounded by them.

On the 6th of February 1865 the Volksraad met. On the 7th a resolution was unanimously adopted, thanking the High Commissioner in the name of the Government and the people for what he had done, and then the question of the Basuto squatters being permitted to gather the corn growing in the gardens they had made came on for discussion. After a debate of two days duration, resolutions were carried that the squatters could not be permitted to gather the maize and millet crops, which would not reach maturity for some time to come, but that under reasonable safeguards they might remove before the end of February the wheat which was then ripe.

Just before this resolution was passed, Moshesh's son Tsekelo paid an official visit to Bloemfontein. On his return homewards he drove off some horses belonging to farmers, and retired with them to a mountain stronghold between Winburg and Mekuatling, where he took up his residence. When shortly afterwards he was brought to account there by Moperi, his own father-in-law, not less than forty horses belonging to Free State burghers were found in his possession. A few of these were restored by Moperi, but Moshesh took no steps to cause the others to be returned, or to punish his son.

On the 23rd of February the President wrote to Moshesh, making a formal demand of redress for Ramanela's misdeeds; but Mr. Harvey, who was then endeavouring to obtain a friendly settlement, was instructed not to deliver the

document until everything else should fail. It was thus kept back till the time allowed for redress was unreasonably short, on which account the President cancelled it, and renewed the demand on the 28th of March. In this letter Moshesh was called upon to remove Ramanela's people from the Free State, to pay the fine of seventy head of cattle, to make full compensation for the wounding of the two burghers, and to punish the guilty parties, before the 15th of April ; to restore the 47 horses and 37 cattle stolen in November by Ramanela, and to punish those followers of Ramanela who had attacked the Border Guard, before the 1st of May ; failing which the Government of the Free State would act towards Ramanela according to the eleventh article of the treaty of Aliwal North.

The only notice which Moshesh took of these demands was to forward on the 26th of April fifty-eight of the least valuable cattle in his country, nine horses, and £4 in money, which the President immediately sent back to him. And while the cattle were on the return road, Ramanela made a descent upon a farm belonging to a widow named Uys, and drove off thirty-five horses.

A considerable burgher force was therefore called out. A guard was stationed at Koesberg to watch Poshuli, whose followers were plundering the farmers along the Lower Caledon, and a commando took the field to punish Ramanela. On the 9th of May the President left Bloemfontein and put himself at the head of the burghers. Ramanela then sent his cattle into Natal for safety, and made a show of resistance

On the 25th of May the commando attacked him, when after a little skirmishing he fled over the boundary with a loss of a few men killed and wounded. This was exactly what was anticipated and provided for by the Basuto chiefs. The same stratagem that had lured the column of Colonel Napier at Berea to destruction had been employed to tempt the Free State forces onward. Thousands of cattle were in sight, apparently unguarded and ready to be made an easy booty by the exasperated burghers. But the President was too cautious to fall into the trap. On the line the commando halted, and Ramanela's fugitive clan was pursued no further.

While the forces were assembling to conduct this operation, the followers of Moperi were doing what they could to provoke an attack. Some of them took temporary possession of a farm belonging to one Van Rooyen, and made prisoners of the owner and of a man named Pelzer, the latter of whom they assaulted and beat. Another party seized on Free State ground a farmer named Michael Muller, carried him away to Moperi's village, and detained him there for four days. These outrages brought matters to a climax.

On the 2nd of June the President demanded from Moshesh the delivery to the landdrost of Winburg before sunset on the 8th of the individuals who had thus assaulted and imprisoned Free State burghers on their own ground, together with a fine of fifty head of cattle, and announced that if the demand was not complied with he would consider it a declaration of war

and act accordingly. To this no reply was made, and on the 9th of June 1865 the State President, having done all that was possible consistently with honour to preserve peace, issued from Leeuwkop a proclamation calling the burghers to arms for the vindication of their rights against the Basuto.

CHAPTER II.

Since the war of 1858 the relative military strength of the Free State and the Lesuto had altered considerably, though to observers at a distance the disparity between them seemed still enormous. The extent of the Republic was much greater than in 1858, and in the interval immigration had largely increased its population. No exact census had yet been taken, but the number of Europeans of both sexes and of all ages was computed at thirty-five thousand souls. The Basuto had also increased in number, but not in the same proportion, as there had been no large influx of people from other tribes into their country. The subjects of Moshesh at this time were about one hundred and seventy-five thousand all told, or as five to one of their opponents.

In another repect also the disparity of 1858 was lessened. There were still factions in the Free State opposing each other in everything political, but by common consent in this supreme moment of danger their quarrels were suspended, and with one heart they responded to the President's call to arms. It was not his party, but his country, that each man rose to aid.

Moshesh was becoming feeble by age, and, though he still retained all the wiliness of his younger days, he was no longer capable of making much exertion either in body or in mind. As his weakness increased, the religion of his youth was constantly recovering more and more hold upon him, and at this time he was completely under the influence of Bantu seers. His actions were now guided to a large extent by the dreams and ravings of persons who were half-maniacs, and by the castings of divining bones and charms. A great portion of the authority which he had once wielded had under these circumstances passed into the hands of his sons, and these men, whose talents were not beyond those of ordinary barbarians, were intensely jealous of each other. Letsie, the eldest son by the principal wife, would gladly have seen Molapo, who was next to him in rank, destroyed or driven from the country. Molapo was bent upon making himself independent of Letsie. Masupha, who came next and who was the ablest of the three, was endeavouring to draw adherents from both his brothers. Even this war, which was popular with all because it promised plunder to all, could not cement for a day the rival Basuto factions.

In the matter of military supplies the combatants were on a par, providing the war should not be a long one. The Basuto had accumulated a good stock of rifles and gunpowder, which contraband traders had brought into their country, and Moshesh had laid by a large quantity of ammunition received by him as toll from natives

of the north who passed through the Lesuto on their return from the Colony to their homes. The leading chiefs had even obtained several cannon and some small field guns. On the other hand these supplies, though considerable, were not inexhaustible, and the Free State had an open market in Natal and the Cape Colony.

But apart from all comparisons as to numbers, political condition, and material of war, the advantages which the physical features of their country gave to the Basuto were so great that the Free State cause to ordinary observers seemed utterly hopeless. Yet thoughtful men might have remarked that from the earliest period of their history it was under such circumstances, when driven to extremities and with enormous odds against them, that the stubborn Batavian race has over and over again proved its right to rank with the best and the bravest of the nations of Europe.

A proclamation, intended as a reply to the President's declaration of war, was published in the name of Moshesh. It was the production of a European brain, but one saturated with Basuto subtilty. By a careful suppression of some facts and distortion of others the Basuto cause was put forth as a just one. The document was intended for readers in England, who knew nothing whatever of the cause of the war, and it was therefore so worded as to claim their sympathy. The respect of Moshesh for the Queen was dwelt upon, and English subjects in the Free State were informed that if they would remain quietly on their farms they and their property would not be molested. It would

have been too extravagant to have hazarded a clear statement that the Free State wished to deprive Moshesh of an acre of his ground, yet this was insinuated in the words with which the document ended, "all persons know that my great sin is that I possess a good and fertile country." Not a single Englishman in the Free State was deceived by this manifesto.

At a Council of War held by the officers of the burgher forces which were rapidly assembling, it was resolved to attack Moperi first, and on the 13th of June the Free State army encamped within two miles of that chief's town, Mabolela, the mission station of the Rev. Mr. Keck. The men of each district were mustered under their own Commandant, and at the head of the whole force was Johannes Izaak Jacobus Fick, who had been elected to the supreme military command with the title of General.

On the morning of the 14th eight hundred and fifty men left the camp to attack Moperi. As the foremost file entered a ravine between mountains a fire was opened upon it from behind rocks and stone walls, but at too great a distance to do any damage. Immediately afterwards the burghers became aware that an army of great numerical strength, under the chiefs Molapo, Masupha, Lerothodi, Moperi, Molitsane, and one or two others, was there to protect the town. Large bodies of horsemen, yelling defiance, came charging towards them, but halted beyond rifle reach. The hillsides were alive with Basuto foot. It was considered impracticable to advance, and after endeavouring for some hours to draw their opponents into close combat,

at nightfall the burghers retired in good order to their camp. They had lost but one man, and they had killed several of the enemy; but it could not be concealed that this, the first encounter of the war, ended in favour of the Basuto.

Next morning a Council of War was held. Nearly all the officers were of opinion that it would be an act of rashness to attempt to take the town from the strong force there to defend it. There was one of the Commandants, however, of a different opinion. Louw Wepener, a man held in esteem by all who knew him, for his upright conduct, his enterprising character, and his generous disposition, had moved from the Colonial Division of Aliwal North into the Free State less than two years before the war, and at its outbreak was elected Commandant by the burghers of his district, Bethulie. The opinion which he expressed was that the enemy would be inspired with confidence, and the Europeans on the other hand be disheartened, if the army should retreat. It was necessary to take Moperi's town and to place the camp upon its site, in order to create enthusiasm among the burghers. To do this was worth a heavy sacrifice. He offered to call for a hundred volunteers from the other divisions, and with these and his own men to make an attempt to take the place by storm. But, on the plea that there was very little ammunition in the camp, the gallant Commandant's proposal was negatived, and it was decided to fall back.

Some time before the outbreak of hostilities, —at least as early as the 29th of May, as is indi-

cated in a letter of that date from Poshuli to Mr. Austen,—the Basuto had arranged for an invasion of the Free State. The ordinary preparation of the warriors by the priests had been made. They had sent their women, children, and cattle from the exposed parts of the country into the Maluti mountains, and were only waiting to see in what direction the Free State forces would move.

Before daylight on the morning of the 20th of June, some two thousand warriors under Poshuli and Morosi crossed the Caledon near its junction with Wilgeboom Spruit, and commenced to ravage the district before them. From the farm adjoining the commonage of Smithfield they laid waste a broad belt of country for a distance of thirty miles towards Bloemfontein. The inhabitants, warned just in time to save their lives, fled without being able to remove anything. The invaders burned the houses, broke whatever implements they could not set fire to, and drove off more than one hundred thousand sheep, besides great droves of horned cattle and horses. In an hour the richest men in the district of Caledon River were reduced to destitution.

In this raid thirteen white men lost their lives. A patrol consisting of fifteen burghers was surrounded, when twelve of them were killed. The other three succeeded in cutting their way out. A young colonist named Hugo Stegmann was surprised and murdered in another part of the district.

But the events of the day showed that in a fair field the burghers were able to hold their own against ten times their number of Basuto.

A patrol consisting of thirty-five men was surrounded on an open plain, where for hours the raiders hovered round them without daring to come to close quarters, and at nightfall the little band retired with only one man slightly wounded. The invading force was divided into three or four parties, the foremost of which was turned back by a body of eighty farmers. These burghers were joined during the night by a few others, and on the 21st the Basuto, who were then retreating with their booty, were followed up and were so nearly overtaken that they abandoned between three and four thousand sheep on the left bank of the Caledon.

This raid was followed by similar incursions into the districts of Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Harrismith. The villages were not attacked, but the farms were laid waste, until there was a belt of country covered with ruins and stamped with desolation from the Lesuto border to a line about fifteen miles beyond the village of Winburg.

To these raids several massacres of a peculiarly barbarous nature succeeded. Most of the half-breeds who had formerly lived at Platberg, and who had acknowledged Carolus Baatje as their head, had been residing for some years by permission of the Free State Government at Rietspruit, about twenty-five or thirty miles from Bloemfontein. On the morning of the 27th of June a large party of Basuto carrying a white flag appeared at the village, and saluted the half-breeds with

friendly greetings. Mosheeh's son Masupha, who was in command, said that they had nothing to fear, for he was at war with no one but Boers. An ox was killed for the entertainment of the visitors, and the Basuto and half-breeds sat down together to partake of food, all the time conversing as friends. When the meal was over, Masupha gave a signal, on which his followers fell without warning upon the wretched half-breeds and murdered fifty-four men and boys, not sparing even male infants at the breast. Of the residents of the village only eight men escaped. Of these, seven were at the time away on a hunting expedition, and one, who was a short distance off when the massacre took place, managed to hide himself in an anteater's den. The murderers compelled the grown-up girls to get into a waggon, which they took away with them, together with such other property of their victims as they fancied, leaving sixty seven women and little girls behind.

On the same day that the massacre of the half-breeds took place, an equally atrocious deed was performed in another quarter. A party of Boers with five transport waggons laden with goods belonging to Messrs. Wm. Munro & Co., of Durban, Natal, and destined for Pretoria in the South African Republic, where the firm of Munro had a branch establishment, had halted to rest their cattle on the Drakensberg, a few yards on the Free State side of the Natal boundary. The party consisted of Pieter Pretorius, who was a near relative of the President of the South African Republic, his sons Jan, Albertus,

and Jacobus, Andries Smit, Jan Pretorius's wife and two children, six native men servants, a little native servant boy, and an Indian coolie. The oxen were being inspanned when a large body of armed Basuto under Ramanela made their appearance. The Boers caught up their guns, but the Basuto called to them to come and talk as friends. The Boers then went towards them and explained that they were not citizens of the Free State nor combatants, and that the goods on their waggons belonged to Englishmen. The explanation appeared to be satisfactory, and in the supposition that they were safe the Boers laid down their guns, when instantly the Basuto fell upon them and murdered the five white men, the coolie, and three of the native servants. The other native servants, being Batlapin, were spared.

The murderers then left a guard with the waggons, and went down into Natal. In the afternoon they returned with large droves of cattle, and went on homewards, taking the waggons with them. On the way the waggon in which the widow and children were confined broke down, and was abandoned after the Basuto had removed the goods and loaded their pack oxen with whatever they thought most valuable. During the night the three Batlapin men made their escape, and conveyed intelligence of the massacre to Harrismith, when a party was immediately sent out to search for the other survivors. In the mean time the widow with her two children and the little native boy, having left the waggon as soon as the Basuto were out of sight, had lost her way, and it was not until the morning of the

29th that she reached the village, after wandering about for thirty-six hours.

On the following day a large party of Basuto carrying a white flag approached the homestead of a wealthy farmer named Jan Botes. Including two native servants, there were only seven individuals capable of bearing arms at the place. Deceived by the white flag, old Mr. Botes permitted the Basuto to come close up and dismount, when they fired a volley which wounded a German schoolmaster named Schwim and killed one of the servants. Old Mr. Botes they stabbed to death with an assagai. The remaining four had by this time seized their guns, and Botes' eldest son shot a Mosuto, but was immediately afterwards killed himself. The other three apparently frightened the assassins, for they pretended to ride away. As soon as they were out of sight, the survivors mounted their best horses and rode towards the nearest lager. The Basuto followed, and easily overtook Schwim and the women. These they compelled to return. The women lifted Schwim from his horse, and his wife sat down by him. The Basuto taunted them for a while, then they made a target of the wretched man, and after firing several shots at him finally stabbed him with assagais. After this they destroyed everything on the place. When they left, the women set out again for the nearest lager, and after walking all night reached it in the morning.

On the 27th of June, at the very time that Ramanela's marauding band was lifting cattle in the Colony of Natal, Sir Philip Wodehouse issued in Cape Town a proclamation of neutrality,

in which all British subjects, European and native, were warned against assisting either belligerent. It was, however, beyond his power to prevent aid from reaching both the Free State and the Lesuto.

When intelligence of the sufferings of their kindred reached the Colony, many a stalwart farmer shouldered his rifle and rode off to the Free State camps. The Batlokua refugees in the Herschel District could not be restrained. Lehana, son of Sikonyela, came up from Griqualand East with a band of followers, was joined by the Herschel party, and crossed the Orange to help the burghers against his hereditary foe. Many of the Fingos of Herschel, calling to mind ancient feuds and probably thinking of plunder, made their way to the nearest lager and tendered their services. Adam Kok, who was supposed to be under Colonial influence though he was not under Colonial jurisdiction, joyfully seized the opportunity of retaliating upon the Basuto for the robberies of Poshuli and Nehemiah, and brought a band of Griquas to fight certainly for their own hand, but on the Free State side. These auxiliaries all combined amounted at one time during the war to as many as eight hundred men. On the other hand Moshesh received equal assistance from his friends. The bravest warriors that fought for him were the strangers from below the mountains who hastened to the Lesuto with a view of sharing the spoil. Among these was a clan of the Tembus under a chief named Tyali, the same people to whom

a portion of Emigrant Tembuland was assigned a little later by Sir Philip Wodehouse.

Very different from a declaration of neutrality was a proclamation issued on the 26th of June by Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, then President of the South African Republic. In the warmest language of sympathy he invited all who could to go to the assistance of the Free State. "Rise brothers, rise fellow citizens, give help where danger threatens. Delay not, or you may be for ever too late. God will bless you for doing good to your brethren. Forward! As soon as possible I will myself follow you." But the Northern Republic was itself menaced at that very time by powerful enemies, and though most men agreed with the President that if Moshesh could be compelled to observe his engagements the neighbouring tribes would not attempt to disturb the peace, it was not possible just then for much assistance to be sent from that quarter.

The devastation of the border country, though it entailed ruinous losses upon individuals, was in a military sense advantageous to the Free State. A larger number of burghers could now be spared for the invasion of the Lesuto, as only small patrols were needed beyond the blackened border belt. The Basuto were almost sure not to venture so far from their mountains, and if they should, a few burghers on a plain would be able to drive them back. On the 28th of June this was again proved, when two hundred and fifty men of one of the northern commandos encountered at least ten times their number of Moshesh's

followers, and after a short engagement were completely victorious.

It was therefore resolved in a General Council of War that an attempt should be made to get possession of Thaba Bosigo, with which object the Free State forces were to advance upon the famous stronghold in two divisions from different directions.

The burghers of the southern districts of the State with Jan Letele's people and the Fingos, under Commandant Louw Wepener, marched by way of the Koesbergen. On the 13th of July they formed a camp within an easy march of Vechtkop, the strongly fortified mountain which had been for many years the residence of the robber chief Poshuli, but which was garrisoned at this time by the clan of Lebenya. Wepener resolved to make himself master of this stronghold, which the Basuto believed to be impregnable. During the night he called for volunteers to follow him up the steep path that led to the summit, and his call was gallantly responded to.

In the grey dawn of the morning of the 14th, three hundred and forty burghers and two hundred Fingos, with the brave Commandant at their head, stormed up the mountain, and at half past five o'clock, before the light was clear, they were in possession of it. The Basuto were entrenched behind stone walls built on ledges along the faces of precipices, positions so strong that with courageous defenders they could not have been taken. But Lebenya's followers, though they consumed a large quantity of ammunition, shut their eyes when they fired,

so that the loss on the Free State side was only one man killed and four wounded. The arrant cowards did something even more disgraceful than firing at an enemy with their eyes closed. They placed their women in front of them wherever they were exposed, with the result that of the sixty dead bodies found in the sconces after the fighting was over, more than half were those of females. The Commandant in his report expressed great regret at this circumstance, but no one can justly blame him for it.

The spoil found on Vechtkop consisted of 150 horses, 542 head of horned cattle, and 4,500 sheep. The Free State forces were so inconsiderable that it was not possible to leave a garrison even on such an important stronghold as this. All that could be done therefore was to disarm the natives, destroy the huts, and move on.

From Vechtkop Wepener marched almost due north, destroying Poshuli's villages as he advanced. Morosi in a great fright, fearing that the Commandant might pay him a visit, sent all his women and stock away into the mountains along the head waters of the Orange. On the last day of July Wepener's division reached Matsieng* and engaged Letsie's force, which gave way after a very short engagement.

* Commonly called "Letsie's new town" in the documents of the time. It is about six miles east of Morija. Letsie took up his residence there after the burning of his huts at Morija in the war of 1858.

A camp was then formed in Letsie's town, and from it Wepener issued a proclamation in which he declared the country he had overrun annexed to the Free State, the boundary of the Lesuto to be in future a straight line from Bamboesplaats at the east of Pampoenspruit to Thaba Telle, a peak of the Maluti 9,000 feet in height about three miles east of Matsieng, and from that point a straight line north by compass to the Caledon. Two days later he sent such cattle taken from Letsie as he did not need to the Landdrost of Smithfield. The herd consisted of 1,142 horses, 3,500 horned cattle, and 11,585 sheep.

During this time the other and larger division of the Free State forces was equally successful in its operations. General Fick had with him Commandants Wessels, De Villiers, Bester, Joubert, Roos, Senekal, Malan, and Fourie, with their burghers. On the 17th of July he moved against Moperi's town, but found it abandoned. On the 20th he crossed the Caledon, and proclaimed the whole country north and west of that river annexed to the Free State. On the 24th he crossed the Putiatsana, his passage being unsuccessfully disputed by the enemy.

On the 25th of July General Fick directed an assault upon the Berea mountain. The path up it was steep, but not so dangerous as that of Vechtkop. It was, however, defended by fully five thousand Basuto warriors, under Masupha, the ablest of Moshesh's sons. These were posted on crags and behind great boulders. They were well armed, many of them with

pistols as well as rifles, and they had two cannon at the top of the pathway. The burghers crept up from boulder to boulder, in little parties of five or six together, shooting down every Mosuto who dared to expose himself. Very few, however, ventured even to look at the storming party. The poltroons fired into the air, without doing the slightest damage, and discharged their cannon when no one was in front of them, as if noise alone would frighten back their opponents. Near the top it was necessary for the storming party to close in and make a rush. First upon the mountain were three young men whose names, Chapman, Owen, and Bertram, denote the race from which they sprang. These gallant fellows actually dashed forward at a crowd of Basuto not half pistol shot from them. Close behind the remainder of the storming party came clambering up, when the assassins of the halfbreeds, panic stricken, abandoned their cannon and turned and fled.

In no former war, in no war that has taken place since, have the Basuto behaved so cowardly. Well might it be believed in the Free State camp that God had stricken their treacherous foe with confusion, for never in the world's history was a victory won against greater odds. The only casualty was one burgher wounded, while the corpses of a hundred Basuto were lying around. Masupha's town was upon the Berea. General Fick took possession of it, and formed his camp upon its site.

The day after the Berea was stormed five hundred Barolong under Tsepinare, Moroko's son,

joined the Free State forces. This was a busy day with the burghers. At early dawn eleven hundred men commenced making a waggon road up the mountain. They were looking down on the mission station and on a great Basuto army garrisoning Thaba Bosigo. It was General Fick's intention to fortify a camp within a mile of Moshesh's residence, and then to send a strong force to meet Commandant Wepener. In the afternoon Commandant De Villiers' division with the cannon moved from the camp at Masupha's town to the south-western point of the Berea over against Thaba Bosigo, to try the range when the Commandant observed with satisfaction that Moshesh's house was struck with balls from both the Armstrong and Whitworth guns.

On the 3rd of August Wepener marched from Matsieng and joined General Fick before Thaba Bosigo, where the entire force of the Free State, consisting of 2,100 burghers, 500 Barolong, and 400 Fingos, Batlokua, and Bamonageng, was now concentrated. Some 20,000 Basuto warriors were gathered there also, but they could not be drawn to an engagement.

On the 27th of July a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon the flat top of Thaba Bosigo from a battery placed on a point of the Berea which commanded it. This fire was continued day after day, though it was soon ascertained that hardly any destruction of life was occasioned by it. It was replied to by an occasional ball from Moshesh's cannon, which also did little or no damage.

On the 8th of August an attempt was made

to take Thaba Bosigo by storm. A strong party clambered up the pathway at the southern extremity, but on approaching the top found that stone walls had been built across the passage. The Basuto were in great force above, and had collected a number of boulders which they now rolled down on the storming party, compelling them to retire with ten men wounded.

By this time the disorder which it is almost impossible to suppress in a body of men without discipline, huddled together without comfort and without constant occupation, was beginning to show itself in the Free State camp. The burghers and their Commandants were socially on a perfect equality, and every man claimed the right of expressing his opinion upon any subject at any time. A dozen different plans of carrying on the war were discussed, and each plan had violent advocates. Jealousies, divisions, strifes were daily increasing.

It was while confusion such as this was rampant that on the 15th of August another attempt was made to take Thaba Bosigo by assault, an attempt made memorable by the death of one of South Africa's bravest sons, Commandant Louw Wepener. At sunrise six hundred burghers were left to guard the camp, and the rest of the force was moved out with the intention of storming the mountain. Such a want of preparation and above all of coöperation was manifest, however, that General Fick gave up the idea for that day, and issued instructions for a march round the mountain. Commandant Wepener, who thought that a failure to make the attempt

would disgrace the Free State forces, then proposed to lead a storming party of volunteers. Commandant Wessels offered to accompany Wepener, and General Fick gladly consented.

The arrangements were speedily made. A heavy artillery fire was opened upon the face and crown of the mountain above the mission station, under cover of which the storming party crept upwards from rock to rock until the entrance to the narrow and steep fissure which leads to the summit was gained. Just before reaching this, Wepener observed that there were not more than a hundred and twenty men with them, many who had volunteered having turned back fainthearted. He sent down to beg the General to try to get reinforcements, but to the disgrace of the burghers below only a few Fingos offered. Across the entrance to the fissure a strong stone wall about four feet high was found, and it was seen that every few yards between it and the top a similar wall had been built, behind which parties of Basuto were lying completely sheltered from the fire of the artillery. Still the storming party pressed on. At the first wall Wepener fell, shot through the heart, and several of the best men in the commando fell beside him. Commandant Wessels continued to advance, and actually got possession of two or three of the barricades when he was severely wounded and was obliged to retire. The storming party was then seized with a panic, and rushed in wild confusion down the mountain, followed at a considerable distance by a band of Masupha's warriors hooting and yelling.

Besides Wepener there were nine men killed in this second futile attempt to take Thaba Bosigo, and thirty-four others were wounded.

From this repulse until the 23rd no event of any importance took place. The commando lay dispirited in camp, and was rapidly diminishing in size by desertion. The burghers had been more than two months away from their homes, and could not be kept together now that all hope of a speedy termination of the war had to be abandoned. Moshesh, who was well informed of what was going on, believed that events were about to take the same course as in 1858, and that if he could but gain a few days grace any danger of another attempt to storm his stronghold would be removed. On the 23rd he wrote to the President, proposing to invite the High Commissioner to arrange terms of peace. When this letter was sent down to the camp to be forwarded to Bloemfontein, the chief asked for an armistice. General Fick informed the messenger that if Moshesh would supply fifteen hundred head of slaughter oxen as provision for his army, he would suspend hostilities for six days. On the 24th Moshesh asked that the armistice should be extended beyond six days, but he sent no cattle to the camp. A Council of War was therefore held, at which it was decided to resume hostile operations at once, by detaching a force to scour the Maluti in search of cattle, and closely blockading Thaba Bosigo with the remainder.

While these new movements were in prepara-

tion, a herd of from sixteen to twenty-five thousand oxen arrived at the mountain. Moshesh had been so certain that the burghers were about to leave that he had given instructions to have these cattle brought down to their winter pasturage, and by some mismanagement his orders had been carried out too soon. The whole herd was now driven by the back pathway to the top of Thaba Bosigo, to prevent its falling into the hands of the burghers. This was hardly effected when the investment of the mountain was completed, and then the cattle, without grass or water in a space so confined, soon became frantic. They rushed wildly about, trampling down such huts as the bombardment had spared, and pressing whole droves together over the precipices, where they were dashed to pieces. For many days the moanings of the great herd were pitiful to hear in the camps below. At last these sounds died away, and there lay on Thaba Bosigo over four thousand carcases, while at least three times that number were decaying on the ledges and crags. A horrible stench filled the atmosphere. Clouds of vultures settled on the carrion, but weeks passed away before it disappeared.

On the 28th of August a messenger from Bloemfontein brought to General Fick the President's reply to Moshesh's letter. Adjutant General Lange was at once sent with it to the foot of the mountain, where he planted a white flag. Nehemiah came down, and the President's letter was handed to him, with an intimation that Mr. Lange would wait for a reply from his

father Moshesh. In a couple of hours Nehemiah returned with Tsekelo. They stated that George was away (which was an untruth), and that in his absence Moshesh could not make out the conditions properly. They requested Mr. Lange to go up and see their father, but he declined to do so. Nehemiah then asked for a truce of three days in order that Moshesh might have time for consideration, to which Mr. Lange agreed.

In his reply, which was dated the 25th of August, President Brand stated that he was desirous of peace, not a sham settlement, but a real peace. He proposed the following terms :—

Moshesh to surrender Thaba Bosigo with all the arms and ammunition there to the Free State forces. The mountain to be in future occupied by a Free State magistrate, under whose supervision the Basuto chief should govern his people.

Moshesh to pay within four days ten thousand head of horned cattle and five thousand horses as war expenses, and thirty thousand head of horned cattle and sixty thousand sheep as compensation for robberies committed and damages caused by his people.

The land outside the lines proclaimed by Fick and Wepener to be annexed to the Free State.

If these terms were accepted, Moshesh was within three hours after receipt of the letter to send two of his principal sons to remain as hostages in the Free State camp.

Such conditions at first sight seem extravagant. Moshesh was at that moment the head of an army of twenty thousand men, well supplied with munitions of war, and in possession of an impregnable fortress. The Free State army, that never exceeded three thousand combatants, was rapidly melting away. But the President felt that this combat was one of life or death, and that if civilization was not to recede the Basuto power must be broken. The burghers were going home, it was true, but every man promised to return after a short visit to his family. The religious fervour of the people was high. Men everywhere not only said, but really believed, that God would certainly bless their righteous cause. Then there was some hope of aid. When the news of the massacre of the Transvaal burghers by Rampanela reached Pretoria, the President of the South African Republic demanded from Moshesh the delivery of the murderers with payment of the value of the property seized by them, and when no notice was taken of his demand, he had declared war. It was not likely that the Northern Republic, menaced as it was by great native tribes whose sympathies were with the Basuto, would be able to give much assistance, but it might spare a few men. Finally, the President stated subsequently that he did not expect the terms to be accepted in their entirety. He proposed them, but left it open for Moshesh to offer modifications. This is a course followed between civilized nations, but it is beyond question that a much better plan in dealing with barbarians is to say at once, this I will accept and nothing less.

On the day following the receipt of the President's letter, Moshesh wrote to the High Commissioner that he could not comply with the conditions, which were immoderate, and requested His Excellency to come and establish peace, offering at the same time to give himself and his country up to Her Majesty's Government under conditions to be afterwards agreed upon. This letter was sent to Aliwal North by George Moshesh, who left with instructions to wait there until a reply should arrive.

It was not until the 17th of September that Moshesh replied to the President. All this time a constant cannonading upon Thaba Bosigo had been kept up, but without causing any damage. Mr. William Reed, an Englishman who was sent to Moshesh with a letter from the High Commissioner, and who spent five days on the mountain, described the condition of affairs there to Mr. Burnet for His Excellency's information. There were from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred people with Moshesh, mostly men, who were disposed in pickets along the edge of the mountain. There was no scarcity of food apparent About three hundred head of cattle were still alive, together with ten horses and a hundred and fifty sheep and goats. In addition to meate there was plenty of meal and coffee. The only article of which the Basuto were short was lead, consequently there was not much firing, only about a hundred shots a day. There were five white renegades with Moshesh, one of whom was a gunsmith.

The reply of Moshesh, which was written and signed by Tsekelo, was to the effect that the

conditions proposed by Mr. Brand were too severe for him to comply with, and he asked that a communication might be opened between them through the medium of the Adjutant-General. Mr. Reed had informed him that the President had just arrived in the camp.

To this Mr. Brand answered that he considered the conditions necessary to secure a real and permanent peace, but that he was willing to consider any modifications which Moshesh might wish to suggest. The Chief could deliver a written statement of such modifications to the Adjutant-General. At the same time the President complained of Moshesh making use of his son Tsekelo as his secretary. This young chief's character was such that a European would instinctively shrink from having any dealings with him, though the Basuto revered him on account of his birth. He had been false to everyone who had at any time trusted him, he was a convicted horsestealer, and he was notorious for his amours with his own brothers' wives.

On the following day, the 18th, Moshesh asked for an armistice, in order that he might have a personal interview with Mr. Lange. This was conceded, and the interview took place, but without any good result. Moshesh was indisposed to make any concessions whatever. He sent a statement in writing to the President that his desire was to come to peace on equal terms; that he had fully considered the proposed conditions, and found he could not comply with any of them; and that he would agree to nothing but the boundary defined by His

Excellency the Governor. Mr. Brand could therefore only declare the armistice at an end, and open fire with his great guns again.

By the 25th of September the Free State forces had become so weak from desertion that the Council of War resolved to raise the siege of Thaba Bosigo. The men who remained were formed into a couple of flying columns, one of which, under Commandant Pieter Wessels, was to scour the country along the Orange, while the other, under General Fick, proceeded to the north to join a small force then on its way from the Transvaal, and afterwards to attack Molapo.

The Transvaal burghers were accompanied by President Pretorius, but were under the military direction of Commandant General Paul Kruger. On the 28th of September they encamped at Naauwpoort, and there at three o'clock the next morning they were attacked by Molapo's followers aided by a party of warriors from beyond the mountains. The burghers were taken completely by surprise, for the first intimation that an enemy was in the neighbourhood was the rush of the Basuto into their camp. But to spring to their feet and grasp their weapons was the work of only a few seconds. The fight was short, for the assailants speedily retreated, receiving a volley of slugs as they fled. Six burghers were killed, and in the morning the dead bodies of fifty-four Basuto were found.

On the 3rd of October Commandant Kruger encamped at Sikonyela's Hoed, and three days later he effected a junction with General Fick's

force in sight of Molapo's town of Leribe.* The united commandos consisted of only twelve hundred men. The Basuto did not wait to be attacked, but a little before sunset they set their kraals on fire, and fled. That evening General Fick proclaimed the district between the Caledon and the Putiatsana Free State territory.

The combined forces then scoured the country without any opposition and without any result, until the 23rd, when they encountered the enemy in great force at Cathcart's Drift on the Caledon. The seers had predicted that at this place their countrymen would be triumphant, the warriors had partaken of raw flesh torn from the bodies of still living bulls to give them courage, and all the ceremonies which their religion imposed had been carefully observed. The Basuto were thus confident of victory, and awaited the shock of battle more manfully than on any previous occasion during the war. But after a short and sharp engagement they broke and fled, leaving 770 horses, 7,944 head of horned cattle, and 4,150 sheep, which were grazing in the neighbourhood, in the hands of the conquerors.

A few days after this action the Transvaal burghers returned home, and the Free State was again left entirely to its own resources to carry on the war.

On the 1st of November Commandant Pieter Wessels with a small party of burghers, a few

* After a very short residence at Cana, Molapo removed from that place and established himself at Leribe. In 1858 the Rev. Mr. Coillard founded a mission station there.

Fingos from Herschel, Jan Letele's Bamonageng, and Lehana's Batlokua, attacked Morosi's clan on the north bank of the Orange River. On this and the following day one hundred and five Baphuti were killed, and 53 horses, 934 head of horned cattle, and 2,032 sheep were captured. Morosi in this extremity sent a deputation to Mr. John Austen, Superintendent of the Wittebergen Native Reserve and the nearest Colonial officer, to ask to be taken under British protection. He did this without any reference to Moshesh. Mr. Austen at once forwarded the application to Mr. Burnet, Civil Commissioner of Aliwal North, for transmission to the High Commissioner. On the 5th of November Morosi sent to Mr. Austen to say that if he was attacked again he would take refuge with his whole following in the Reserve.

As it would not be possible to get a reply from Cape Town within a fortnight, Mr. Austen then wrote to Commandant Wessels offering his services as a mediator, and an arrangement was made by which Morosi on payment of five hundred head of cattle obtained an armistice until the President could be communicated with. Mr. Brand offered to conclude a final peace with him on his paying 300 horses, 3,000 head of horned cattle, and 15,000 sheep, within fifteen days, and giving two of his sons or sub-chiefs as hostages for his good conduct. These terms, which must be viewed as remarkably lenient considering the part which the Baphuti took in the raid into the Caledon River district, were rejected by Morosi. A day or two later he learned that the High Commissioner

declined to entertain his application. Some of his followers then fled to the Reserve, but the Chief himself with the greater number of his people retired to the rugged country near the sources of the Orange, and took no further part in the war.

The failure of the attempt to take Thaba Bosigo necessitated the raising of additional forces by the Free State. In a civilized community it is not possible under any circumstances for more than about one fifteenth of the whole number of inhabitants to be employed at any one time in war beyond their own borders. Very few nations can put that proportion into the field, for it implies an almost total cessation of all ordinary industries. The Republic could not on this basis send more than 2,350 burghers into the Lesuto, and that number was insufficient, even if it could be kept up. In point of fact 2,100 was the highest number ever attained during the war, and the army could not be kept longer than two months at that strength. The President therefore, as the only means of increasing his force, commissioned Messrs. Webster and Tainton, two competent and popular officers, to raise bodies of European and native volunteers. The Free State had no funds, and therefore the only pay that could be offered to the volunteers was such cattle as they could capture.

The High Commissioner, however, regarded this method of raising an army with no favourable eye. The greatest difficulty that the Colonial Government had to contend with was the tendency of the native tribes to appropriate that

which did not belong to them, and here was a direct invitation to enter upon a career of fighting for booty. He had issued a proclamation of neutrality, which the Imperial Authorities had entirely approved of, and as it was evident that any volunteers must be British subjects, here was an invitation to restless spirits in the Colony to set the Government at defiance. On the 7th of November he addressed a letter of remonstrance to the President, and on the 28th of the same month he wrote in still stronger terms, threatening that if the practice was continued he would prohibit the supply of arms and ammunition to the Free State. The Colonial officers on the frontier were directed to use the utmost vigilance to prevent infractions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and a reward of £50 was offered for the conviction of any one found recruiting in the Colony.

From this time until the end of the year very little occurred that is worthy of notice. On the 1st of December General Fick after a slight action took possession of Leribe for the second time, when Molapo fled to Thaba Patsoa, a strong mountain about fifteen miles to the eastward, in the Maluti range. On the 6th an engagement between the burghers, 450 in number, and some 3,000 Basuto, took place at Platberg, when General Fick lost three men and the Basuto lost fifty. Early in the month the chief Lebenya with his followers crossed over into the Wittebergen Native Reserve, and claimed British protection. The Basuto avoided meeting their opponents in force, but whenever an opportunity occurred of cutting off small

parties they took advantage of it. They did not spare those of their own colour who were in service with the burghers. Thus, on one occasion about this time three Europeans and two blacks were surprised when gathering fuel, and were all murdered. On another occasion two white men, father and son, and two blacks, who ventured with waggons too near the Lesuto, were captured and were all put to death. In most instances the dead bodies were mutilated in a shocking manner. The Free State forces, on their part, were doing what they could to weaken their enemy by destroying the crops and picking up a few cattle here and there.

At this stage it will be well to relate the consequences of Ramanela's raid into Natal on the 27th of June, as that event can hardly be separated from the war.

After the murder of Pieter Pretorius's party, the followers of Ramanela descended the Drakensberg and entered a part of Natal where cattle kept on the highlands of the Harrismith district during the hot season were usually sent to graze in the winter months. A good many farmers were in fact residents of Natal at one season of the year, and of the Free State at another. The raiders seized 248 horses, 1,619 head of horned cattle, 1,707 sheep, and 307 goats, valued altogether, with the damage done to other property, at from £17,000 to £20,000. They wounded one white man, and killed three blacks.

The first rumours of this inroad which reached the Government at Maritzburg were exaggerations of the real facts, and created

unnecessary alarm. The Volunteers of the Colony were immediately called out, and with all the available troops were sent to Ladismith. The Colonial Secretary, Major Erskine, and the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, proceeded to the border to take measures for its defence, and the Resident Magistrate of Weenen was sent to Molapo to ask for redress. The Volunteers on their way to the front detected a party of Basuto plundering a farm, but they fled so hastily that they could not be overtaken.

On the 5th of July Molapo informed the representatives of the Natal Government that Ramanela had acted in disobedience of positive orders; that the stolen stock was being collected by him for the purpose of being restored; that he, for his father and himself, was willing to pay compensation for damages; and also that, if required, he would try to deliver up Ramanela for punishment. On the faith of these assurances the Volunteers were permitted to return home, and Major Erskine went back to his duties at Maritzburg. The Imperial troops, consisting of Infantry and Artillery, were left at Ladismith, and Mr. Shepstone with a few Cape Mounted Riflemen and a thousand Natal natives formed a camp on the Basuto border.

Sir Percy Douglas, who then commanded the British troops in South Africa, was at the time in Maritzburg. He sent intelligence of the inroad overland to King William's Town, whence it was conveyed by telegraph to the High Commissioner, who alone had authority to deal with independent chiefs. On receipt of the telegram

Sir Philip Wodehouse sent to Moshesh, requiring him to restore the stolen stock instantly, to make reparation for the damage done, and to prohibit such acts in future. Moshesh replied that before the demand reached him he had begun to collect the cattle for the purpose of sending them back, and had given orders that anything missing should be replaced.

This letter ought to have proved to Sir Philip Wodehouse, if proof was still wanting, how utterly untrustworthy Moshesh's statements were. He had not done as he said. A few days before his letter was written, his son Molapo had returned 39 horses, 161 head of horned cattle, 194 sheep, and 40 goats, and had informed Mr. Shepstone that Moshesh and Letsie not only did not approve of the promises he had made, but that Moshesh had sent him word that he would not compel Ramanela to make restitution. Molapo believed that Letsie would be well pleased if the Natal forces were to enter his district, which was contiguous to the Natal border, and punish him for the acts of Ramanela, though that marauder was not in the least under his control. He offered to abandon his father and brother, and to place himself and his people under the protection and control of the Natal Government. The High Commissioner, however, would deal only with Moshesh as the head of the tribe.

The apparent impunity with which the inroad had been made was an encouragement to bands of robbers to make Natal a field of operations, and early in August a case of cattle lifting on such a large scale occurred that by the Govern-

ment and the people it was commonly spoken of as a second raid. Moshesh in the mean time was dealing with the matter as if it was of little importance. Utterly regardless of truth, he wrote to Mr. Shepstone, as he had written to Sir Philip Wodehouse, that he had given orders to Ramanela to restore everything without delay.

After waiting two months, as the only cattle sent back were the few delivered by Molapo, the High Commissioner concluded that it was necessary to make a more formal demand than he had hitherto done. He declined to take into consideration the expense which the Natal Government had incurred, and resolved to call upon the Basuto to refund nothing more than the actual value of the property taken and destroyed. He believed that upon the estimate received from Natal ten thousand head of full grown cattle would suffice to cover this, and on the 26th of August he wrote to Moshesh calling upon him to give instructions for the immediate delivery to the officers of the Natal Government of that number or an equivalent in sheep at the rate of five sheep for each bullock. This letter was forwarded from Aliwal North to Thaba Bosigo by a special messenger, Mr. William Reed.

Mr. Reed proceeded by way of Bloemfontein, where he found the President just leaving for the camp, and accompanied him to Thaba Bosigo. At the foot of the mountain he displayed an English flag, upon which Moshesh sent down for him, and he at once went up. Forty or fifty paces from the top the Chief and his son Tsekelo met him, when Tsekelo read and

interpreted His Excellency's letter. Mr. Reed was taken to a cave about fifty yards from the summit of the mountain, where he lodged for several days, until Moshesh was pleased to send him back with a reply, compelling him at the same time to avoid the Free State camp and to take a circuitous path through the Lesuto. The letter which he carried back was dated the 18th of September. In it Moshesh said: "The cattle stolen from the Natal territory have been restored to that Government. I have already given myself and whole of my country into the hands of the Queen's Government. Your Excellency may therefore consider the whole of the Basutoland under your jurisdiction, to deal with us, and the compensation demanded, according to Your Excellency's discretion."

There was certainly a difficulty in dealing according to the ideas of Europeans with a man who could dictate such a letter as this. What the High Commissioner did was to inform the Chief that until the question of making good the damage caused by Ramanela was disposed of, he was precluded from entertaining proposals for a closer union between the British Government and the Basuto. He then directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and endeavour to induce Moshesh to issue positive instructions for the delivery of the cattle and the punishment of Ramanela. The Natal Government was requested to send Commissioners to meet Mr. Burnet, and to receive any cattle that he might succeed in obtaining.

While these officers of the different Governments were making their way towards Thaba

Bosigo, the old chief was dictating letters to Mr. Shepstone, at one time stating that his difficulty in sending the cattle was the presence of the Free State forces, and at another time that a drove was about to leave.

Mr. Burnet arrived at Thaba Bosigo on the 2nd of November. He found the sub-chiefs of Southern Basutoland willing to contribute towards making up the number of cattle demanded by the High Commissioner, and at his request they collected about three thousand head. Moshesh himself gave nothing, and so far was he from being desirous of settling the matter that he actually selected the choicest cattle contributed by his vassals, and reserved them for himself. Mr. Burnet persuaded him to dictate an order to Molapo to punish Ramanela and to make up the deficiency of the cattle; but when the Commissioner proceeded to Leribe with the order the old chief sent to his son countermanding it. It was quite hopeless to expect anything like fair dealing from him, and Mr. Burnet came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory plan would be to negotiate directly with Letsie and Molapo. These chiefs, like their father, were at this time entirely under the control of seers, diviners, and priests. Molapo was subject to fits of insanity, which the missionaries attributed to remorse for having abjured Christianity, but which Mr. Burnet attributed to over indulgence in sensuality. They were both urgent to be taken under British protection. Their aims, however, were widely different. Molapo

addressed himself to the Government of Natal, and made no secret of his desire to be independent of his brother. Letsie addressed the High Commissioner, and asked for protection in order that at his father's death he might remain the head of a tribe that must otherwise break into fragments.

After more than a month's exertion Mr. Burnet believed that he had got together between four and five thousand head of cattle. Messrs. Macfarlane and Uys, the Natal Commissioners, had gone to Bloemfontein, and procured from the President a safe conduct through Free State territory for the drove and one hundred Basuto herdsmen. Mr. Burnet then, having done all that he could, returned home and sent a full report of his proceedings to the High Commissioner. Instead, however, of between four and five thousand head reaching Natal, only 2,141 were delivered to Mr. Ayliff, the officer selected to distribute them, the others having been detained by Moshesh for his own use after Mr. Burnet's departure.

From the first the Natal officers were convinced that nothing but force would cause the Basuto chief to make restitution, and they would long since have employed force if the High Commissioner had not restrained them. On the 8th of January 1866 Sir Philip Wodehouse signed a document authorizing the Natal Government to send an armed expedition into the Lesuto to compel payment of the full demand; but before the mail left Cape Town he received a letter from the Lieutenant Governor enclosing a report

from Mr. Ayliff, in which that officer stated that the cattle already received would suffice to compensate those from whom stock had been stolen to the extent of fifty per cent, and leave a few oxen over. Immediately on reading this, the High Commissioner, only too glad to avoid proceeding to hostilities, cancelled the permission he had given, on the ground that his demand must have been excessive. After this date there was some further correspondence, but nothing more was ever paid by the Basuto, nor was Ramanela ever punished for his raid into Natal.

At the beginning of the year 1866 the Free State forces in the field were too weak to act on the offensive, and during the heat of midsummer it was impossible to increase them. The Basuto took advantage of this opportunity to renew their inroads into the border districts. On the 8th of January the people of Molitsane made a sudden swoop upon the village of Winburg. They burned four houses in the outskirts, killed two Europeans and seven native herdsmen whom they surprised on the commonage, and swept off all the cattle belonging to the place. Only thirty-three burghers could be mustered to go in pursuit, but this little band overtook the Bataung, shot three of them, and recovered all the stock except about a hundred horses.

On the 22nd of January the village of Bethlehem was attacked by three or four thousand of Molapo's warriors. On the commonage they captured a burgher and a native servant, and murdered both. But there happened to be in

Bethlehem at the time a patrol under Commandant De Villiers, of whose presence the Basuto were quite ignorant. The Commandant speedily mustered 125 burghers and 150 Batlokua, and with this puny force he drove back the assailants, followed them up for some miles, and shot down more than 200 of them.

The High Commissioner, seeing no probability of a speedy termination of this wretched condition of affairs, and fearing that disorder would increase in the Colony on account of it, at this juncture (20th January) wrote to President Brand, tendering his services for the negotiation of an equitable peace. While the combatants were opposing their full strength to each other he had deemed it unadvisable to interfere. In reply to a request of Moshesh that he would come and make peace, he had then written (25th September 1865) that it was impracticable at that juncture to interpose between him and the Free State with propriety, or with any prospect of a good result to either party. But now to all outward appearances the Republic was without an army and utterly helpless, while the Basuto seemed to be nothing better than a mob of cowards in the field and cutthroats when a victim could be secured.

The High Commissioner believed that peace could not be permanent while the Free State and the Lesuto were alike independent of control. War would probably be renewed, he wrote, after the lapse of a few years, when one of the parties might think itself strong enough to attempt the destruction of its neigh-

bour. To prevent this, he proposed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (13th January) that the Basuto, in accordance with the repeated requests of the chiefs, should be accepted as British subjects, and that an attempt should be made to govern them for their own good and for the common good of South Africa.

But the ink on these despatches was hardly dry when the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. In the beginning of February the burghers again took the field in force. On this occasion two thousand men mustered under arms, and were divided into four distinct columns, under General J. I. J. Fick, and Commandants Cornelis De Villiers, Louis Wessels, and Pieter Wessels. Let it be remembered that if the same proportion of the population of the British Islands were placed under arms in a foreign country, that army would muster two millions of men, and a good idea can be formed of the effort made by the Free State.

On the 5th of February the Volksraad met. The members unanimously placed on record their approval of the action of the President in declaring war, and carried by a large majority a resolution ratifying the annexation to the State of the territory within the lines proclaimed by Fick and Wepener and subsequently by the President. On the 7th a matter was brought forward which more than anything that preceded it damaged the Free State cause in the estimation of people in Europe. On that day numerous petitions were read, praying that the French missionaries should be expelled from the territory recently annexed.

There were ten stations in that territory, and whether the missionaries remained or not they could have no reasonable expectation that Basuto communities would be permitted to gather there again, if the Europeans could prevent it. A powerful nation can afford to be magnanimous with a puny opponent; but in a life or death struggle such as this, when the weaker combatant has been forced into war and conquers, prudence demands that every possible advantage be taken of the victory. The Free State would not have been acting as every nation in the world has acted since the dawn of history if it had not tried permanently to weaken its enemy in the only way in which it could be done. As a measure of safety, the mission stations on territory wrested from the Basuto must therefore have been doomed. But this was not sufficient reason for driving the French clergymen from their homes.

There was a general impression among the burghers that the missionaries acted as special pleaders for the Basuto regardless altogether of the merits or demerits of their case, that they gave them advice in military matters, that some of them took part in fighting, and that in consequence they were more hurtful as enemies than the Basuto themselves.

No impartial person who thoroughly examines the evidence that their writings afford will be able to acquit the missionaries as a body of being special pleaders, though even in this respect there were several of them on whom no imputation can in justice be cast. No one with ordinary power of discrimination will take

mission reports to be faithful representations of the life or actions of a people. At best they can only represent the life of a small section of such a tribe as the Basuto as seen from a standpoint very limited in range of view. The burghers were unreasonably incensed when they read letters from missionaries and reports in mission journals which pictured the Basuto as a very different people from what they knew them to be. They made no allowance for the position of the writers, nor regarded it as natural that their sympathy should be with the people among whom they lived and laboured. A single individual thrown among a mass of people of different sentiments usually comes to adopt their ideas. The action of the many minds affects the one insensibly unless the one is possessed of unusual individuality. This is particularly observable in the lives of missionaries in secluded situations, who have studied the native languages and have striven to find out the meanings of quaint native expressions and the powers of native thought. It is not surprising that such men become the champions of those among whom their lot is cast, that they expatiate upon their virtues and fail to see their vices,—it would rather be surprising if it were not so.

To say that some of the missionaries acted injudiciously is only saying that they were men. That they gave advice in military matters is not proved, and as regards most of them is highly improbable. That the great majority of them really committed any overt

act hostile to the Free State will not be believed or even suspected after a careful examination of all the evidence, though there certainly is strong ground for charging one of them, the Rev. Mr. Daumas, with giving his flock assistance in such a form that he would be regarded anywhere as a belligerent.

The discussion upon the memorials by the Volksraad shows the extreme ignorance of most of the members of public opinion in Europe. That the expulsion of the missionaries would cause an outcry in England against the Free State was not taken into consideration. The members even supposed that their statements would refute those of the missionaries everywhere, without the slightest recognition of the fact that hardly a dozen people in all Europe would hear their version of the case, while the missionaries commanded the most complete means for publishing their side of the story that the world has ever known.

The President spoke earnestly against any interference with men who had been trying to enlighten the heathen, but the majority of the Volksraad held with the memorialists, and a resolution was carried that as the missionaries had not confined themselves to their calling but had taken part in political matters, and as their sympathy with the Basuto was in its operation detrimental to the Free State, all those in the annexed territory must remove before the 1st of March, and those who should desire to remain in the Free State must take up their residence at such places as the Executive Council should

point out. Whatever property they could not remove was to be respected. They were to be obliged to bind themselves in writing to have no correspondence directly or indirectly with any one in the Lesuto during the war, to do or undertake nothing against the safety or the interests of the Free State, and to see that nothing was so done by their households.

At the beginning of the war, the French Society had twelve principal stations, thirteen ordained clergymen, two medical missionaries, and two lay assistants. There were eighteen hundred church members, several thousands had been baptized, and the missionaries believed that about one tenth of Moshesh's tribe was directly or indirectly under their influence.

The missionaries who were expelled from the scenes of their former labour were Mr. Daumas, of Mekuatling, Mr. Coillard, of Leribe, Mr. Mabille, of Morija, Mr. Dyke and Dr. Casalis of Hermon, Mr. Germond, of Thabana Morena, Mr. Maeder, of Siloe, Messrs. S. and E. Rolland, of Poortje, Mr. Cochet, of Hebron, and Messrs. Ellenberger and Gossellin, of Bethesda, with their families forty-six individuals in all. Mr. Keck was permitted to remain at Mabolela, though within the annexed territory. On account of the destruction of the mission buildings, Dr. Lautre and his family were at the same time compelled to abandon the station at Thaba Bosigo, so that the French Mission was for a time nearly broken up. Most of its members retired to Aliwal North.

A Roman Catholic mission had been established at Korokoro shortly before the outbreak

of the war, but was not affected by the resolution of the Volksraad. The Roman Catholic missionaries indeed were never suspected by the burghers of interference in political matters, and were therefore left unmolested.

On the 21st of February the Volksraad took into consideration the High Commissioner's offer to act as a mediator, and after a lengthy discussion, on the 22nd the following resolution was adopted :—

"The Volksraad instructs His Honour the State President to inform His Excellency that the Government of this State has been compelled to wage the present war for the maintenance of violated rights, which had been recognized and accepted by the Treaty of Aliwal North; that the Raad, in the interests of religion, morality, and social progress, heartily desires the termination of the war, and eagerly longs for a peace which shall offer the guarantees of permanency; that the Raad has learnt with a feeling of gratitude the benevolent offer of mediation by His Excellency, but entertains the conviction, grounded on an experience of many years, that the Basuto will not respect the stipulations of any treaty of peace, unless they be forced to the acceptance of such a treaty by the power of our arms, and unless they be driven to feel that the Free State is sufficiently powerful to cause the Basuto to perform the conditions of any treaty that may be concluded, and to compel them thereto, should need be, by force of arms; that this Government has determined, and the people of the State are willing, to undergo any amount of sacrifice, and to prosecute the war until such a desirable object shall have been attained; for which reasons the Raad considers the present juncture as not favourable for such a mediation, and feels to be not yet in a position to avail itself of the benevolent offer of His Excellency."

While the Volksraad was deliberating the burghers in the field were not idle. On the 19th of February Commandant De Villiers with two hundred men defeated two thousand of Molapo's and Ramanela's warriors, killed sixty of them, and wounded a great number. On the 21st Mr. F. Senekal, who had been Commandant General in the war of 1858, was killed while leading a patrol belonging to this force.

On the 23rd of February the combined commandos of Fick and De Villiers, consisting of the Winburg, Harrismith, and Cronstadt burghers, 546 in number, with 61 natives as scouts, left their camp near Leribe with the intention of scouring the Drakensberg. They spent that night on the bank of the Orange River where there was no fuel to be had, without other shelter than their blankets, though heavy rain was falling with occasional showers of hail.

On the 24th they penetrated further into the mountains, the rain still continuing with a cold northwest wind. On the 25th, 26th, and 27th they scoured the mountains which rose in an endless succession of peaks and tables around them. They were over nine thousand feet above the level of the sea, and though the summer was not yet past and the heat on the plains from which they had come up was unpleasantly great, they were suffering severely from cold. A heavy mist filled the ravines, and at night rain fell in drizzling showers. Some of the burghers had never felt such chilling air before, and as their

clothing and blankets were all wet and there was no fuel, they were undergoing great discomfort.

The 28th was a clear warm day. That night they spent on the very crown of the Drakensberg, where on one side the rich grasslands of Natal lay at a vast depth beneath them, and on the other side they could look down on a sea of cloud and mist covering the rugged belt of desolation which they had just passed through. They were above the rain and hail from which they had suffered so much, and on the mountain top they passed the night in excellent spirits, though they were weary and the air was cold.

At four in the morning of the 1st of March the burghers left their elevated sleeping place, and before noon they were again in the belt of rain and hail. On the 2nd while passing through a gorge under Thaba Patsoa their advance guard was attacked by about two thousand Basuto, whose chief object was to recover the droves of cattle which were being driven on behind. The Basuto, however, were speedily put to flight. In the afternoon the burghers reached the camp which they had left eight days before, without having lost one of their number or having one wounded. They brought in 184 horses, 2,722 head of horned cattle, and 3,500 sheep; and they had counted thirty bodies of Basuto whom they had killed.

This expedition brought Molapo to treat for peace. On the 4th of March two Basuto carrying a white flag came into General Fick's camp with a letter from that chief, in which he asked on what terms peace would be granted to him-

self and to the whole tribe. General Fick replied, referring him to the President. The messenger returned speedily with another letter, in which Molapo stated that he wished to conclude peace for himself independently of the remainder of the tribe. General Fick then offered an armistice of eight days, to give time to communicate with the President, on condition of 150 slaughter oxen being supplied as provision for the commando. The chief replied asking for a personal conference with the General halfway between the camp and his stronghold, but when on the morning of the 6th the General with twenty-five burghers went to the appointed place he was told that Molapo's captains were unwilling that he should venture away from the mountain. They requested that an officer might be sent to confer with him. Adjutant A. van den Bosch with only a native interpreter then went up into Molapo's retreat, which he found to be a natural stronghold so well fortified as to be impregnable if held by men of courage. The chief agreed to the terms of the armistice, and the Adjutant went back to the camp, taking with him Joel, Molapo's second son, as a hostage for the delivery of the cattle and for his father's good conduct.

The camp of Commandant Louis Wessels was at this time at Berea. Molapo had requested that he might be permitted to communicate with his father, and General Fick agreed to send his messengers to the camp at Berea at the same time that the despatches were forwarded to Bloemfontein. Commandant Wessels conducted

the messengers to the foot of Thaba Bosigo, and a few hours afterwards they returned to his camp with Moshesh's son Sophonia, who asked if his father could not be included in the armistice granted by General Fick to Molapo. The Commandant replied that if Moshesh would make written proposals he would take them into consideration. Moshesh then wrote that he wished to make peace on equal terms, to which he received for answer that if he desired to communicate with the President the Commandant would agree to an armistice on condition of being supplied with one hundred slaughter cattle. The old chief tried to haggle, by sending down a drove of sixty-six cows and calves, but ultimately he complied with the terms proposed.

Letsie, on being informed of what was taking place elsewhere, also made overtures for an armistice, which Commandant Pieter Wessels granted upon payment of fifty slaughter oxen.

There was thus a general suspension of hostilities, which was only disturbed by a raid of the Bataung on Winburg commonage on the 5th of March, when they succeeded in driving off some stock, and a second raid by the same people in another direction five days later, when they were met by a party of burghers and driven back with a loss of nineteen killed.

The President was detained at Bloemfontein by business that could not be neglected, but the truce was prolonged until he could get away. On the 21st of March he and the unofficial members of the Executive Council arrived at Commandant Louis Wessels' camp,

close to Thaba Bosigo. Moshesh was communicated with, but as he declined to make peace on any other than equal terms, the armistice with him was declared to be at an end. Letsie took up the same position as his father, in consequence of which hostilities were resumed on the 22nd, when a patrol was sent to scour Mohali's Hoek and the cattle of the two southern commandos were turned into the cornfields of Letsie and Makwai to destroy them. Nehemiah, however, sought an interview with the President, stated his intention of abandoning the cause of his father and brother, and requested that he and his people should be received as Free State subjects. His request was acceded to, but his following was too small to make his pretended defection a matter of any importance.

The President and the three members of the Executive Council then proceeded to Imparani, where General Fick was encamped. By previous arrangement, on the morning of the 26th of March Molapo with all his councillors and sub-chiefs arrived at the ford of the Caledon close to Imparani, where some tents had been pitched for their accommodation. There, immediately afterwards, a conference took place, which ended in a treaty between the Free State and Molapo.

Molapo agreed to the annexation to the Free State of all the land up to the Putiatsana, and promised to remove his people from that portion of it on the north and west of the Caledon. He undertook to pay two thousand head of large cattle, to abstain from assisting the other

Basuto, and to give one of his sons and one of his sub-chiefs as hostages for his good conduct. He agreed to become a vassal of the Free State, retaining the district between the Caledon, the Putiatsana, and the Drakensberg, as a Reserve in which to live; and he promised to obey any orders issued by the President through a Free State officer who should be stationed with him.

A formal treaty to this effect was drawn up and signed by the President and by Molapo, his son Jonathan, and his councillors, and was witnessed by the members of the Executive Council and the four officers of highest rank in the Free State camp. It is known as the Treaty of Imparani. As soon as it was concluded Molapo paid the greater number of the cattle, and gave the stipulated hostages for his good conduct.

On the 29th of March a patrol of 16 burghers and 150 Batlokua, under command of Mr. Hendrik Oostewald Dreyer, having captured a large number of cattle in Witsi's Hoek, was returning with the spoil, when it was attacked about twenty miles from Harrismith. Mr. Dreyer and another burgher were killed, and a large portion of the stock was retaken. Mr. Dreyer, who held the office of Chairman of the Volksraad, was a man of considerable attainments. A South African by birth, he had travelled in foreign lands, and spent some years in Australia. His body was found pierced with twenty-one assagai stabs.

About the same time an express carrying letters from the Colony to Bloemfontein fell

into the hands of a party of Basuto. It consisted of three burghers, two half-breeds, and two Barolong, all of whom were murdered in cold blood. Their bodies, shockingly mutilated, were found a few days afterwards.

On the last day of March a meeting of the sub-chiefs of Basutoland, convened by Moshesh, took place at Thaba Bosigo. The defection of Molapo, whether genuine or feigned, weakened the Basuto power seriously for the time being. The crops, which were now ready for harvesting, were being destroyed by the burghers. The sub-chiefs were therefore all of opinion that if peace could be made in such a way that they could preserve their strength unimpaired until the crops were gathered and then be able to resume hostilities at pleasure, it would be advisable for Moshesh to conclude it. The Great Chief thereupon wrote to the President making overtures for peace, and offering as a basis of negotiations to agree to the boundary line proclaimed by Fick and Wepener and ratified by the Volksraad. The President consented to negotiate on this basis, in the vain hope that he would be able to plant without any delay such a strong body of Europeans upon the land thus acquired that the predominance of the Free State would be in future undisputed and peace for ever be secured.

On the 3rd of April a conference took place between Thaba Bosigo and the camp of Commandant Louis Wessels. Moshesh himself was ill and unable to descend the mountain, but he gave full power to his brother Moperi

and his son Nehemiah to act for him. The terms agreed to were, that the future boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto should be a line running direct from Bamboesplaats near Pampoenspruit to a point (Thaba Telle) three miles east of Letsie's new town (Matsieng), thence a straight line due north (by compass) to the Caledon, thence the Caledon to the junction of the Putiatsana, and thence the Putiatsana to its source in the Drakensberg; that Moshesh should cause all his subjects immediately to withdraw from the territory beyond the new boundary, failing which the Free State should be at liberty to expel them by force; that Molapo and his people should be Free State subjects; that Moshesh should pay three thousand head of large cattle to the Free State; that Moshesh should in future deliver up refugee criminals on warrants from Free State officials; and that Moroko should be included in the treaty as a Free State ally.

The above conditions, and a few others of minor importance, having been embodied in a formal treaty, the document was signed in duplicate by the President and Moshesh's delegates. It was then sent up the mountain, where it received the mark and seal of Moshesh, the signatures of Masupha, Sophonia, and several other sons of the chief, and the mark of Poshuli. Subsequently it was sent to Letsie, and received his mark. It was also signed by the unofficial members of the Executive Council of the Free

State, by the principal officers in the Free State camp, and by Moroko's son Tsepinare.

The burghers manifested the greatest joy when peace was concluded, no one foreseeing that within twelve months it would prove to be the greatest mistake that could be made by the Free State. The night following was one of festivity in the camp. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 4th the President mounted a waggon round which the whole commando was assembled. Baring his head, he requested the burghers to join in thanks to God, then he read the treaty, after which the whole assembly sang the hundredth psalm. And never in grand cathedral has the Te Deum been chanted with greater sincerity than that psalm of praise to God was sung under the open vault of heaven when the burghers of the Free State believed that peace was secured by the Treaty of Thaba Bosigo.

CHAPTER III.

A few weeks after the treaty was signed the Volksraad met and decided what measures to adopt to prevent the peace being broken again. First and foremost it was necessary to strengthen the European population. A portion of the territory taken from the Basuto would be required for native locations, but it was determined to dispose of the larger part as farms to be held under condition of personal occupation. The same course, in short, was to be followed as had been introduced by Sir George Cathcart with marked success in the Colonial Divisions of Queen's Town

and Victoria East, and had been adopted by Sir George Grey when settling British Kaffraria.

Next came provision for the control of the natives who had become subjects of the Free State. On the 23rd of May an Ordinance was promulgated for the management of Molapo's clan, which has been the model on which our own Government, as well as the Free State, has ever since legislated for purely native territories. Its principal clauses were to the following effect: The district occupied by the clan, bounded by the Caledon, the Putiatsana, and the Drakensberg, was constituted a Native Reserve, in which no white man could settle without special permission from the President and the Executive Council, and this permission could only be given to persons whose occupations were defined. No licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors within the Reserve could be granted. A European officer with the title of Commandant, but with the power of a landdrost, was to be stationed in the Reserve, and was to have jurisdiction there. Criminal cases involving the penalty of death were to be submitted to the Attorney-General of the State for instructions. Molapo and his Council were to retain jurisdiction in civil cases, but the parties interested were to have a right of appeal to the Commandant. A hut tax of ten shillings a year was to be paid by all except the principal captains. The Dutch Reformed Church was to have the right of stationing a missionary with the people. The President with the advice of the Executive Council was empowered to make regulations for the guidance of the Commandant.

The High Commissioner, on learning the conditions of the treaties of Imparani and

Thaba Bosigo, lost no time in writing to the President expressing his disapproval of them. In his view, the country left to the Basuto was too small. If it had been impossible to prevent them pressing on the farmers before, how would it be now that they were rolled back within the new boundaries? His Excellency did not consider that one of the main objects which the Free State had in view was to compel a considerable number of the Basuto to disperse to other locations which would be provided for them, and so to weaken the power of Moshesh. Further, Sir Philip Wodehouse did not approve of the separation of Molapo's clan from the rest of the tribe. As this chief was now a Free State subject, His Excellency held that the Free State was responsible for his share of the cattle still due to Natal, and requested the President to require him to furnish seven hundred head. The correspondence on this subject, however, had no other result than to deepen the impression of the Free State people that all Sir Philip Wodehouse's sympathy was against them.

The treaties were hardly signed when Moshesh and Letsie renewed their efforts to obtain British protection, in the supposition that if Great Britain could be induced to take them over, the boundaries defined by Sir George Grey and Sir Philip Wodehouse would certainly be restored. To this effect Letsie wrote to the High Commissioner on the 11th of May, and when this did not succeed, a deputation consisting of Moperi, Tsekelo, and some others of less note, was sent by Moshesh to the Lieutenant Governor of

Natal, with the same object. This mission led to a good deal of correspondence between the Home and Colonial Governments and the chiefs, but had no result. On the 9th of March Mr. Cardwell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, had written to Sir Philip Wodehouse that "the extension of British rule in South Africa was a matter too serious in its bearings to be entertained by Her Majesty's Government without some overruling necessity," and that he was "not prepared to authorize compliance with the request of the Basuto Chiefs that their country might be taken under the immediate authority of the Queen." And on the 25th of July, Lord Carnarvon, who succeeded Mr. Cardwell, withdrew even the authority granted by his predecessor for the appointment of a resident diplomatic agent with the Basuto Chief, and stated his view that "connection with the tribe should be limited to a friendly mediation, such as could lead to no closer or entangling relationship."

Letsie, Moperi, and Molitsane then turned to the Free State Government and expressed a strong desire to become its subjects. Long afterwards Letsie stated that his sole object in doing so was to gain time, and that he never had any intention of submitting in earnest to the republic. The language he used, however, was similar to that employed when addressing the High Commissioner with the same object. The reply he received was that he must first prove himself worthy of becoming a subject, and then his request would be taken into consideration, but that before anything could be

done in that direction the cattle due to Natal must be paid, to prevent the High Commissioner holding the State responsible. In the meantime he had permission to remain where he was until his crops should be reaped. In December Letsie for the second time sent his son Lerothodi to Bloemfontein to urge that he might be taken over, but to no purpose.

Molitsane had permission to remain on the northern side of the Caledon until a suitable location could be found for him. He was informed that if the future owners of the farms chose to allow small parties of his people to continue their residence where they were, the Government would not object as long as they behaved themselves. They therefore gathered their crops, and when the season for sowing came round again, put more ground under cultivation than they had ever done before. This leniency on the part of the Free State, after so much experience of the folly of treating people like the Bataung with a gentleness which they could not understand, was afterwards condemned as a mistake by even the strongest partizans of the Basuto. It was an indirect encouragement, they said, to Moshesh's tribe to believe that the ground was still theirs.

Moperi was treated in the same manner. This chief was recognized by every one as the least untrustworthy of all the heads of clans in the Lesuto. His language was so guarded and his behaviour in presence of Europeans was marked by such propriety that he had the reputation of being the most sensible and civilized man in his tribe. Though a brother of Moshesh, his posi-

tion was not a fortunate one. His nephews regarded him with great jealousy. Hemmed in by Molapo, Masupha, and Molitsane, the tract of land occupied by his clan was very small and was constantly being encroached upon. Knowing his circumstances, the Free State would have accepted him as a subject at once, if it had not been for the High Commissioner's view of responsibility for the cattle due to Natal.

The event which attracted most attention at this time both in South Africa and in Europe was not, however, the condition or the prospects of either of the late belligerents, but the treatment to which the French missionaries had been subjected. A great outcry was raised against the Free State. The Directors in Paris not only wrote, but sent a deputation to the Colonial Authorities in London, on the subject. Pens were busy all over the United Kingdom describing the expulsion of the missionaries as the greatest outrage of modern times. By all the writers the act was termed a suppression of mission work and a destruction of mission stations. There seemed to be but one view of the matter, that the request of the Paris Directors ought to be complied with, the missionaries be permitted to return to their stations, their personal losses be made good to them, and their converts and all who were desirous of Christian instruction be allowed to gather round them and profit by their teachings once more.

A very slight examination of the matter will show how imprudent it would have been for the Free State to have followed such a course. It would have been equivalent to giving up all the

fruits of victory, for it would have restored the Basuto tribe to the position it held before the war. Every Mosuto in the territory would have professed a desire for Christian instruction, and there would have been no land on which a European population could have been located in safety. At first sight it seems a pitiless proceeding to remove the conquered people of a district, but in reality it entails very little hardship upon a Bantu clan. They shift about from place to place with the greatest ease, the trifling labour of building new huts being almost the only inconvenience to which a change of residence subjects them. It was a matter of necessity to the very existence of the Free State that the people of the mission stations in the annexed territory should be located somewhere else. The stations were broken up, certainly not out of antipathy to the propagation of Christianity, but because the enemies of the Free State could not safely be allowed to assemble there.

The Volksraad deliberated on this matter in utter unconcern of the feelings roused against them beyond the shores of South Africa. They appointed a Commission to take evidence upon the conduct of the missionaries. When this Commission reported that no charges of having taken part in hostilities could be proved against the expelled clergymen, they decided that no compensation should be made for their personal losses, on the ground of the enmity displayed in such of their letters as had been made public. The Paris Evangelical Society was recognized as owner of the buildings

on the stations, and in order to give these buildings value, a tract of land fifteen hundred morgen in extent, surrounding each of the stations, was assigned to the Society, which it might use as a farm or dispose of at its option, the only charge made therefor being a sum of £100 on each grant.

The Society rejected the grants, assigning as reasons that its missionaries were not farmers and that to dispose of the ground by sale would destroy their influence with the people they were desirous of teaching. That was saying in other words that the Basuto hoped still to recover the ground, and that the missionaries could not be parties to any transaction in which the right of the Free State to it was recognized. These sentiments may be considered natural, even praiseworthy, by Mission Societies; but where is the nation in Europe that would award compensation for any losses whatever suffered in war by persons making such admissions? Where is the belligerent that would hesitate a single instant in expelling from its territories, or even treating in a much harsher manner, men who make such avowals? Let any one read the published letters of some of these missionaries and note how persistently Free State authority was ignored and the ceded territory spoken of as part of the Lesuto. Let such a one then inquire what would have happened to an Italian monk writing similar letters in Alsace just at the close of the Franco German war, repudiating and denouncing the German Authorities, or to a Greek priest in Calcutta at the time of the Indian

Mutiny, repudiating and abusing the British Crown. The cases are identical in principle.

The expulsion of the French missionaries was not inconsistent with the admission by the burghers of the Free State, as indeed by every one in South Africa who is acquainted with them and their work, that the unfortunate clergymen were earnest, true, and faithful Ministers of the Gospel, that they led irreproachable lives, that their zeal and devotion to duty were unbounded, that they exercised the greatest possible hospitality and kindness to strangers, that in education and refinement they were not excelled by the agents of any other Society working in South Africa, and that their teaching had been blessed with a large amount of success. But most of them took the adverse side in national questions, and that so undisguisedly as to render themselves liable to the treatment they received.

Three rows of farms adjoining the new boundary were offered by the Volksraad to occupiers under military tenure. From the list of applicants who sent in their names the most suitable were selected, but several delays occurred, and it was not until the 15th of January 1867 that this ground was actually given out. Before this time a large part of the remaining land had been sold by public auction, and it was intended that the purchasers should take possession of it on the same date. Nine months had now elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, however, and during that period a great many Basuto squatters had gone in and made large gardens. Due notice of the allot-

ment of the farms was given to Moshesh, who was requested to withdraw his subjects in accordance with the second clause of the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. But instead of doing this he sent strong parties of warriors into the district.

The Bishop of the English Church in the Free State purchased one of the farms with a view of establishing a mission, and then went to see Moshesh, who told him candidly that he would not allow it. A widow who had received a grant of ground went to the Great Chief to ask if it would be safe to occupy it, when he told her it would not be. But there is no need of evidence as to what Moshesh's intentions were, or as to who was to blame for what followed, since on the 18th of March 1867 the old chief wrote distinctly to the High Commissioner that he did not mean to give up the territory. Great quantities of grain were stored on Thaba Bosigo, the Kieme, Tandjesberg, and Makwai's mountain, all of which were strongly fortified and garrisoned. It was evident to the Europeans that as soon as they were settled a raid would be made upon them, so they hastily retired.

The President then called out an armed burgher force to clear the Basuto from the ceded territory, but gave notice to Moshesh that he need be under no apprehension of an attack, for there was no intention of sending the commandos beyond the boundary. The burgher forces were formed into two divisions, under Chief Commandants J. I. J. Fick and J. G. Pansegrouw, the first of whom was to conduct operations north of the Caledon, and the last between the Caledon and the Orange. On the

12th of March 1867 the two commandos entered the ceded territory.

The crops were at the time almost fit for gathering, and it was an object of the utmost importance with the Basuto to preserve the grain. During the previous winter some sections of the tribe had suffered greatly from hunger, though other sections were able to store large quantities of food. It is one of the anomalies of savage life that hospitality, which is unlimited towards equals, is not extended towards inferiors. During the winter of 1866 there were chiefs in the Lesuto with abundance of grain, while at no great distance from them common people were literally dying of want, and others were kept alive by the charity of Sir Philip Wodehouse, for whom some of the French missionaries acted as almoners. What remained of the crop of 1866 was now stored in a few mountain fastnesses, and upon the crop of 1867 the mass of the people were depending.

The commando under Fick commenced operations in the neighbourhood of Viervoet, by destroying some of the cornfields, and a little later Pansegrouw's division began to do the same. In several places parties of burghers met with resistance, but no pitched battle took place. A few sconces in mountains were taken by storm, and on one of these occasions two Bushmen who had fired poisoned arrows upon the burghers and who were made prisoners were afterwards shot by some miscreant in cold blood. Thereupon several members of the commando demanded an investigation and the punishment of the assassin, but the general feeling of exas-

peration against the Bushmen was so strong that the evidence obtainable merely served to prove that the officers had given no orders for the perpetration of the crime.

The details of the skirmishing, disarming of little bands of Basuto, destruction of sconces, and cutting down maize and millet, would be neither interesting nor instructive. The only event that calls for special remark has been narrated. The one object of the Basuto chiefs was to save the crops in the ceded territory. To gain that, their plan was not to take the field, but to profess the most abject submission, and to entreat to be taken over as subjects and given ground on which to live. On the 8th of May the Volksraad met, and on the 10th in mistaken pity yielded. The suppliants were informed that they could make arrangements to gather the crops with the purchasers of the ground, and a few days later they were received as subjects, and the commandos were withdrawn.

Letsie was the first to be taken over. The great difficulty in his case before had been the Natal debt, and to get over this he informed the Volksraad that the Natal Government had consented to give him credit for seven years. When making this statement he knew that the falsehood must be detected in a few weeks, but in those few weeks he could complete the storing of his corn, and to be convicted of an untruth had no terror for him. He was not required to move. The district in which he had always lived was assigned to him as a location, and he was thus left with nothing but a nominal line between his people and the other Basuto. The regulations

provided for Molapo's clan were made applicable to him. There were special clauses in the document which he signed when he became a Free State subject, making him responsible for any share of the Natal debt which should be claimed from him. With Letsie were received a great number of petty chiefs, who professed to be his vassals, the most important of whom were Posholi and Makwai. The last named was then residing on a strongly fortified mountain, but Letsie engaged that he should remove from it within a month.

The arrangements for the establishment of this new Native Reserve were completed on the 22nd of May. The only guarantee of good faith which the Government of the Free State demanded was that Letsie should send one of his sons and one of his councillors to Bloemfontein, to remain there as hostages, and this he undertook to comply with, apparently most cordially. But the hostages sent were in reality men of no rank, and when the object of their chief had been attained, one night they quietly decamped from Bloemfontein.

On the 1st of June Moperi was received in the same manner. A tract of land in Witsi's Hoek was selected as a location for him, with the object of separating his clan from the other Basuto. He was informed that he must move as soon as his crops were harvested, with which intimation he expressed himself satisfied.

With regard to Molitsane, the Volksraad empowered the President to purchase a block of farms in the District of Kroonstad, and to locate

the Bataung there, so as to remove this restless clan into open ground where it would have less power to do mischief.

On learning that these clans had been received as subjects of the Free State, the High Commissioner at once informed the President that in his opinion the republic had also accepted their liabilities. He observed further that "these large acquisitions of territory and population tended to produce such important changes in the political position of the several powers in this part of Africa as would fully warrant a claim on the part of the British Government, should necessity arise, of a right to reconsider the bearings of the Convention entered into with the Orange Free State on the 23rd of February 1854." When this letter was made public many Boers expressed the belief that they had a more relentless opponent even than old Moshesh? When territory was annexed, the High Commissioner expressed an opinion that too much land was taken from the Basuto; when that was met by the adoption as subjects of the greater number of the people who had been living on the annexed ground and by the provision of locations elsewhere for them, he still showed no satisfaction. Did he then desire, they asked of each other, that the Basuto power, which had given Great Britain as well as their republic so much trouble, should remain intact, and they for ever be exposed to its violence?

The crops were harvested and stored in caverns in the mountains, and then the tone of the late suppliants underwent a sudden change. Moshesh denied all knowledge of the cession of

land by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, and publicly announced that he would not allow any Europeans to settle in it. The Basuto there were instructed not to move, and were informed that if they were attacked help would be sent to them. Masupha with an armed band commenced to plunder far and near. Letsie refused to receive the Commandant appointed to reside with him, or to remove Makwai as he had promised. All disguise was cast aside, and Moshesh's tribe was seen to be in perfect readiness for war.

In the middle of June an English itinerant trader named Bush was plundered of all his goods and then murdered, close to Mekuatling and consequently on Free State soil, by a grandson of Molitsane. Bush was one of the renegades who assisted Moshesh during the war of 1865, but he had since returned to civilized habits, and the Bataung looked upon him now as a traitor to them. On this account he had been strongly advised not to place himself again in their power, but with foolhardiness he had rushed on his fate. The murderer fled to Moshesh. The President wrote on the 26th of June demanding his extradition under the sixth clause of the treaty, and received an answer, dated the 9th of July, which was to all intents and purposes a declaration of war. In the most impudent, untruthful, and irritating language, Moshesh asserted that he had ceded no territory, that the district in which Bush was murdered was still part of the Lesuto, and that white men had no right to live there without his permission. "Let the Boers know," he added, "that they must remain where they are,

in the Free State; there is no other way to keep up peace." This letter, which was in the English language, bore the signature and seal of Moshesh, and purported to have been written by Nehemiah, but there are clear indications of the presence of a European when it was drafted.

Before this letter was received, on the 12th of July tidings reached Bloemfontein that a band of about two hundred Bataung under the sons of Molitsane had appeared on the farm of a young man named Jacobus Krynauw, in the ceded territory, and had murdered the owner of the place in cold blood. A farmer named Abraham van der Walt, with his wife and three children, happened to be on a visit at Krynauw's at the time. Van der Walt was very severely wounded, but he managed to kill two of his assailants and disabled several others. He actually drove the whole pack of murderers off, and with his family escaped to Thaba Nchu, where Moroko did all that he could for him, and as soon as possible sent him on to Bloemfontein.

It was now clear to every one that another terrible struggle was unavoidable. On the 16th of July 1867 the President called the burghers to arms to clear the ceded territory and compel Moshesh to observe the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the State from the 19th, and during its continuance the civil courts were to be closed. The Volksraad was summoned to meet in extraordinary session on the 8th of August.

Of all the chiefs subject to Moshesh the only

one whose conduct was not openly hostile was Moperi. He had not yet moved to Witsi's Hoek. On the 9th of August the Volksraad gave him twenty-four hours notice that if he did not leave with his clan before the expiration of that time, the agreement with him would be cancelled. He had been to inspect the ground, and had been agreeably surprised to find that the location offered him was larger and in every respect better than the one he was required to vacate. In Witsi's Hoek too he would be free of jealous neighbours. He therefore moved, as required, and took no part in the events that followed. A Commandant was appointed to live with him, and this officer had no reason to complain of his subsequent conduct. There to the present day the clan of Moperi lives, subject to Free State rule, and as prosperous and satisfied as any body of natives in South Africa.

The burghers responded to the President's call with a sense of duty equal to that displayed in 1865. Government and citizens alike resolved to spare no sacrifice to place the republic in a position of safety. From all the districts the farmers came marching under their respective Commandants, and on the 5th of August two strong brigades entered the disturbed territory. The northern brigade was under Chief Commandant G. J. Joubert, the southern under Chief Commandant J. G. Pansegrouw.

The tactics adopted by the Basuto on this occasion were to avoid encountering the burghers in the open field, to pretend to hold the hills but to run away as soon as pressed, and really to

defend to the best of their ability the strongly fortified mountains in which their corn was stored. The Free State forces were thus employed for the first six weeks in marching about, securing a few cattle here and there, and driving their opponents from ranges of hills only to find the same places occupied by the same people a few days later. This kind of work was wearisome and harassing, and besides it had no result. A few Basuto were shot, but the strength of the enemy could not be diminished in this way.

On the 25th of September, however, Makwai's Mountain, one of the great natural fortresses of the country, was taken by Chief Commandant Pansegrouw's division. A camp had been formed in its neighbourhood, from which during the night of the 24th three parties set out. The first of these parties consisted of sixty European volunteers and one hundred Fingos under Commandant Ward. It marched to the east end of the mountain. The second, consisting of two hundred burghers under Commandant Jooste, marched to the north side. And the third, two hundred burghers under the Chief Commandant himself, marched to the south side.

Under the darkness of night Ward's party crept unmolested up the steep slope, and at daybreak found itself on an extensive tableland with enormous masses of broken rock forming the background. The garrison was taken by surprise, the first intimation of the attack which they received being a volley of bullets. Some

cattle were discovered here, and the Fingos at once commenced driving them down. This gave the Basuto an opportunity to rally, and they came on in such force that the volunteers were obliged to fall back and, after a brief stand, to retire from the mountain.

While the attention of the Basuto was directed to this quarter, Commandant Jooste's men were scaling the northern side. Happily they reached without accident the summit of what may be termed the pedestal, but before them were great rocks fortified with numerous sconces. These they took by storm, one after another. While so engaged, they were strengthened by one hundred men from the Chief Commandant's party, who had crept up in the opposite direction. Upon seeing these the Basuto lost all heart and fled, leaving the Free State forces in full possession of the mountain. Large stores of wheat and millet, besides 350 horned cattle, over 5,000 sheep, and 68 horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. At least sixty-seven Basuto were killed. This stronghold was not taken without a considerable number of the captors being wounded, but only one life was lost.

After the loss of his stronghold Makwai gave up the contest, and with his clan moved over the Drakensberg into Nomansland. Lebenya's clan had already gone there from the Wittebergen Reserve, where they had taken refuge after Vechtkop was stormed in 1865. Makwai made peace with Adam Kok, and in nominal vassalage to him settled down in the district which now forms the magistracy of Matatiele.

Lebenya settled on the land between the Kenigha and Tina rivers, which is now included in the magistracy of Mount Fletcher. From this date they took no further part in hostilities against the Free State, and a very few words will suffice to close acquaintanceship with them. In March 1869 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited Nomansland, and confirmed them in possession of the ground on which they were residing. In 1873 Lebenya and his people at their urgent request were admitted as British subjects, and in the following year Makwai was also taken over. In 1880 the whole of Makwai's clan and part of Lebenya's went into rebellion, and were driven by the Colonial forces from Matatiele and Mount Fletcher back into the Lesuto.*

The capture of Makwai's Mountain in all probability kept Molapo from joining his father against the Free State. Commandant Frans Holm, who was stationed with him, reported that he was closely watching the course of events, and if the Basuto had been successful at first, he would certainly have cast in his lot with them again. Now, however, he professed to be sitting still, and to be intent only on cultivating his gardens and taking care of his cattle.

Another effect which the capture of this stronghold had was to dishearten a large number of stragglers, people who were refugees from distant parts of the country and who were not by descent attached to any of the fighting chiefs.

* For details see the historical paper on Griqualand East in the Cape Colonial Bluebook on Native Affairs for 1885.

These people now swarmed into the Wittebergen Reserve, where they were under British protection. The Free State armies had thus fewer foes to contend with.

A garrison was placed on the stronghold to prevent its being occupied again, and the commando then resumed the occupation of patrolling the country. The Basuto on their part adhered to their former tactics. Letsie with a strong garrison was on the Kieme, a mountain second only in strength to Thaba Bosigo. Poshuli in like manner was holding Tandjesberg. Masupha and Molitsane were watching for an opportunity to fall upon any defenceless households on the border, and kept Chief Commandant Joubert fully employed in marching from one place to another and then back again. In anticipation that by these means the Free State forces would soon be worn out, the Basuto were placing a very large part of the ceded territory under cultivation. A commando would hardly leave a valley before swarms of men and women, issuing from the mountains, were engaged in hoeing the ground and planting maize and millet. To prevent this a force five times as great as that the Free State could put into the field would have been required. Sentinels on every hill gave notice of the approach of the burghers, who soon found that their only chance of meeting the enemy was by quick and stealthy night marches.

In this condition of warfare it sometimes happened that women and children lost their lives, and for this the Free State forces have

been severely blamed. But no one has as yet devised a plan by which hostilities with a people like the Basuto can be carried on without such casualties. Even in the sconces and fortified caves, men, women, and children were mixed together. Such places could not be attacked without peril to those who in civilized countries are regarded as non-combatants, and surely it would be absurd to say that they should have been passed by because there were women and children in them.

A man who did much to misrepresent matters in Europe, as well as to encourage the Basuto to pursue a line of conduct that tended directly to ruin, must now be introduced to the reader. His name was David Dale Buchanan. Since February 1846 he had been editor of the *Natal Witness*, and as he was an Advocate of the Supreme Court of that Colony, had once been a Member of the Legislative Council, and even acted for a short period as Attorney-General, his statements were received abroad with considerable attention. In South Africa his influence was limited to a very small and constantly changing circle, owing to his intense vanity and factiousness. Mr. Buchanan seems to have considered that an opportunity to distinguish himself was afforded by the strife between the Free State and the Basuto. In February 1867 he announced his intention of becoming the champion of the Basuto, by writing to the Colonial Secretary of Natal inquiring "if the Government would consider the importation of arms and ammunition and the introduction of a few experienced

gunners at variance with any treaty." From that date he became the legal adviser of the Basuto chiefs, and took an active part in the negotiations between them and the Authorities of Natal.

While the desultory warfare which has been described was being carried on, events were leading towards an intervention by Sir Philip Wodehouse in the most decisive manner. The various overtures which had been made by Moshesh from time to time to be taken under British protection had been productive of no result, but he still persevered in his efforts. In August 1867 Makotoko, the old chief's nephew and confidential messenger, was sent by Moshesh and Letsie to Natal to urge "that they and their people and their country might be received by and be made to belong to Her Majesty the Queen of England, and be attached to the Colony of Natal; to occupy the same position with regard to the Government of Natal, and to pay the same taxes as the native chiefs and tribes already living in Natal, and to be presided over by a magistrate or other officer appointed by the Government of Natal to live for that purpose in Basutoland." If this should not be conceded, Makotoko was to ask that the British Government should "not supply arms and ammunition to one side and withhold them from the other, but let both have an equal chance, and if the Basuto must perish, let them perish defending themselves with means to procure which they should be allowed the same facilities as their enemies from a neutral source."

Language like this is apt to mislead people at a distance, and to create sympathy in those who know nothing of the circumstances under which it is used. It would be appropriate in the mouth of a chief defending the hereditary possessions of himself and his tribe against unprovoked aggression. But it came with bad grace from Moshesh and Letsie, whose want of honesty was the cause of all the trouble, and who could have secured peace at any time by simply fulfilling their engagements.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, to whom this matter was referred, had for a long time advocated the adoption of the Basuto as British subjects, and he now wrote again (17th September 1867) to the Home Government to that effect, but recommending that they should be placed under the control of the Governor of the Cape or High Commissioner rather than under that of the Natal Government. The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos had recently succeeded Lord Carnarvon as Secretary of State for the Colonies. On the 9th of December he replied to Sir Philip Wodehouse in the following terms:—

"Her Majesty's Government have had under their careful consideration the repeated offers made by the Chief Moshesh that he and his people, with their territory, should be received under the authority of the Queen. * * * Her Majesty's Government consider that the residence of a British agent with Moshesh would not accomplish a permanent settlement of the difficulties which have to be met, while it might embarrass our relations with independent native tribes and the Free States; and they have therefore come to the conclusion that the peace and welfare of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa would be best promoted by accepting the overtures made by that Chief.

"If Her Majesty's Government had merely entertained the question of a closer alliance with the Basuto by the appointment of a British agent, or by some other means not involving sovereign rights, it would have been right that the tribe should continue to be under the control of the Governor of the Cape Colony in his capacity of High Commissioner; but as their recognition as British subjects, and the incorporation of their territory, are now the matters under consideration, Her Majesty's Government have to decide in what manner these important measures can be best carried into effect, and they feel no doubt that the best and most obvious arrangement would be the annexation of Basutoland to the Colony of Natal. * * *

"Assuming therefore that the Legislature of Natal, as Her Majesty's Government have reason to anticipate, will readily acquiesce in such a measure, they authorize you, whenever a fitting opportunity may occur, to treat with the Chief Moshesh for the recognition of himself and of his tribe as British subjects, and for the incorporation of their territory with Natal on the general conditions stated.

"It is not improbable that the Orange Free State would be glad to see a new order of things established which would give them freedom from the depredations of the Basuto; and while leaving to your discretion the time and manner of accomplishing this measure, and the terms in which you will communicate with the Free State on the subject, Her Majesty's Government would only impress upon you the importance of including a settlement of the boundaries between the Free State and Basutoland as an integral part of the arrangement."

As soon as the above despatch came to hand, the High Commissioner communicated with President Brand and Moshesh (13th January 1868), informing them of the power placed in his hands, and announcing that he intended to make use of it. To each he recommended a suspension of hostilities, and stated that he

would visit the Lesuto about the end of March or beginning of April to make the necessary arrangements.

The reply of Moshesh was full of thanks and protestations of loyalty. The President, in his answer (dated 31st January 1868), after recapitulating the events that led to the war, informed the High Commissioner that he thought "it would be unsafe to suspend hostilities against the Basuto at the moment that the object of the war was nearly accomplished, and when the arms of the republic were, under God's blessing, everywhere successful, trusting merely to the good faith and the inclination and power of Moshesh to make his people comply with the treaty of Thaba Bosigo." He had therefore written to Moshesh that the war would be prosecuted with vigour until the murderers of Bush and Krynauw were delivered to the Free State and the annexed territory cleared of the Basuto. As the second article of the Convention of the 23rd of February 1854 stated that Her Majesty's Government had no wish or intention to enter thereafter into any treaties to the north of the Orange River which might be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Free State, the communication that Moshesh and his tribe were in all probability about to become subjects of the British Crown had taken him quite by surprise. He regretted that he could not coincide in His Excellency's opinion that the course proposed would tend to the future general peace of South Africa. And as the interest and welfare of the Free State would be so seriously affected by it, he had con

vened the Volksraad to meet in extraordinary session on the 21st of March.

The President's statement of the recent successes of the Free State arms was correct. The northern commando had succeeded in depriving the enemy of a large quantity of grain and a considerable number of cattle, it had burnt several towns and destroyed extensive fortifications at Platberg, the Berea, Kranaberg, and other places. The southern commando had met with like success in the districts along the Orange River and about the Koesbergen. And, more than all this, on the 28th of January, only three days before the letter was written, Tandjesberg had been taken by storm by Chief Commandant Pansegrouw.

This stronghold was attacked in the same manner as Makwai's mountain. Commandant Van der Merwe with the Fauresmith burghers was sent to make a feint at the north-eastern point while Commandant Jooste with a strong detachment crept up the south-western extremity. An hour before daybreak Van der Merwe, under a heavy fire of cannon, pretended to storm the mountain, his burghers keeping up a continual discharge of rifles, but not exposing themselves unnecessarily. The ruse succeeded. Poshuli's men were drawn towards the threatened point, and Jooste seized the opportunity to climb up to the top of the great mound. The rocks there were full of sconces, the first of which was in possession of the burghers before the enemy was aware of what was taking place.

Even then the position of Poshuli's men

would have been impregnable if they had not lost heart. In some places the burghers had to scale steep rocks to attack the sconces, but in their enthusiasm they surmounted every obstacle, and early in the morning they were in full possession of the stronghold, from which the Basuto had fled in a panic. Though only six burghers were wounded, the conquerors counted one hundred and twenty-six dead bodies of their enemies. How many more of the Basuto were killed and how many were wounded cannot be stated with accuracy, but the number of the latter was very considerable. The movable spoil consisted of 106 horses, 140 head of horned cattle, 1,070 sheep, and a very large quantity of grain.

Among those who fell at Tandjesberg was the commander of the garrison, Moshesh's brother Poshuli, the most renowned robber captain in South Africa. He was wounded in the leg, and was endeavouring to get away with the assistance of one of his sons and two or three of his councillors, when he found himself exposed to a fire of musketry from the front. To lighten himself he unbuckled his ammunition pouch and gave it with his rifle to his son. The party then tried to escape into a gorge leading down the mountain, but they had only proceeded a few yards when a ball entered between Poshuli's shoulders and passed through his chest, killing him instantly. His son and councillors managed to conceal the body in a cave until nightfall, when they carried it away for burial. In the engagement one of the inferior half brothers of

Moshesh also fell, and two of Poshuli's sons were wounded.

The loss of Tandjesberg was considered by the Basuto the severest blow they had received since the formation of the tribe by Moshesh. From its fall the cry of the old chief to the High Commissioner was earnest and unceasing, to come quickly or it would be too late. The burghers were in a corresponding degree inspirited. The young corn was now so far grown that it could be easily destroyed, and they were doing their utmost to cut it down. Their hope was strong that with a little further exertion Moshesh's power would certainly be broken, and the tribe which had so long menaced their very existence be scattered in fragments too weak to be dangerous.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, on finding that President Brand's Government did not cease hostilities, issued directions that no ammunition should be permitted to be removed from any of the Colonial ports to the Free State without his authority. But while acting in this decided manner, his language to the President was more friendly and conciliatory than it had ever been before. He pointed out that "if a fair understanding could be arrived at, the British authorities would be bound to maintain a due control over their own subjects, and the people of the Free State would thus be left to enjoy in peace, and without any extraordinary effort on their part, the lands they had hitherto held on such unprofitable terms." He was seeking, he said, the welfare of the Free State quite as much as that of the Basuto. He could not forget that its

people were all but a few years before, as many of them still were, British subjects; that they were the near kinsmen of the people of the Cape Colony; and that any misfortunes that befell them must to a great extent be shared by the colonists. He therefore still allowed himself to hope that he might gain the assent of the Free State Government to his proposals, and that by consenting to suspend hostilities with a view to negotiation, that Government would prevent further unnecessary sacrifice of human life.

On the 22nd of February another great success was achieved by Chief Commandant Pansegrouw's brigade. Before daylight that morning the same tactics that had been successful at Makwai's mountain and Tandjesberg were employed against the Kieme, the stronghold of Letsie. Pansegrouw himself with one hundred burghers made the feint on this occasion. Letsie was at the time on a visit to Thaba Bosigo, and Lerothodi, his eldest son, was in command of the garrison. The Basuto collected to resist the supposed attack, when Commandant Jooste with four hundred and eighty burghers and eighty European volunteers scaled the mountain in another direction. Most of the sconces were taken, but several of the strongest were left unattacked, as they were so situated that to storm them would have cost a great loss of life, without any advantage. The Basuto in them were practically shut up, and in course of time must either have made their escape or surrendered. One burgher was wounded, and some thirty Basuto were killed. The spoil taken consisted of 720 horses, 7,636 head of horned cattle,

14,400 sheep, one cannon, and a quantity of grain.

For some time now the Basuto had only been kept together by the encouragement given by Sir Philip Wodehouse, who was anxious to prevent them from crowding into the Colony in a state of destitution. When intelligence of the capture of the Kieme reached Cape Town, the High Commissioner recognized that if the tribe was to be preserved intact no time must be lost in placing it under British protection. Accordingly Sir Walter Currie, Commandant of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, was directed to mass as many of his men as possible on the border, and as soon as that could be done a proclamation was issued by Sir Philip Wodehouse:

"Whereas, with a view to the restoration of peace and the future maintenance of tranquillity and good government on the North-eastern Border of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to comply with the request made by Moshesh, the Paramount Chief, and other Headmen of the tribe of the Basuto, that the said tribe may be admitted into the allegiance of Her Majesty; and whereas Her Majesty has been further pleased to authorize me to take the necessary steps for giving effect to her pleasure in the matter:

"Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and declare that from and after the publication hereof the said tribe of the Basuto shall be, and shall be taken to be, for all intents and purposes, British subjects; and the territory of the said tribe shall be, and shall be taken to be, British territory. And I hereby require all Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa to take notice of this my proclamation accordingly."

CHAPTER IV.

The Proclamation by which the Basuto became British subjects and their country British territory was dated on the 12th of March 1868, and was published on the following day. It was received by the majority of Europeans in South Africa with great disfavour, for there was almost universal sympathy with the Free State. Many even regarded the interference of the High Commissioner as a wrong, which sooner or later would surely be followed by retribution. There could be no permanent peace, it was asserted, until the Basuto tribe was reduced to submission. If ever there was a war in which all the justice lay on one side, it was certainly this one. The little Free State, whose total white population was only thirty-seven thousand souls, had nearly succeeded in doing that which Great Britain herself had failed to accomplish, and just when victory was certain its fruits were snatched awa by the hand that ought to have been most friendly Language such as this was not confined to Dutch speaking people: many colonists of English descent expressed themselves with equal feeling on the subject.

On the other hand a small section of the community, confined almost exclusively to men engaged in commerce, maintained that this act of Sir Philip Wodehouse was necessary in the general interests of the country and was by no means an unfriendly one towards the Free State. It was pointed out that Thaba Bosigo was not

yet taken, and it was argued that the Basuto tribe, even if conquered, could not be kept in control by its exhausted opponent. Statistics were brought forward to show how exhausted that opponent must be. The ordinary revenue of the State was only £56,000 per annum, its ordinary expenditure was £55,000, and its public debt was £105,000. The people were so impoverished by the war that further taxation was impossible. There were no means of raising a loan, for there was nothing to pledge as security of payment. The whole of the public buildings in the country were worth only £10,000. There were Government notes to the amount of £125,000 in circulation—(£30,000 lent to the Bloemfontein Bank, £56,000 lent to farmers, the balance part of the debt)—and £5 in notes had only the purchasing power of £3 in gold. The imports during the war were at the rate of £300,000 yearly, and the exports only at the rate of £265,000, thus leaving a balance of trade against the State of £35,000 per annum. No less a sum than £650,000 was due by traders and farmers of the State to the Standard Bank, merchants of Port Elizabeth, and others in the Colony, while the civil courts were closed on account of the war.*

To all these figures the reply was that the Free State did not admit that it was exhausted, it was prepared to continue to the end a struggle which it had nearly brought to a successful

* The figures here given are those supplied by the Manager of the Standard Bank to Sir Philip Wodehouse. Those given in the Colonial papers of the day vary to some extent, though not considerably.

conclusion, and would take good care to make such terms as would prevent the Basuto from again breaking the peace. This controversy was maintained for some months, and only gradually lost the bitterness with which it was at first carried on.

The Proclamation laid down no limits for the Lesuto, nor did it define clearly what people were annexed. The followers of Moperi, living in Witsi's Hoek, were unquestionably Basuto. So were the clans under Molapo, living between the Putiatsana and the Caledon, and the adherents of Jan Letele, living in the District of Caledon River. All these were Free State subjects, but they might, or might not, be included in the proclamation, just as one should interpret it.

On the 14th a Commission was issued to Sir Walter Currie, Commandant of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, appointing him Agent for the High Commissioner in Basutoland. He was instructed to lose no time in proceeding to the assistance of the Basuto with the whole available police force, which had been assembled for that purpose in the Wittebergen Reserve. At the same time the High Commissioner wrote to Moshesh and to President Brand, informing them of the proclamation. To the President he added that he entertained the strongest desire of communicating unreservedly, with a view to the satisfactory settlement of affairs.

On the 23rd of March Sir Walter Currie with the police crossed the Orange and entered the Lesuto. He was desirous of proceeding at once

to Thaba Bosigo, but was unable to get guides or assistance of any kind, as the people of that part of the country were ignorant of the negotiations between the High Commissioner and Moshesh, and were suspicious of the police. Sir Walter therefore called upon Mr. Austen, Superintendent of the Reserve, for assistance That officer at once repaired to the camp, and sent out messengers in all directions with intelligence that the police had come to assist the Basuto. He also engaged a son of Morosi and ten men from the Reserve to accompany the Commandant to Thaba Bosigo.

On the 26th Sir Walter arrived at Moshesh's head-quarters, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the old chief and the people about him. Upon the proclamation being read they all rose up and gave three cheers for the Queen, Moshesh himself being greatly excited. A notification was immediately sent by the High Commissioner's Agent to the various Commandants of the Free State forces in the field, informing them that he had directed the chiefs to cease all aggressive movements, and that it would be his duty to assist and support the Basuto if hostilities should be continued against them. He then formed a camp at Korokoro, about ten miles south of Thaba Bosigo and three miles east of the Kieme, where he awaited the course of events.

As soon as President Brand received notice of the proclamation he issued instructions to the officers of the Free State forces under no circumstances to cross the boundary fixed by

the Treaty of Thaba Bosigo. They were to remain within the ceded territory and guard it against encroachments by the Basuto, and should British troops or the Colonial police appear there, they were to protest formally, but to offer no resistance.

On the 21st of March the Volksraad met, when a long and earnest discussion took place upon the High Commissioner's proceedings. The views entertained by the members were that the Free State had been unjustly and ungenerously dealt with. Unjustly, inasmuch as the Convention of 1854 had been violated by the reception of the Basuto as British subjects and by the prohibition of the sale of ammunition to the republic by merchants in the Colony. Ungenerously, inasmuch as the little State, which had been thrown upon its own resources by England owing solely to the difficulty of dealing with the Basuto, had made enormous sacrifices to punish the disturber of the peace of South Africa, and was therefore entitled to the sympathy of Her Majesty's Government.

One after another the members reviewed the relationship between the whites and the Basuto from the time of the proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty by Sir Harry Smith to this act of Sir Philip Wodehouse. They denounced in bitter terms the misrepresentation of events which they alleged was constantly made in England by a party that under all circumstances maintained the innocence and integrity of the natives, while the statements of the whites were unheard or unheeded. They declared their

apprehension that English rule in Basutoland would bring about a repetition of the evils under which the country suffered in the time of Major Warden, for they believed it would not be supported by any strong physical force, and while the border would be subject to continual devastation by bands of robbers, the farmers would be prevented from following up and punishing thieves by fear that the English Government might consider such conduct towards British subjects as hostile towards itself.

Holding such views, on the 24th of March the Volksraad directed the President to protest to the Imperial Government in the most positive and emphatic manner against the recent acts of the High Commissioner, and to inform His Excellency that the Raad could not appoint delegates to enter into any negotiations based upon a violation of the Convention of 1854.

Meantime the High Commissioner had left Cape Town to visit the Lesuto. On the 27th of March he was at Colesberg, from which place he addressed a letter to President Brand, proposing terms of settlement. These terms were that the boundary of Basutoland should be that fixed by Sir George Grey in 1858 and by himself in 1864; that along the Basuto side of the line he would cause three hundred farms of fifteen hundred morgen each to be sold, and pay the proceeds to the Free State Government; or that he would grant titles on quitrent to nominees of the Free State Government for the same number of farms.

This proposal, if accepted, would thus have

placed a belt of Europeans under English rule between the Free State and the portion of the Lesuto reserved for the natives, and would have been a tolerable guarantee against such a condition of affairs on the border as the members of the Volksraad dreaded. It would have taken from the Free State the whole of the land ceded to it by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo (inclusive of the district occupied by Molapo), would have restored four sevenths of that land to the Basuto, and would have given to the Free State in return the proceeds of the sale of three hundred farms.

The President declined the proposal. He replied that, apart from all other considerations, many grants of farms had been made in the ceded district; land had been sold, resold, and transferred in it; part of it was pledged as security for money borrowed by the State; and sites for villages had been surveyed in it; so that the Free State Government would be laying itself open to endless claims and complications by acceding to the proposal. He desired instead that the High Commissioner would restrain the Basuto within the boundary fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, until the result of the protest about to be forwarded to the Imperial Government should be known.

On the 30th of March the High Commissioner reached Aliwal North. From this place he addressed the President, calling his attention to the fact that the courts of the Free State had been closed for the hearing of civil cases during the continuance of the war, and maintaining

that this was a violation of the Convention. He asserted further that the employment of British subjects under the conditions offered by the State was an unfriendly act, and tended to set at naught the Neutrality Proclamation.

The President replied, explaining that the civil courts were necessarily closed while the burghers were in the field, and citing precedents in the recent history of the Cape Colony. He claimed that the State had respected the Neutrality Proclamation, and denied that the employment of English residents who offered their services in war was unfriendly towards the British Government. He offered to guarantee that no molestation should be made across the boundary according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, if His Excellency would do the same from the other side.

The High Commissioner answered that he would be unable to restrain the Basuto within these limits, as the country left to them by the treaty was too small for their maintenance. He then withdrew his former offer, but professed himself still willing to enter into negotiations. In a subsequent letter, written at the police camp at Korokoro on the 14th of April, he proposed that pending the negotiations with Her Majesty's Government a temporary boundary should be agreed upon and molestation from either side prohibited. For this purpose he proposed the line which is at present the boundary between the Orange and the Caledon, and across the last named river a line which would restore to the Basuto a triangular block of ground of no very great extent, but

which contained the French mission stations of Mekuatling and Mabolela.

This proposal contained no reference to Molapo by name, but, if accepted, it would have deprived the Free State of its claim to authority over him and his clan. In making it, the High Commissioner had the line he named in view as the future boundary of Basutoland, for he had already come to the conclusion that it would be a fair division between the contending parties. The President, however, declined to agree to it.

By this time Sir Philip Wodehouse had made himself acquainted with the actual condition of affairs around him. The war had entailed great losses, and had disorganized society everywhere. The tribe seemed ready to break up into a hundred fragments. There was a great deal of sickness among the people, owing to want of food and shelter by the clans that had been most exposed. It was believed that some of them had resorted again to cannibalism, but Europeans could not then ascertain whether this was correct or not. Four months later the rumour was proved to be true. In July Mr. J. H. Bowker was shown a cave, of which he wrote to the High Commissioner that the floor and the open space in front were so covered with human bones, chiefly of young people, that he could have loaded a waggon with them in a short time ; all of the sculls were broken ; and though some of the bones were apparently many years old, others had been cooked quite recently.

But though some sections of the tribe were reduced to the direst distress, others had hardly

suffered at all. Several of the leading chiefs had lost very little of their personal property. Their cattle were safe in the mountains, and with them there was no scarcity of food. Inside the limits of the Lesuto according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo there were enormous crops of corn ready for gathering, while in the country of Molapo, between the Putiatsana and the Caledon, every valley was a corn field. The police were purchasing then, as they did for many months afterwards, as much millet as they needed at twelve shillings a muid.

Molapo, so far from being a contented and peaceable subject of the Free State as the President at an earlier date supposed, had already welcomed the High Commissioner's Agent and expressed a desire to come under British protection. He had informed Sir Walter Currie that the reason why he had taken no part in the recent hostilities was an understanding between his father and himself that his people should merely pretend to be peaceful, so as to grow abundance of food and protect the cattle of the tribe ; but they had intended to join their kinsmen against the Free State whenever it could be done with a prospect of success. He had brought a present of cattle for the use of the police, had written to the President throwing off his allegiance, and had set at defiance the Free State Commandant who resided with him.

Moperi had also communicated with the High Commissioner's Agent, and had expressed a wish to be reunited to the remainder of the tribe and be taken under British protection. But he

was unwilling to give up his location in Witsi's Hoek and return to the Lesuto.

In the territory ceded by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, the Free State forces held most of the strong places, but had not succeeded in entirely expelling the Basuto. These, however, had no powder left, and did not venture to meet their opponents in the open field.

On the 15th of April a great meeting took place at Thaba Bosigo. With Sir Philip Wodehouse were Mr. Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Mr. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, Sir Walter Currie, Commandant of the Frontier Police and High Commissioner's Agent in Basutoland, and several other officers and attendants. The Rev. Mr. Daniel, who had accompanied the High Commissioner from Aliwal North, acted as interpreter. The old chief Moshesh was there with his sons, councillors, and most of the leading men of the tribe, all deeply anxious to learn what the Great Power whose aid they had invoked intended to do for them.

The High Commissioner stated that in order to carry on the government of the country three or four British officers would be appointed, but that the customs of the people would not be interfered with more than was necessary. As soon as negotiations with the Free State were concluded the Lesuto would be annexed to Natal, according to the wish expressed by Moshesh and the instructions of the Imperial Government. The Basuto must not expect to have the whole of the territory within the boundaries of 1858

restored to them, but he would endeavour to recover sufficient ground for their comfortable subsistence outside of the limits assigned by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. They must be prepared to pay annually a tax of ten shillings for each occupied hut in the country.

Their subsequent conduct proves that the High Commissioner's address gave very little real satisfaction to the Basuto chiefs, nevertheless they were profuse in thanks for what he had done and intended to do for them. The hut tax, they promised, should be regularly paid as soon as peace should be restored. To one point only did they make objection. They did not wish the Lesuto annexed to Natal, for that was a country of which they knew very little, while with the Cape Colony they had been acquainted since the time when Sir George Napier was Governor. Further than this they had little to say, except that they would consult together and Moshesh would write to the High Commissioner.

Within a few days letters were written in the name of the chief, asking that the Lesuto might be declared a Native Reserve, that is that it should be kept for the use of natives only, and Europeans be prevented from holding land in it; that it might remain distinct from both the Cape Colony and Natal, and be dependent upon the High Commissioner alone; but that if it must be joined to one of these colonies the Basuto would prefer the Cape, as they knew its customs from having had trading transactions with it for many years. The High Commissioner was also requested to receive Moperi as a British subject, and claim was laid to Witsi's

Hoek, where Moperi lived, as being part of the Lesuto. Nehemiah at the same time wrote asking leave to return to Matatiele and that a British Agent might be appointed to reside there with him.

What the Basuto chiefs really wanted was to be protected from their enemies, to exist with their people as a separate and compact tribe, to have space for very great expansion, and to surrender no more authority than was unavoidable.

The claim of Moshesh to Witsi's Hoek as a portion of the Lesuto rested on no foundation, and Sir Philip Wodehouse took no notice of it. In ancient times a branch of one of the many clans whose remnants composed the tribe under Moshesh may have lived there, but as far back as can be traced that tract of land was in possession of the Batlokua. Sikonyela, Moshesh's bitterest enemy, would have inherited it if he had not been driven away by invaders from the coast region. Under the Sovereignty, Major Warden gave out farms in it without Sikonyela or his people making any objection. Then it was overrun by Witsi's mixed horde, and it was afterwards taken from him by Free State forces under Mr. J. M. Orpen, Landdrost of Winburg. Thus Moshesh's conquest by Sikonyela gave him no right to Witsi's Hoek.

Sir Philip Wodehouse remained in the Lesuto until the 28th of April, but could do nothing towards the pacification of the country. In the ceded territory skirmishing continued as before the issue of the proclamation, though military operations on a large scale were no longer con-

ducted. Trading operations, however, were renewed to some extent.

As soon as the High Commissioner left, a spirit of dissatisfaction manifested itself, resting on the disappointment of the chiefs that the boundaries of 1858 had not been restored and that peace had not been the immediate result of their adoption as British subjects. The Lieutenant Governor and Secretary for Native Affairs of Natal were accompanied by a number of native attendants from that Colony, and these managed to instil into the minds of the Basuto that if their country was annexed to Natal a force of ten thousand warriors would at once be sent to aid them in driving back the Free State people. Hereupon Molapo became openly a warm advocate of annexation to Natal, and several other leading chiefs, including Moshesh himself, were suspected of secretly holding the same views.

At this juncture Sir Walter Currie was replaced as High Commissioner's Agent by Mr. James Henry Bowker, the officer next in rank in the Frontier Police, and the greater number of the police were withdrawn from the Lesuto and returned to their duties on the Colonial border.

The protest of the Free State against the reception of the Basuto as British subjects and against the stoppage of ammunition was forwarded to Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who referred it to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the ground that it was not expedient to deal with the republics in South Africa through the Foreign Office.

The Free State delegates, the Rev. Mr. Van de Wall and Mr. C. J. de Villiers, were received by the Duke of Buckingham at the Colonial Office. They first requested that the proclamation of Sir Philip Wodehouse should be withdrawn, and the Free State be left alone to make terms with the Basuto. This was refused, and they then asked that an impartial Commission should be sent from England to examine the case on the spot. This also was declined, and the delegates were informed that the Queen's Government would not withdraw the negotiations from the High Commissioner and would only correspond with the President through him.

This action was in accordance with precedents, but it is doubtful whether the Duke of Buckingham would not have made some concessions on this occasion if it had not been for the attitude of Sir Philip Wodehouse, for he had already informed the High Commissioner that he thought his proceeding in proclaiming Basutoland British territory, without the previous acquiescence of the Legislature of Natal, was in excess of the authority conferred upon him. Sir Philip had requested that the delegates should be referred back to him, and that the negotiations should be left in his hands, asking that he might be relieved if he was not permitted to carry out his own views. The Secretary of State, fearing further complications, left the matter entirely to the High Co missioner, agreed to the scheme which he advocated of governing the country for a time by an Agent without annexation to either

Colony, and extended Sir Philip Wodehouse's term of office to enable him to bring the affair to a conclusion.

All this time a lengthy correspondence was being carried on between the High Commissioner and the President of the Free State, but without any result.

On the 7th of May the Volksraad resolved that the High Commissioner should be asked if he would adhere to the boundary according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo until the result of the deputation to England should be known, or, failing that, if he would agree to some other line as a temporary measure, and guarantee to restore the land beyond it cleared and unoccupied in case the final decision should be that the Free State was entitled to it.

The High Commissioner replied that he could not enter into any guarantee of the kind, that he wished to fix the temporary line as nearly as possible where the final line must be, and again proposed the old boundary with a belt of farms under the British Government behind it. As the Free State Government was complaining bitterly of the thefts to which its subjects were exposed by Basuto raids from beyond the Thaba Bosigo line, which its forces could not check, the High Commissioner called the President's attention to the fact that stealing had not always been confined to one party in the strife, and referred to the report of the Commission in 1861, in which the thefts by Jan Letele's followers from the Basuto of Moshesh were stated to have been in excess of those by

the Basuto of Moshesh from the farmers in the Caledon River District.

The Volksraad rejected the High Commissioner's proposal, and determined to await the result of the deputation to England. The correspondence was then continued on the questions of the thieving, which Sir Philip Wodehouse would do nothing to prevent until some settlement should be arrived at, and of charges brought by Moshesh against the burgher commandos of gross ill treatment of Basuto women, which were investigated and disproved.

Mr. Bowker, as High Commissioner's Agent found himself in the midst of intrigues, without any material force to rely upon. An analysis of their conduct showed him that there was not a chief among them all whose professions were of any worth.

As for old Moshesh, of the abilities for which he had once been so distinguished he retained very little more than his craftiness. He was feeble with age, and loved to talk for hours of the deeds of his youth and his prime, but could not be kept steadfast to any present purpose. At one time he seemed to be in favour of the annexation of his country to Natal, in expectation of receiving strong reinforcements from that Colony; then he spoke of renewing negotiations himself with the Free State, as the High Commissioner's interference had not resulted in immediate peace; again, he expressed himself satisfied with what Sir Philip Wodehouse was doing, and desirous that the Lesuto should remain a Native Reserve under the direction of the High Commissioner.

Letsie was the one most to be depended upon, because he was the one who had most to gain from British protection. Molapo was doing all in his power to induce the tribe to throw in its lot with Natal, and openly applied to Mr. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs in that Colony, to appoint an Agent to reside with him. Masupha held himself aloof from the High Commissioner's Agent, and was known to be directing such skirmishing operations as were being carried on. Morosi was the head of a gang of thieves who were plundering the people in the Wittebergen Reserve and the Colonial districts beyond. The minor chiefs were scheming, each in order to secure something for himself at the expense of others.

As time wore on and no settlement was attained, many of the Basuto came to the conclusion that they had gained nothing by becoming British subjects. Some began even to suspect that the few police in the country were there to aid the Free State rather than them. Two or three discharged policemen took service in one of the Free State commandos, and were recognized there by Basuto spies, a circumstance which created so much suspicion that it was with difficulty Mr. Bowker could satisfy the chiefs that he was not responsible for their conduct.

Another event which increased this feeling of disaffection was the arrest by Mr. Austen, Superintendent of the Wittebergen Reserve, of Sekwati, son of the late chief Poshuli, on a charge of theft. In former years there had

been living in the Reserve a troublesome Hlubi headman named Josana (son of Mini, third son of Umpangazita), whose misconduct at length necessitated his expulsion. He and his people then crossed over to the Free State side of the river, and during the war he took service under Commandant Webster. He was thus a declared enemy of the Basuto, and subject to be attacked. Some people of the Reserve had sent their cattle to Josana's new location, where the pasturage was good, and placed them under his charge; while there they were swept off by Basuto raiders under Sekwati, but the owners, having joined Josana's people, followed the Basuto and retook their stock. Sekwati then carried off some horses from the Reserve, when he was pursued by Mr. Austen, who arrested him and two of his followers. Twenty guns were taken from his other attendants. The robbers were sent by Mr. Austen to the gaol at Aliwal North, and the preliminary steps were taken for their prosecution.

At once there was great excitement throughout the Lesuto, for the people maintained that Mr. Austen was taking the part of Josana against them, and had subjected to indignity a chief of such high rank as the son of Poshuli. Mr. Bowker found it necessary to urge the immediate release of the prisoners and the restoration of the guns. Mr. Austen declined, and the High Commissioner was appealed to. The difficulty was surmounted by the release of Sekwati and his followers, after a confinement of over a month, on the grounds that

they had been arrested in Basutoland and that it was uncertain whether the horses they were charged with stealing had not been taken from the Free State side of the river.

There was no attempt made to enforce authority, or to secure the observance of any law, English or Basuto. The most that was attempted by the High Commissioner was to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquor in the country. The chiefs did each as he saw fit. Moroko had taken no part in the hostilities between the Free State and the Basuto since the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, nevertheless Masupha attacked him and carried off three thousand head of cattle and nine thousand sheep. The followers of the same chief next plundered the waggon of an English trader who ventured to enter the Lesuto without their leave. Skirmishes with the Free State forces were frequent. In one of these, Lerothodi, Bereng, and a third son of Letsie were severely wounded, and a minor brother of these chiefs was killed.

While all was thus in confusion and the bond that united the Lesuto to the British Empire was liable to be snapped at any moment, the Natal Government was putting forth strenuous efforts to secure its annexation to that Colony. On the 31st of July the Legislative Council passed a resolution that in the opinion of that House such annexation was highly desirable, "provided it be understood that it is not to remain purely a native Colony, but that certain portions of the land be made available for white settlers; and provided also that such revenue

be raised from it as shall render it at least self-supporting." Lieutenant-Governor Keate thereupon wrote to the Secretary of State, urging that the boundary of 1864 should be adhered to, and that in addition Witsi's Hoek, which he asserted had always been Basuto territory, should be taken over, and the whole be incorporated with Natal. The addition of Witsi's Hoek would make communication easy and unbroken between all parts of the country from the Free State border to the sea.

A few days after this despatch was written by Mr. Keate, the mail reached Cape Town with the Secretary of State's authority for the High Commissioner to deal with the question as he should think best. Sir Philip Wodehouse immediately communicated this information to President Brand, and invited him to offer terms for discussion, to which the President replied that he must await the report of Messrs. Van de Wall and De Villiers. It was not until the middle of December that the result of the meeting of the delegates with the Secretary of State was officially known, when the High Commissioner again wrote stating that he would be at Aliwal North not later than the 1st of February 1869, and hoped to find the President willing to enter into negotiations.

The Free State Government then realized how entirely it was at Sir Philip Wodehouse's mercy. Its supplies of ammunition were cut off, while traders were disposing of powder and shot to the Basuto with hardly an attempt at concealment. Raids were frequently being made into the State from beyond the Thaba Bosigo line,

and the burgher commandos could not cross that line in pursuit without defying the British Authorities. Under these circumstances the Volksraad was convened for the 13th of January. Immediately after it met it resolved to appoint commissioners to treat with Sir Philip Wodehouse, and instructed the President to make the preliminary arrangements.

On the 4th of February 1869, nearly eleven months after the Basuto had been proclaimed British subjects, the High Commissioner and the deputies of the Free State met in conference in Mr. Halse's house at Aliwal North. There were present to represent the Free State, President Brand, Advocate Hamelberg, and Messrs. J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, and A. J. Bester, members of the Volksraad. All correspondence since the proclamation of the 12th of March 1868 was considered as withdrawn, and it was arranged that negotiations should be commenced on a clear field.

The Free State claimed first a boundary line according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo.

The High Commissioner objected, and proposed instead a boundary as before the war of 1865, in which case the Free State might retain any amounts already received for land sold beyond it, and he would undertake to pay the sum of £50,000, which he would raise by the sale of farms.

The Free State refused this offer, and proposed instead to cede a small tract of land on its side of the Thaba Bosigo line.

The High Commissioner declined, on the ground that the cession would be insufficient to

meet the needs of the Basuto; but offered a line from Kornet Spruit along the Langebergen to Jammerberg Drift on the Caledon (the present south-western boundary), further the Caledon River up to Jackman's Drift, and thence a line enclosing a triangular piece of territory in which the two former mission stations of Mekuatling and Mabolela were situated.

The Free State agreed to the boundary between the Caledon and Kornet Spruit, but declined to give up the triangular tract west of the Caledon.

The High Commissioner then proposed the Caledon River from Jammerberg Drift to its source, provided the Volksraad would consent to Molapo becoming a British subject and the district occupied by him between the Putiatsana and the Caledon becoming British territory.

The Free State would agree if the High Commissioner would pay £20,000 towards the war expenses.

The High Commissioner declined to pay anything. He refused also to keep old animosities alive by surrendering the murderers of Bush and Krynauw, as the Free State wished him to do.

The discussion was carried on for a full week before all matters were arranged. Finally a Convention was drafted by Mr. Hamelberg, slightly altered by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and signed on the 12th of February. It fixed the boundary as at present from the Kornet Spruit to the junction of the Putiatsana and the Caledon; permitted Molapo to become a British subject on his making a written request to that effect to

the Volksraad, when the district between the Putiatsana and the Caledon was to become part of British Basutoland; gave such Basuto as were on the Free State side of the Caledon until the 31st of July to cross that river, after which date they could be expelled by force; and secured to the French Mission Society as property which it could hold under Free State jurisdiction, or sell if it should choose to do so, fifteen hundred morgen of ground at each of its former stations Mekuatling and Mabolela. The thirteenth Article of the Convention provided for submitting to arbitration the claims of the Free State for pecuniary compensation for the ground between the new boundary and that fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. And lastly, there was a clause that the Volksraad might adopt, instead of this Convention, the first proposal of the High Commissioner, namely, the line of 1864 with a money payment of £50,000 and the proceeds of the farms already sold.

When the Convention was signed, the High Commissioner appointed Messrs. J. H. Bowker and H. J. Halse, with Mr. J. X. Merriman as Land Surveyor, to act with the Free State delegates in marking out and planting beacons along the new line between Kornet Spruit and the Caledon. They found the line an excellent natural boundary for the greater portion of the distance, consisting as it did of well defined ranges of hills with streams running in both directions.*

* It is as follows:—From the junction of the Kornet Spruit with the Orange River along the centre of the

His Excellency then set out for the Lesuto, and arrived at Korokoro on the 19th of February. The chiefs with their followers were already commencing to assemble there, and on Monday the 22nd a great meeting took place. At half past ten in the morning Sir Philip Wodehouse took a seat in the shade of a great rock, having with him Mr. Bowker, his Agent in Basutoland, Sub-Inspector Surmon, of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, and Mr. Cripps, his private secretary. At his left hand were seated Letsie, Molapo, and Masupha, the three sons of Moshesh by his great wife. On his right were the Rev. Messrs. Mabille, Jousse, Maitin, Keck, Duvoisin, and Dr. Casalis, of the French Protestant Mission, Dr. Allard and the Rev. Mr. Gerard, of the Roman Catholic Mission, and a few other Europeans. Before him were grouped the minor chiefs Molitsane, Lesawana, Nehemiah, Sophonia, George, Tsekelo, and many others, with two or three thousand attendants behind them or posted wherever a footing was to be had on the face of the rock. Moshesh was too feeble to leave his residence on Thaba Bosigo.

The object of the meeting was to make the chiefs and people acquainted with the arrangements entered into at Aliwal North, and to

former to the point nearest to Olifants Been, from that point by Olifants Been to the southern point of Langeberg, along the top of Langeberg to its north-western extremity, thence to the eastern point of Jammerberg, along the top of Jammerberg to its north-western extremity, and thence by a prolongation of the same line to the Caledon River.

secure their ratification of the Convention, which was as much needed as that of the Secretary of State or the Volksraad. Through the Rev. Mr. Mabille, who acted as interpreter, the High Commissioner explained to the people assembled that he had secured for them as good terms as they could reasonably expect, that the territory within the new boundary was ample for their requirements, as he would make provision in Nomansland for the clans that had migrated to that country during the war, and that their future fortunes rested with themselves.

Molitsane was the only one of the chiefs who openly objected to the arrangement. He demurred to giving up his old location west of the Caledon, but ceased opposition when the High Commissioner promised him the district vacated by Makwai. Of the three great sons of Moshesh, Molapo was the one whose power and influence was weakened most by the substitution of the line of the Caledon for that of 1864, and he made no open complaints, but confined his remarks to a request that he might be received as a British subject. After full discussion, the chiefs and missionaries professed to concur in the view that the settlement was as satisfactory as under the circumstances they could hope for, and the leading chiefs promised to carry it out.

The High Commissioner then announced that as soon as the Convention was ratified by the Imperial and Free State Governments magistrates would be appointed, when he hoped an

era of order and prosperity would be entered upon. The people would be required to pay the hut tax already agreed to, but in consideration of the circumstances of the country it would be optional with each man to contribute in money, grain, or live stock. The High Commissioner would henceforth exercise the right of assigning ground to clans and individuals, a right always held and acted upon by the supreme authority in every tribe. The country would be divided into three districts, in each of which one of the principal chiefs would be stationed.

To none of these announcements was there any objection made, but every one who spoke at all fully agreed to them.

Next day Sir Philip Wodehouse visited Moshesh, who was as profuse of thanks and expressions of satisfaction as he had always been on similar occasions. He was, however, so feeble in mind and body that not much value could be attached to what he said.

The High Commissioner then issued a few simple trading regulations, in which the charges for licenses were fixed at £10 a year or £1 a month, and in which the sale of intoxicating liquor was prohibited under penalty of a fine not exceeding £10 for the first offence and loss of license for the second, together with forfeiture of all spirits in possession of the trader. The police in the Lesuto, one hundred men in all, were distributed in four camps, one on the Orange River, one on Kornet Spruit, and two on the Caledon, with the object of suppressing cattle lifting as much as possible.

As nothing further could be done until the ratification of the Convention, the High Commissioner left Thaba Bosigo, and passing through rich fields of ripening corn to the Orange River, he made his way over the Drakensberg into Nomansland. There he assigned locations to the Emigrant Basuto chiefs Makwai and Lebenya, as also to the Hlubi chief Zibi and the Batlokua chief Lehana. On the way down he had an interview with Morosi, who requested to be allowed to cast in his lot with the rest of the Basuto tribe. The High Commissioner, however, doubted his sincerity, and told him he must take time to consider the matter.

It had become necessary to select a site for the permanent residence of the High Commissioner's Agent, and as Korokoro was in many respects unsuitable, in March 1869 Mr. Bowker moved to Maseru, a much better situation.

Notwithstanding the nominal assent of the chiefs to the new boundary, in reality most of them were bitterly disappointed with it. They had imagined that on becoming British subjects Sir Philip Wodehouse would use his power to recover for the tribe all the country that had once been Moshesh's. Their discontent was fanned by Mr. Buchanan, who represented to them that they had been grievously wronged and that if they would send him to England as their agent he would probably be able to prevent the ratification of the Convention and obtain for them all the land within the old boundary.

Sir Philip Wodehouse's back was hardly turned upon the Lesuto when intrigues were set

on foot to reverse what he had done. Molapo, Nehemiah, and Tsekelo were busy openly stirring up disaffection, and many others were secretly working with them. Letters were written by Tsekelo for his father, promising to collect three hundred and eighty head of cattle to defray the cost of an embassy to England, and asking Mr. Buchanan to go himself and plead with the Queen. Molapo sent Makotoko, his principal councillor, with Tsekelo to Natal, to confer with Mr. Buchanan there. Letsie alone among the chiefs, though he was cautiously trying how far he could ignore Mr. Bowker, would have nothing to do with the movement, for he could not possibly gain anything by it and might lose much.

The Rev. Mr. Daumas was then living in Natal. His judgment seems to have been warped by the troubles he had gone through and by disappointment that his station of Mekuatling, where he had lived and laboured for twenty-eight years, had not been restored to him.* His

* That he was suffering from aberration of mind is placed almost beyond doubt by the evidence afforded by a map and certain information which he furnished to the Government of Natal, and which the Imperial Government published in a Blue-book. That this "good and gentle old father," as the writer has heard Mr. Daumas described by more than one who was intimately acquainted with him, prepared a map so misleading as the one referred to and which is at complete variance with former productions of his own associates, can be satisfactorily accounted for in no other way. That he was a simple tool in the hands of one of stronger will has been advanced as an explanation by one who was thoroughly conversant with the whole

colleagues in the Leeuto, though deeply grieved that the new boundary did not include Mekuatling and Mabolela on the north and Hebron and Poortje on the south, were willing to accept the situation, and indeed expressed an opinion that their efforts to christianize the Basuto would be advanced rather than retarded by the change that had taken place. Without their concurrence Mr. Daumas entered into Mr. Buchanan's schemes.

A memorial, praying the Secretary of State to advise the Queen not to ratify the Convention, was prepared in Natal, and though only sixteen signatures could be obtained to it, was forwarded through the Lieutenant Governor. Preparations were hurried on, and without waiting for the contribution in cattle which Moshesh had promised, in April Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas sailed for England, taking Tsekelo with them.

Mr. Bowker, who described the situation as one of "treason on every side," now endeavoured to take the first step towards the restoration of order. This was the removal of Molitsane from the neighbourhood of Mekuatling to the district along the new south-western boundary which had been left vacant by the emigration of Makwai. When called upon to move, Molitsane made various excuses. He asserted that Moshesh had ordered him either to remain where he was or to join Moperi in Witsi's Hoek. Mr. Bowker informed him that

matter, but this seems to me rather to corroborate than to disprove the view here given, and which was held by his most intimate colleagues.

if he did not move at once the vacant district would be given to Fingos from the Wittebergen Reserve, and he would be left, without assistance or a place of refuge, to meet the Free State forces when the term of grace accorded by the Aliwal Convention should expire. Molitsane then pretended to submit, and without further loss of time abandoned the district which he had occupied since 1837, and moved to the location assigned to him. His sons, however, remained in the Koranaberg.

After the departure of Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas with Tsekelo, the different chiefs began to vie with each other in protestations of fidelity to the British Government and submission to the orders of the High Commissioner's Agent. Moshesh, Letsie, Masupha, the principal minor chiefs, even Molapo, sent messages denying that they had anything to do with the mission to England. Their object was apparent: to keep in Sir Philip Wodehouse's favour if the mission should fail, to profit by it should it prove successful. Mr. Bowker, who knew exactly what value to place upon the assurances of the chiefs, looked around for some means of governing the country, and eventually concluded that the simplest plan would be to introduce a body of Fingos and locate them upon the vacant lands. On inspection he found that there was plenty of room for a large number of such immigrants, and they could be depended upon to support the British Authorities. He proposed to the High Commissioner that a beginning should be made with Josana, but upon inquiry that petty chief

was found to have too small a following to be of any service, and before the plan could be carried further the course of events was changed.

In May Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas, with Tsekelo, arrived in England, and at once set about securing supporters among those benevolent individuals whose sympathy with distress cannot be too highly extolled, but whose very virtues often expose them to be made the means of doing great wrongs. The Aborigines Protection Society took them by the hand, and soon the prominent Mission Societies in England and Scotland were aiding and abetting them. These philanthropic people were told that Sir Philip Wodehouse was taking away from a simple and almost defenceless tribe the greater portion of the territory which it had inherited from its ancestors, and was giving the land to cruel and rapacious Europeans who were despoilers of churches and scorners of native rights. They did not imagine that in reality they were being asked to aid in perpetuating anarchy and crime. Without that close inquiry which alone could enable them to arrive at the truth, they accepted statements which agreed with preconceived opinions, and shortly that vast machinery which philanthropy can put in motion in England was at work to oppose Sir Philip Wodehouse's settlement of the Basuto difficulty.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, upon a request from the Directors of the Paris Mission Society that he would grant an audience to Mr. Daumas, and a similar request from Mr. Buchanan on his own behalf, consented to an interview. It took place on the 22nd of June. Messrs.

Buchanan, Daumas, and Tsekelo were accompanied by several members of the Imperial Parliament. They laid before Earl Granville a Memorial signed by seventeen members of the House of Commons and the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, setting forth Mr. Buchanan's views, and praying that Her Majesty's Government would annul the Convention of Aliwal North. The Secretary of State hereupon wrote to the High Commissioner, expressing full confidence in him, but asking for further explanations.

While the delay in bringing about a settlement was thus prolonged, the Lesuto remained a scene of confusion and violence. The only revenue that could be collected was in the form of licenses from European traders, which brought in no more than £6 or £7 monthly. Mr. Bowker was without any real power, and each chief was acting independently of central control.

Ramanela, ever a prime mover in deeds of violence, had continued depredations upon the Free State farmers, without any regard for the High Commissioner's proclamation and subsequent instructions. Molapo offered to chastise him, but President Brand would not consent to his doing so while he remained a Free State subject. Mr. Bowker, however, authorized Molapo to punish the robber, which he did by falling upon him and seizing about a thousand head of cattle.

At the end of July the country on the Free State side of the Caledon was still as fully

occupied by Basuto as it had been in March 1868. Molitsane himself had moved to Makwai's old kraal, but his sons were still in the Koranaberg. Parties of Basuto were even crossing from their own side and settling on the other.

The High Commissioner's position was made more difficult by the action of the Cape Parliament. The Frontier Police under Mr. Bowker in the Lesuto had been reduced to thirty-six men, and if they were withdrawn there would be no representatives of the British Government left, for there was no revenue out of which salaries could be paid. Under these circumstances the Legislative Council requested the High Commissioner to give "such information as would show that the employment of a portion of the Frontier Police in Basutoland was of colonial importance and necessary to its security." The House of Assembly, after a lengthy and warm discussion in which the greatest sympathy was expressed with the Free State, passed a resolution by a majority of twenty-seven to six, in which it repudiated the idea that Basutoland could be regarded as a part of the frontier, or as a territory to be defended, except temporarily, by the Armed and Mounted Police, the finances of the Colony being wholly inadequate to sustain such a charge for any length of time. The High Commissioner could only reply that the police would be withdrawn without any unnecessary delay.

Sir Philip Wodehouse's explanations to the Secretary of State showed with how little justice he could be accused of wronging the Basuto. He had recovered for them so much more ground

than they needed that his agent in the country was proposing to introduce Fingos to fill it and create a balance of power, while Moshesh, (i.e. his minor sons acting in his name,) was actually at this very time renewing overtures to Jan Letele's people and other subjects of the Free State to come in and ally themselves with his tribe. Mr. Bowker computed that there would not be more than five thousand individuals affected by the substitution of the Caledon for the boundary of 1864, but this number was certainly too small.

The Secretary of State, being satisfied on these points, next raised an objection to the thirteenth article of the Convention, which provided for the submission to arbitration of the claims of the Free State for payment for the land restored to the Basuto. He was not prepared to make any compensation, and if this Article was insisted upon by the Free State the Convention must be annulled. If it were expunged he would advise Her Majesty to ratify the remaining clauses.

As early as the 5th of May the Volksraad had ratified the Convention. Only one member voted against it, that one preferring Sir Philip Wodehouse's alternative,—the boundary of 1864 with a body of farmers under English rule behind it, and the payment of £50,000 in money. And now that the question was opened again, the President, in order to promote a settlement, consented to the thirteenth article being expunged.

The chief Letsie, to whose interest it was,

more than to that of any other individual in the country, to be under British protection, became alarmed when he heard that there was a possibility of the Convention being set aside. His father was too infirm to take an active part in affairs. His brother Molapo was in a position of independence of the other Basuto. He himself was not yet recognized as Paramount Chief. If the Convention were annulled and the war were renewed, he would certainly be ruined. "In fear and astonishment" therefore, as he caused to be written, he had a Memorial drawn up to the Secretary of State. In it he declared that he was fully satisfied with the arrangements made by Sir Philip Wodehouse, ignored any connection with the mission of Buchanan and Tsekelo, and prayed that the English Government would not withdraw its protection. The document was signed by Letsie himself, his eldest son Lerothodi, and his sub-chiefs and councillors.

Before this Memorial could reach England, Mr. Buchanan had proved to the Secretary of State that he was unworthy of further attention. In his overweening conceit he spoke of "his intention to lay waste the Free State," and of "the peace of the Free State being a great deal more in his hands than in those of the High Commissioner." In violent language he abused Sir Philip Wodehouse, and brought charges against him which Earl Granville knew to be contrary to fact. In reply, he was curtly informed that Earl Granville "apprehended the

law would be found to forbid such proceedings (as those he contemplated), and that it would probably be put in force by the authorities of the Free State and by those of the neighbouring British Colonies." And instructions were sent to the Lieutenant Governor of Natal to prevent him from carrying out his threats. This rebuff did not silence him, however, and he continued to make the most extravagant complaints, accompanied by statements altogether misleading.

Unfortunately most of the leading Missionary Associations in Great Britain, as well as the Paris Society, had already adopted Mr. Buchanan's views, and were pressing them upon the Secretary of State. One name especially was mixed up with these proceedings, which every truehearted man would fain blot out if truth did not forbid it,—the name of the venerable Dr. Duff, the celebrated Indian missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. His connection with Mr. Buchanan in this matter shows how easily the noblest and most gifted of men can fall into error, in pronouncing hasty judgments without an intimate knowledge of the facts of a case. Dr. Duff had made a short visit to the Lesuto in 1864, at the time when the Free State was intent only on preserving a boundary line which three English Governors, Sir Harry Smith, Sir George Grey, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, had laid down. The Basuto had invaded and taken possession of land far beyond that line, and all that the Free State desired was that they should withdraw within it.

Naturally, under such circumstances, the feeling between the two races was not friendly. Yet Dr. Duff, who was not long enough in the country to correct earlier prejudices, and who heard only the Basuto version of the story, could write that he was "forced to the conclusion that the Boers were the chief aggressors," and that he "fervently trusted the Convention would not be ratified."

Owing to so many obstructions, it was not until the close of December 1869 that the Convention was ratified by Her Majesty's Government. The despatch conveying this information had already reached Sir Philip Wodehouse when another memorial was presented to the Secretary of State. It was signed by Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Alfred Churchill, sixteen members of the House of Commons, General Shaw, Sir James Alexander, Dr. Duff as Convener of Missions of the Free Church of Scotland, Dr. Mullins as Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, Mr. James Davis as Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, and Mr. F. W. Chesson as Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. It was a statement of the views held by those gentlemen, such as can only be ascribed to defective information, and a prayer that the Convention of Aliwal should not be ratified. Earl Granville replied that after receiving detailed explanations from Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Convention had been approved of some weeks before.

On the 10th of March 1870 the document as amended was signed in Cape Town by Mr. P. G. van der Byl, as Agent for the Orange Free

State. There still remained the formality that the Volksraad should concur in the President's approval of the 13th Article being expunged, which they did on the 3rd of the following May.

And so at last, after more than two years delay, during which period the word anarchy fitly describes the condition of the Lesuto, the British Authorities were in a position to take measures for the establishment of a settled government. The Bataung stragglers on the Free State side of the Caledon had already been driven across by a patrol which burned their huts, and the clan had been settled in its new location. The next step to be taken was the transfer of Molapo from the Free State, so as to secure a uniform system of government in the country. Mr. Bowker ascertained that he was still secretly hankering after the incorporation of his district with Natal, but he expressed himself desirous of becoming a British subject, and addressed a letter to the Volksraad requesting to be released from his allegiance.

While the arrangements for his transfer were being made, the Chief to whom the Basuto owe their existence as a tribe was dying on Thaba Bosigo. Almost forgotten and utterly neglected in his last days, the old man pined away, suffering at times even from want of food. The weight of seven and seventy years, many of them years of unwonted care and anxiety for one of his race, had exhausted his physical strength ; but his mental faculties were not wholly decayed. Four months before his death he selected a

beautiful kaross made of panther skins, and asked Mr. Bowker to send it in his name to the Queen as a mark of his gratitude and desire that British protection should not be withdrawn from his country. His power over his people was all gone. No one any longer went to him for orders, or asked his opinion on public matters. His sons Letsie, Molapo, and Masupha exercised control over their followers, without any reference to him. On the 11th of March 1870 he died. So entirely sunk in oblivion was the man who had once been the most prominent Chief in South Africa, that hardly a colonial newspaper contained an account of his death.

But to the Basuto his decease transformed him from a helpless old man, for whom even his nearest relatives had no regard, to the highest object of their worship. From that moment Moshesh became to them a god, whose favour could bring prosperity and whose displeasure was ruin and death. Thaba Bosigo, the mountain on which he had lived and where his remains were buried, was thenceforth and is still regarded by them with superstitious reverence. It is not only their great fortress that has never yet been taken by a foe: it is a holy place, guarded by the spirit of the Chief who was the founder and preserver of their tribe.

On the 11th of April, a month after the death of Moshesh, the arrangements were completed for the transfer of Molapo. On that day a meeting took place at Leribe, at which Messrs. J. W. Lotz, F. P. Schnehage, and G. Vergottini, as

representatives of the Volksraad, released the Chief from allegiance to the Free State; and Mr. Bowker, as High Commissioner's Agent, received him as a British subject. Molapo had previously withdrawn all his people from over the Caledon, and he now expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the boundary assigned to the Lesuto by the Convention of Aliwal North.

In the session of 1870 the Cape Parliament showed itself as little inclined as in 1869 to take upon itself the enforcement of order in the Lesuto. On the 3rd of May a resolution was carried in the House of Assembly that it was expedient that the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police in Basutoland should be withdrawn and stationed within the colonial boundary as early as would be safe and prudent. This resolution was communicated to the Governor by respectful address, but he took no action upon it.

The long term of government of Sir Philip Wodehouse was now drawing to a close. He had been detained in South Africa beyond the usual period expressly to settle the Basuto difficulty, and as soon as the Convention of Aliwal North was accepted by all parties he made ready to leave. In May 1870, just before his departure, he drew up a series of regulations for the government of the Basuto, which were, however, not to be put in force until considered expedient by Mr. Bowker. At the same time he appointed Mr. Bowker, the High Commissioner's Agent, magistrate of the central and northern districts of the Lesuto, and Mr. John Austen, previously superintendent of the Witte-

bergen Reserve, magistrate of the southern district. Instructions were issued to proceed with the collection of the hut tax, and until it should be known whether the Basuto would keep their engagement to pay this tax all further arrangements for the government of the tribe were left in abeyance.

It had not yet been decided whether the Baphuti were to be considered British subjects, and whether the district which they occupied South of the Orange was to be regarded as part of the Lesuto, or not. Sir Philip Wodehouse had been requested by Morosi to take him over, but had declined to do so without further consideration. To ascertain if he was still of the same mind, in June 1870 he was requested to meet Messrs. Bowker and Austen at the police camp at Pathlala Drift. There Morosi declared that he had been for years a subject of the late chief Moshesh, and that he desired to follow his example. He had acted, he said, the part of a dog lingering behind at a kraal and gnawing bones after his master had left, and now he wished to follow up the trail of his master. He and his people were then formally received as British subjects.

Political agitators, instigated by Mr. Buchanan who had returned to Natal, were keeping the people in such a disturbed state that Mr. Bowker was obliged to ask for authority to deal summarily with them. In reply he was informed that he could order such persons to leave the country, and if they did not go he could expel them or imprison them pending the High Commissioner's decision in each case. When it

became known that he possessed such power, these mischief makers desisted from acting as openly as before, but Mr. Bowker was aware that their intrigues were still continued. The most dangerous of these agitators were the petty chiefs who had been partly educated in the Colony, and who were filled with extravagant ideas of their own importance, but who were really incompetent to fill any position of trust.

For several months after Sir Philip Wodehouse's departure there were hardly any occurrences worth noting in connection with the Basuto. The attention of all South Africa was directed to the development of the recently discovered diamond fields and the disputes concerning the ownership of the ground in which the diamond mines are situated. Neither Government officers nor private individuals had time to bestow upon the question of the settlement of a tribe of whose name all were weary. General Hay, the temporary Administrator of the Government, left everything to be arranged by the coming High Commissioner. Mr. Bowker, having succeeded Sir Walter Currie as Commandant of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, appointed Inspector Surmon to act as his deputy in the Lesuto, and was never afterwards able to be at Maseru except for a brief visit.

The Basuto at this time were in possession of a large number of firearms, but since the cessation of hostilities they had not been able to obtain as much ammunition as they desired to have. The Government wished to divert their attention to peaceful pursuits, and with this

object in view endeavoured to prevent munitions of war from reaching them. But contraband traders could not be kept out of the field. One of these men came up from Natal with a number of rifles, which were evidently intended for sale, though no proof could be obtained to that effect. Mr. Bowker took temporary possession of the weapons, and then wrote asking for instructions. In reply he was authorized to confiscate such importations. Still, the profit on illicit transactions in munitions of war was so great that unscrupulous men could not be deterred from engaging in them.

In August Messrs. Austen and Surmon set about the collection of the hut tax. The chiefs were promised ten per cent of the amounts paid in, as an inducement to exert their authority and influence with the people. The result was the receipt of rather over £3,700. A small portion was paid in money, but most of it was paid in grain, horned cattle, and goats, which were sent to the Colony and sold.

This being considered satisfactory, the chiefs and leading men in the country were called together at Thaba Bosigo on the 22nd of December, when the Regulations drawn up by Sir Philip Wodehouse were laid before them and discussion was invited. Every one present expressed satisfaction at having been saved from ruin by their adoption as British subjects, but with regard to their prospective government they were less pleased. Molapo and some of the minor chiefs were still clamouring in disappointment that Great Britain had not forcibly restored to them the whole of the land ceded to the

Free State by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. Tsekelo, recently returned from Europe, had stirred up their disaffection anew. He had informed them of interviews which he had with powerful men who wished them to get back all they had lost. He had told them that the settlement effected by Sir Philip Wodehouse was condemned in England, and that the coming Governor would undo all that the late one had done. Mr. Buchanan's emissaries also were busy fomenting seditious feelings, though he himself remained in Natal, by whose Government he was earnestly advised to abstain from further interference in Basuto affairs. The dissatisfaction on the question of territory was, however, rebuked by Letsie, who expressed himself contented with the country left to the tribe.

Much greater concern was expressed when the Regulations were read over, and it was discovered that the chiefs were ignored in them except as tax collectors and census framers. Their judicial authority, they observed, was only incidentally referred to, in order that it might be set aside by the white magistrates. That they would relinquish the outward and visible sign of rank and power was not reasonable to expect, and certainly they had no intention of doing so in reality, whatever they might profess in words. Molapo, Masupha, and the minor chiefs spoke openly against the acceptance of the Regulations, on the ground of their ignoring the chiefs and placing women in a position which, according to Basuto ideas, could only be

filled by men. Finally, however, Letsie stopped further discussion by declaring himself satisfied, and adding that the people must accept the Regulations and pay the hut tax.

A little later in the day an address to Mr. Bowker was drawn up in writing and signed by the chiefs. In it they expressed their thanks for having been received as British subjects, and declared that the laws read over were reasonable. But they stated that "they were sorry not to see mentioned the rights and the authority left to the chiefs, who were the captains of the Queen."

At this meeting cattle were collected to be sent, according to traditional custom, with messengers announcing the death of Moshesh to the chiefs of tribes with whom he had intercourse in his lifetime. By some oversight no messengers were sent to Cetewayo on this occasion, which omission of courtesy led some time afterwards to a panic grounded on fear of a Zulu invasion.

On the 31st of December 1870 Sir Henry Barkly assumed duty as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony. As soon as his arrival in South Africa was known, the Basuto chiefs sent him a letter of welcome. They had been persuaded by Tsekelo and Mr. Buchanan that Sir Philip Wodehouse had been recalled owing to their representations in England, and that the new Governor would most likely favour them much more than the late one had done. The chiefs were therefore anxious to know what Sir Henry Barkly's views and intentions were.

He did not keep them long in suspense. Within ten weeks of his arrival in Cape Town he was on his way to the Lesuto, and on the 16th of March 1871 he had a meeting with Letsie at Maseru. The Governor was accompanied by Messrs. J. H. Bowker and C. D. Griffith. Lieutenant Governor Keate, of Natal, by previous arrangement met him in the Lesuto.

Sir Henry Barkly announced that he intended to increase the staff of European officers in the territory and to annex it to the Cape Colony, to which Letsie replied that he would be satisfied with anything and everything that the Queen's Government might do.

The other chiefs were equally loyal in words. Molapo asked about the ground he had lost, and was told that the Caledon was the fixed boundary and no other must be thought of. He said that he was satisfied, as the Governor knew what was best for them; but as soon as he was beyond the hearing of Europeans he burst out into passionate utterances against Sir Henry Barkly and Sir Philip Wodehouse alike.

Upon the death of Moshesh, Masupha had removed from his residence on the Putiatsana to Thaba Bosigo, against the orders of the High Commissioner's Agent. He had obstructed the collection of hut-tax, and had put himself in opposition to all authority. Nevertheless, with a large armed following he met the Governor and escorted him through the Berea district, declaring himself a thoroughly loyal and obedient subject. Sir Henry Barkly told him that he could not be recognized as a chief nor

receive any commission upon the receipt of hut-tax until he removed from Thaba Bosigo and took up his residence in the Berea district, over which he was appointed native head. He promised to comply with the Governor's wishes, but went straight back to Thaba Bosigo.

Nehemiah, George, and Sophonia had just before been announcing as their views that the chiefs should collect the revenue, pay the magistrates, and dispose of the surplus as they should see fit, that the laws should be made by the Basuto nobles sitting in Council at Thaba Bosigo, and that the chiefs, advised by the magistrates, should have the administration of affairs. These sons of Moshesh were now, if their professions to the Governor could be trusted, the most humble and dutiful subjects, contented to abide by whatever the Queen's representative should please to consider good for them.

Sir Henry Barkly, deceived by these protestations of loyalty, returned to Cape Town convinced that the chiefs were sincere, and that there would be no difficulty in governing the tribe. The country, in his opinion, was capable of supporting many times the number of inhabitants then in it. On the 27th of April he opened the Cape Parliament with a speech in which he stated his intention to introduce a Bill to annex Basutoland to the Cape Colony, informed the members that the hut tax was generally paid, that the amount collected had left a considerable balance after defraying expenses, and that the revenue was adequate for purposes of government, including police.

The Imperial Government had never intended

that the Lesuto should be a direct dependency of the Crown. When permission was given to Sir Philip Wodehouse to take over the people, it was on condition that the Legislature of Natal should previously express its consent to their incorporation with that Colony. He had not adhered to his instructions, and the Secretary of State had then permitted him to have his own way for a time, provided he did not put the Home Government to any expense. This difficulty he had got over by employing none but members of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, with an officer of that force as his Agent in the territory, though in direct opposition to the wishes of the Cape Parliament. But this was an arrangement which was not intended by any one to be permanent.

On the 17th of October 1870, before Sir Henry Barkly left England, he was instructed by the Secretary of State to discuss the question with Sir Philip Wodehouse, and received directions in writing that "Basutoland should be annexed as soon as possible either to Natal or to the Cape Colony." An alternative was indeed mentioned in another paragraph, in which the Secretary wrote: "You will endeavour to secure either that this Territory is annexed to one of the neighbouring Colonies, or that a revenue is raised from it sufficient to enable you as High Commissioner to conduct its government without external assistance." But the views of the Imperial Government were decidedly against the last of these courses, if annexation could be brought about.

On the 3rd of May the Governor's Secretary brought the Annexation Bill to the Legislative Council, where it was received and read for the first time. It then dropped out of sight for two months, until the 3rd of July, when it was referred to a Select Committee of eight members. The Committee consulted Messrs. J. X. Merriman and J. H. Bowker, as well as the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney General, all of whom were in favour of annexation to the Cape Colony rather than to Natal. Mr. Bowker stated that Masupha and a few of the petty chiefs were opposed to us, but the power of the tribe was completely broken and its influence was gone.

On the 1st of August the Select Committee brought up a report. Basutoland, they affirmed, offered a wide field of profitable commercial enterprise, which it would be sound policy to secure; the country having already been declared British territory, it would be undesirable for the Colony, being geographically connected with it, not to obtain legislative control over the people; and with reference to the financial aspect of the question, it did not appear that annexation was likely to entail any additional burden on the Colony.

The actual revenue received from the date of the assumption of British authority to the 31st of May 1871 was £4,753. This was made up of hut-tax £3,721, trading licenses £961, fines £63, and fees for registration of marriages £8. The hut tax was one year's collection only, the other items were receipts of rather more

than three years. A large increase in all might reasonably be expected. The expenditure proposed by Sir Henry Barkly was: Chief Magistrate and Governor's Agent £800 and £100 for house rent, two magistrates at £400 and £50 for house rent, two assistant magistrates at £200, one European clerk at £125, and three native clerks at £50 each per annum. Stationery £75. Total £2,550. With the balance of the revenue he proposed to provide a police force. Nothing was allowed in these estimates for public works, buildings, education, or postal communication.

The Legislative Council in committee adopted the report by a majority of eleven to six, but after a warm discussion the second reading of the Annexation Bill was only carried by ten votes against eight. On the following day, 2nd of August, it passed its third reading in the Council, and on the 5th it was brought up in the House of Assembly and read for the first time. The session was then drawing to a close, and business was being hurried through. On the 9th the Bill was read for the second time. On the 10th the House of Assembly went into committee, and after a very brief discussion the Bill was read the third time without a division. On the day following Parliament was prorogued.

By this Act the Lesuto was annexed to the Cape Colony, but was not made subject to colonial law. The duty of legislating for the territory, that is of making, repealing, amending, and altering laws and regulations, was vested in

the Governor. All legislative enactments were to be laid before Parliament within fourteen days of the opening of the session following their promulgation, and were to remain in force unless they should be repealed, altered, or varied by Act of Parliament during that session. No Act of Parliament was to apply to the territory unless so declared in express terms in the Act itself or in a proclamation by the Governor.

On the 16th of August a great meeting of the Basuto people took place at Maseru. A message from the Governor was read to Letsie, informing him that no change whatever was effected in the position of the Basuto by the annexation of the country, except giving them the full privileges of British subjects in the Cape Colony. Letsie, Masupha, Nehemiah, George, Tsekelo, Makotoko for Molapo, and others, using the most loyal language, agreed to what had been done. No one raised a dissentient voice.

The Lesuto was now divided into four districts, named Leribe, Berea, Thaba Bosigo, and Kornet Spruit. Over the whole Mr. Charles Duncan Griffith had already been placed, with the titles of Chief Magistrate and Governor's Agent. On the 2nd of August he assumed the duties, when he found the only questions causing general interest were the refusal of Masupha to leave Thaba Bosigo, though Letsie professed to endorse the order of the Governor that he should do so, and Mr. Buchanan's efforts to obtain the cattle promised by Moshesh to defray the cost of his mission to Europe, but which no one was disposed to contribute.

On the 15th of July the Rev. Mr. Jousse wrote to the Governor on behalf of Masupha, asking that he might remain on Thaba Bosigo, as Letsie had no intention of going to live there. On the 2nd of September the Governor directed the Chief Magistrate to inform Masupha that he must move as soon as he conveniently could to the Berea district, but this intimation was not to be followed by any active steps unless Letsie should apply for assistance. Masupha therefore remained master of the stronghold. As for Mr. Buchanan, he continued to write inflammatory letters to the chiefs, and did his utmost to keep alive a spirit of disaffection. On the 2nd of September the High Commissioner directed Lieutenant Governor Keate to inform him that if he sent messengers again into the Lesuto they would be prosecuted for stirring up sedition, but that he could bring his claim for compensation against the Basuto chiefs before the proper law-courts, if he chose to do so.

At Leribe Major Charles Harland Bell had been appointed magistrate, and had assumed duty on the 13th of May. He had been received by Molapo in a very cordial manner, and at a meeting which was held to introduce him, Jonathan and Joel, Molapo's sons, Selebalo, Molapo's half brother, and Mapetshuane, son of Poshuli and cousin of Molapo, who were the leading men of the district, expressed their pleasure in welcoming him.

In the district of Berea, Inspector William Henry Surmon, of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, was appointed to act as magistrate.

The Governor's Agent was also required to perform the duties of magistrate of the district of Thaba Bosigo. He resided at Maseru, and had as assistant Mr. Emile Rolland.

In the district of Kornet Spruit Mr. John Austen remained as magistrate.

The sub-magistrates had jurisdiction in civil cases of any amount, but their decisions were subject to review by the Chief Magistrate. They had jurisdiction in all criminal cases, except when persons were charged with crimes punishable by death under the colonial law. All sentences of over a month's imprisonment, or a fine of £5, or twelve lashes, were subject to the review of the Chief Magistrate, upon application of the person convicted. Persons charged with offences punishable by death under the colonial law were tried by a court of three magistrates, of which the Chief Magistrate was to be one, and he was to preside. If they were not unanimous in finding the prisoner guilty, he was discharged; if they differed as to the sentence, their proposals were submitted to the Governor for his decision. No sentence of death could be carried out except upon the warrant of the Governor.

All trials were to take place in open court, the evidence was to be recorded, and a return of all cases tried in the inferior courts was to be sent to the Chief Magistrate at the end of every month.

Each district was placed under the superintendence of one of the principal chiefs, who was to be consulted by the Governor's Agent in

distributing the ground among the people. The chief was required to use his influence in collecting the hut-tax, and was allowed a percentage of the receipts. He could try any civil or any petty criminal case occurring in his district, but had no assistance given to him to enforce his decisions, and his having tried a case did not prevent a suitor from bringing it afterwards before the magistrate.

The hut tax was fixed at ten shillings per annum for each hut occupied by a family or a single man. When two or more wives of a man occupied the same hut, ten shillings was to be paid for each of them. This tax was made payable, either in money, or stock, or produce of the land, on the 1st of June in each year. Any one neglecting to pay it was liable to have his property seized, or to be ejected. The headmen were responsible for the payment of the tax in their villages.

The sale of spirituous liquors was prohibited under a penalty of £10 for the first offence, and in addition to this fine the trading license was to be forfeited on a second conviction. All spirits found in such cases were to be destroyed. No firearms or ammunition could be sold without the sanction in writing of the magistrate of the district, under a penalty not exceeding a fine of £500 or seven years' imprisonment with hard labour. Licenses to trade in other goods were to be paid for at the rate of £10 per annum or £1 per mensem for each shop or waggon.

Before the law all men were declared equal. The crimes punishable by death were murder

and arson with intent to kill.* Infanticide was made punishable by imprisonment, and rape by flogging not exceeding fifty lashes, or confiscation of property, or both.† Forcible seizure of property, except by order of a magistrate in course of law, was declared to be theft. Forcibly compelling any one to be circumcised, or circumcising any one without the consent of parents or guardians, was declared to be assault.‡ Practising or pretending to practise witchcraft, or falsely accusing any one of doing so, was declared to be roguery. All other acts against person or property which were punishable by the colonial law were declared punishable in the Lesuto, due allowance being made for circumstances.

Punishments were to be inflicted either by fines, or imprisonment,§ or flogging; but no

* Under native law murder and arson when committed by common people were usually punished by a fine of ten head of cattle. Culpable homicide was punished by a fine of four or five head of cattle. The degree of punishment depended upon the rank of the offender and upon that of his victim.

† Under native law these crimes were very leniently dealt with. The first was hardly noticed at all.

‡ Moshesh and Letsie at one time were indifferent as to circumcision. Some of Letsie's sons were not circumcised. He would not punish those who practised it, but he said that he saw no advantage in it. Molitsane suppressed circumcision in the Bataung clan. The Zulus and Natal tribes have been uncircumcised since the practice was abolished by Tshaka.

§ This is a method of punishment unknown to native law. It necessitated the erection of prisons. On the 2nd of September authority was issued by the Governor to build prisons and to employ at each seat of

female was to be flogged. Hardened criminals and those who had not sufficient property to pay fines were to be flogged not exceeding thirty-six lashes.

No woman could be compelled to marry a man against her will. Marriage by a minister of the Christian religion was declared to be as binding as if performed according to the custom of the country. No marriage, however performed, was to be considered valid unless within twenty days thereafter the parties to it declared their consent before a magistrate, and caused it to be registered. A registration fee of two shillings and six pence was made chargeable. In every marriage contract the cattle to be transferred to the woman's family were to be registered, or no action at law could thereafter be entertained concerning them.* Either survivor of a marriage was to be entitled to the custody of the children until the males were eighteen and the females sixteen years of age. In all cases where marriages were not registered, the woman was to be entitled to the custody of the children. A widow was to be free to marry again, but in this case the custody of the children was to be transferred to some relative of the deceased husband to be selected by the magistrate.

These regulations were to come in force on the 1st of December 1871. They had been laid before the Basuto chiefs and leading men at the

magistracy one chief constable at £36, one constable at £18, and two at £12 each per annum.

* This was not to affect marriages contracted before the 1st of December 1871, all cases in connection with which were to be decided according to the old customs.

meeting on the 22nd of December 1870, and Letsie had agreed to them, but some of the clauses were very objectionable to the great body of the people. In particular, the tribe was not prepared for such a revolution in the position of women. The veneering of civilization in even that section of the people which was under missionary influence was very thin, and the families to whom the guardianship of children by women seemed reasonable could not be reckoned by hundreds.

It had been a common practice for young men who were nominally Christians to get married by missionaries in churches, and afterwards to abandon these wives and take others according to the Bantu custom. Their treatment of these women was regarded by the tribe as a mere joke, for in the eyes of the people they had not the status of wives.* Naturally fathers soon came to object to marriages in church, and required their daughters to take husbands according to the ancient custom, which provided some security against desertion or gross ill treatment of married women. Thus public opinion, even in the small section of the people under missionary influence, was at this time in favour of the old system, under which a

* One of the leading missionaries in the Lesuto wrote to the Government about these marriages which, as he said, were considered jokes. The remedy which he suggested was to make the wife in such a case entitled to a divorce. A layman may be pardoned for preferring to such a remedy the Bantu system when applied to people holding Bantu opinions regarding women and their status in society. Sir Henry Barkly declined to facilitate divorces.

woman was throughout life a ward under protection. The nine-tenths of the people who were not affected by missionary teaching had of course but one opinion. Thus these clauses in the regulations only caused irritation, without serving any good purpose.

With the establishment of British authority in the Lesuto the French missionaries returned to their labours. The territory retaken by Sir Philip Wodehouse from the Free State contained all their lost stations except four. At once they set about reorganizing their work, establishing new church centres and opening new schools. Prior to this date the children in their schools had received instruction in no other language than their own. Though there were more than three thousand individuals in the country who could read Sesuto, Mr. Bowker was unable to obtain a single native interpreter, the few petty chiefs who understood English being considered untrustworthy by him. From this time forward the youths in the higher classes have been taught English also. In 1868 a training school for teachers was established at Morija. The Government would have assisted with grants of money if there had been any revenue that could be applied to such a purpose, but it was not until the close of 1871 that state aid could be given, and then it was only in the form of outfits for the schools.

On the 3rd of November 1871 the Act by which the Lesuto was annexed to the Cape Colony was ratified by the Queen in Council, and the existence of the territory as a separate dependency of the Crown was thus ended.

Moshesh's Seal