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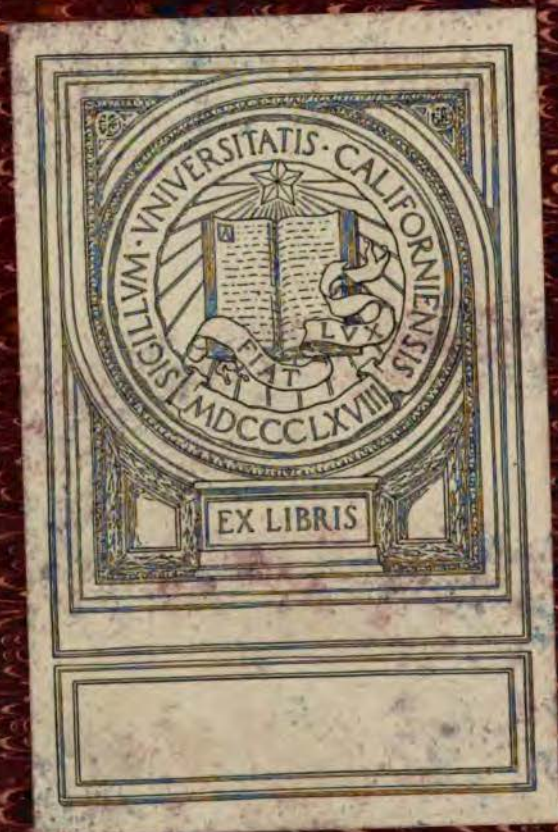
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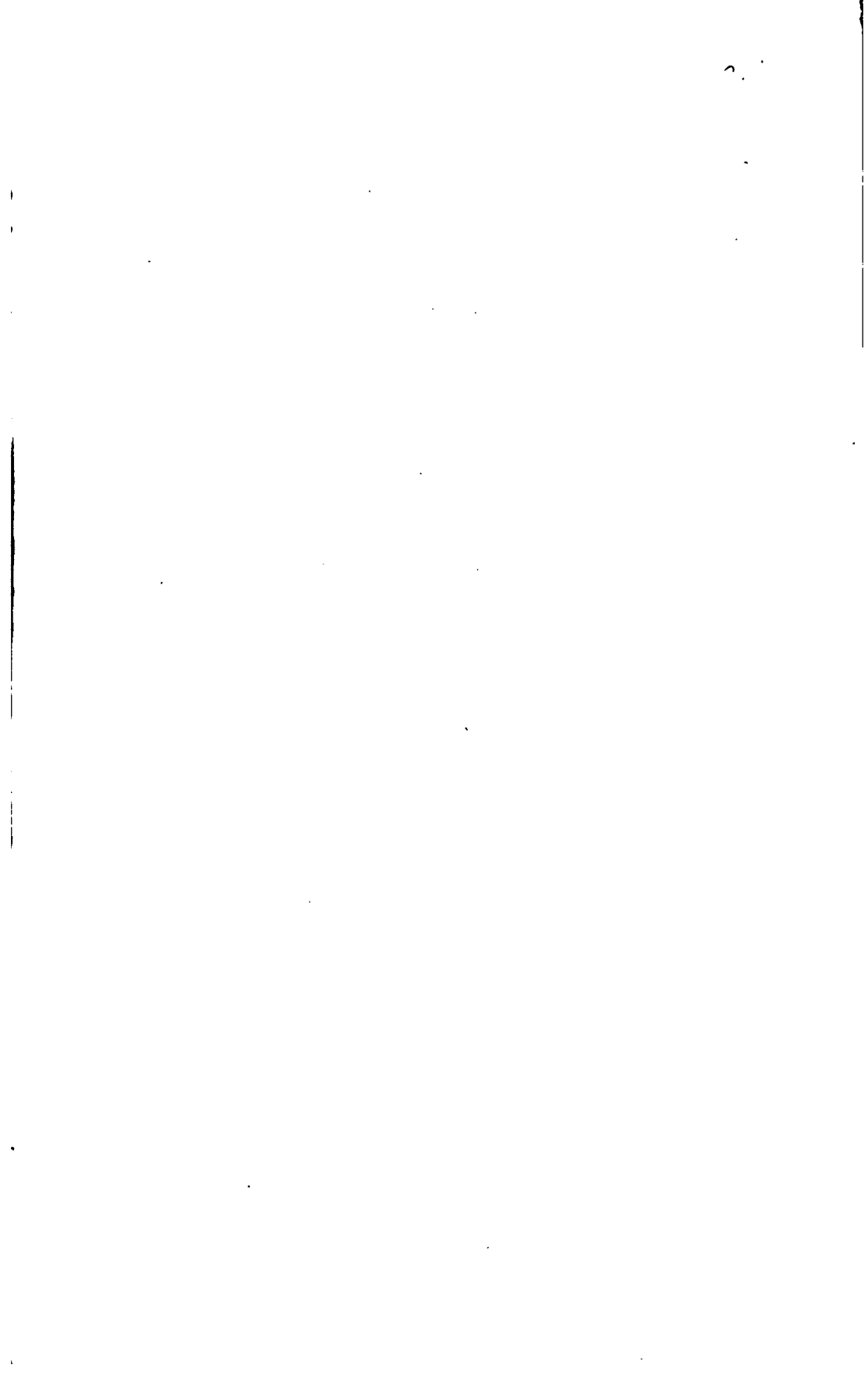
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THE
ANNALS OF NATAL.

1495 to 1845.

BY
JOHN BIRD,
LATE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE, NATAL.

VOL. I.

PIETERMARITZBURG
P. DAVIS & SONS, LONGMARKET STREET.

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To the Hon. Secretary of the Natal Society, Pietermaritzburg.

Pietermaritzburg, Natal, December 8th, 1885.

SIR,—In a separate letter I have placed at the disposal of the Natal Society the Compilation of the Annals of this country, completed for the period A.D. 1497—1845 inclusive.

In my first report (5th June, 1884) I had indicated the materials for the compilation found by me in the colony, and at the same time referred to the necessity of seeking in other countries and in older libraries much that was evidently wanting for the Annals: and in an intermediate report I have acknowledged with a sense of much obligation the readiness with which access to the archives of the Cape government had been permitted to myself, and admission to the record office in Downing Street had been allowed by the Secretary of State to my correspondent in England (the Hon. D. Erskine). Those archives were naturally, for far the greater part, of an official character.

The public library in Cape Town abounds in works of African travel and record; and as adapted to the requirements of the compilation much more was at once attainable by me in a private library,* in which a compartment has been specially reserved for works relating to South Africa, assiduously collected during very many years. This not only supplied me with much original matter regarding the more recent history of our colony, but enabled me to feel confident that no grave omission could occur in reference to a period when Natal was comparatively unknown.

Much valuable assistance was also afforded me by Mr. John Noble, the author of an ably written work on South Africa, by Mr. H. C. V. Leibrandt, the keeper of the Cape Archives, and by Mr. Jeppe, the custodian of the records at Pretoria.

* A noble library, containing twelve thousand choice volumes of classical literature, history, and science in every branch: the property of M. Chas. A. Fairbridge, Sea Point, near Cape Town.

ii.

On nearly every important occurrence in Natal, between the years 1839 and 1843, the compilation contains letters or minutes of the Volksraad (or "Council of the people,") the governing power among the Dutch-African emigrants. Of these some had been originals or enclosures in their correspondence with the Governor of the Cape. But members of the Volksraad and other men of influence among the emigrants had also from time to time sent to their friends in the parent colony transcripts of the proceedings of the council, which were published in the papers of the period, especially in the *Zuid Afrikaan*: these will be found among the annals.

It may, perhaps, not be superfluous to repeat in substance in this letter a passage of my report of 20th June last.

In making a selection from the various sources of record, I have felt the difficulty of guarding effectually against the risk of making an unduly copious or an unduly limited collection of documents. By those whom circumstances do not permanently attach to this country, or who do not carefully forecast the needs and wishes of a writer of history at a future day, a large compilation may be looked upon as too voluminous: by those to whom Natal has become a home, it will be regarded as still deficient in much that ought to be on record. If attention be directed to the circumstances under which the work has been carried on: the distance at which material for it had in great part to be sought; the fact that many volumes containing authentic particulars of interest and value are difficult to find, and may soon be out of print; and that very certainly, from their perishable nature, pamphlets replete with important details will disappear: some palliation may suggest itself for either error, if there be the error, of superfluity or insufficiency.

A copious index accompanies the manuscript; and it had seemed to me at first that it might serve the purpose of an introduction to the compilation, and speak for itself as to the authenticity of any documents transcribed, and the qualification of the writers to express themselves on the subjects of which they have treated. As to the greater part of the annals it can scarcely fail of attaining that object, but with regard to some, and to some classes of documents, I have not felt satisfied that

it would suffice, even at the present day, still less after the lapse of years. A short introduction is therefore herewith forwarded—to be attached to the index. For making this addition I have also had a special reason which may be explained in a few words.

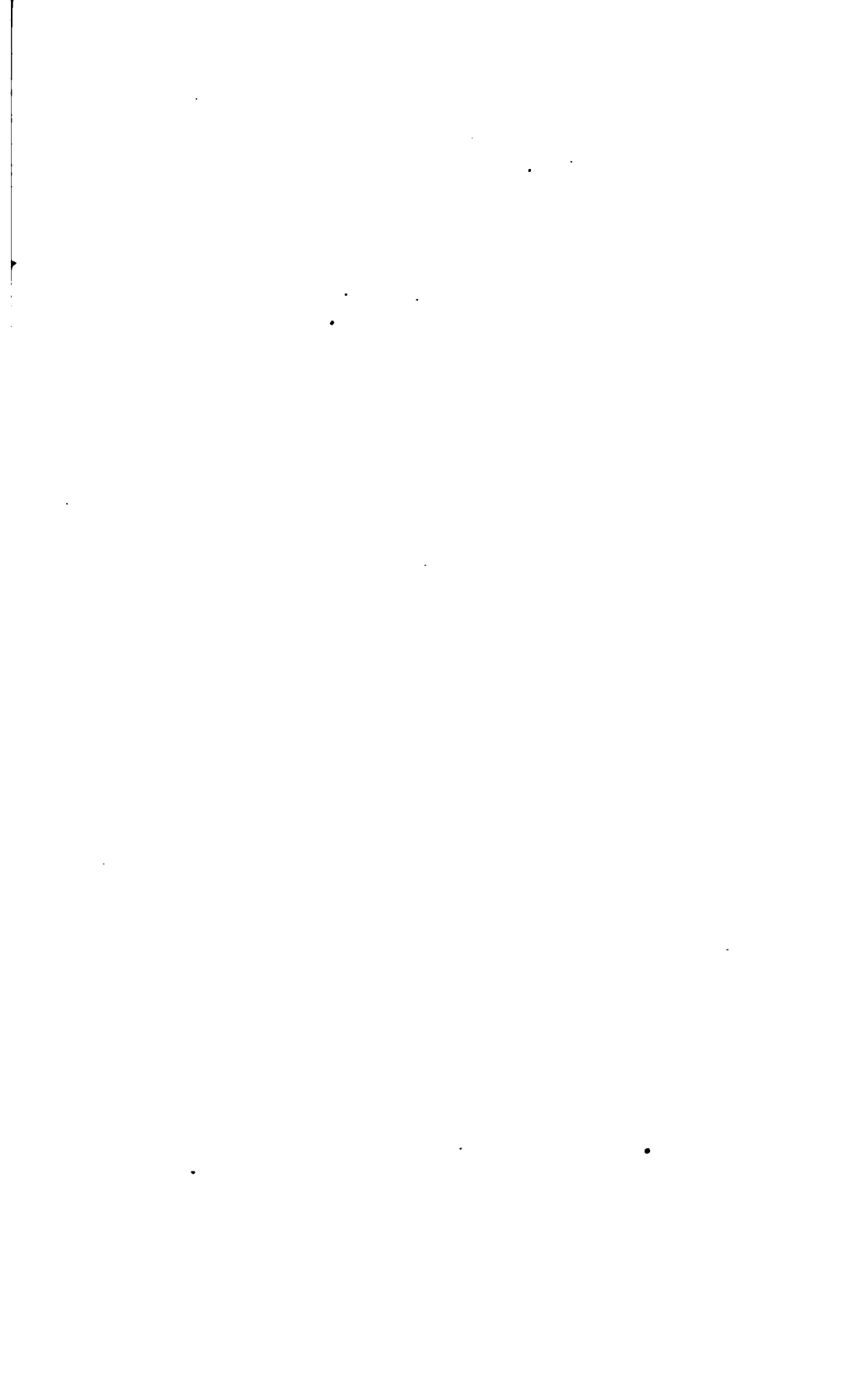
My employment under the government of this colony, nearly forty years ago, placed me in frequent intercourse with influential men among the emigrant boers, whose remembrance of the perils and struggles attending their emigration was still vivid, and to whose lips, very naturally, the mention of these constantly arose, forming the burden of their conversation. The details of their adventures were therefore familiar to me, and are still remembered with some distinctness. I was also personally acquainted with some of the English who had come to the country before the advent of the African-Dutch. Thus, in seeking for records, I had a guidance the want of which would have made the search much more difficult. It enables me also to afford some information that may perhaps not be wholly without utility, as to the general condition of the emigrants, and as to individuals who have written of events so immediately concerning themselves. To do this with any degree of clearness some links, however slight, of the sequence of occurrences are indispensable, though they scarcely form even an outline of a history, which it is not in the province of a compiler to undertake: but in applying explanatory remarks to the period of Chaka's reign and of the emigration of the Boers, it became apparent that such remarks might without disadvantage be made more general: they form the substance of the "Introductory Notes" appended.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. BIRD.



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INTRODUCTORY NOTES
ON THE
COMPILATION
OF THE
ANNALS OF NATAL.

A.D. 1497--1845.

WHEN Natal was first seen and named by Vasco da Gama, the course from Europe to India by sea was still unknown. The discovery of that course had been the object of several voyages along the western coast of Africa, undertaken at an earlier date by direction of the Portuguese Government. From these the navigators had returned without success, and (distrusting the reports then current in Lisbon and derived from Arab seamen) without any confidence that the African continent did not extend southwards to the pole. Diaz, indeed, had gone beyond the Cape of Good Hope as far as the Great Fish River in Kaffraria; but he was unconscious of the fact that the ocean in an easterly direction now lay unobstructed before him, and he steered back to Portugal in 1487 without attaining the great purpose of the expedition. Ten years later, 1497, Vasco, doubling the Cape, felt his way along the land to the East and North-East. On Christmas Day he passed near the shores of the country which, in honour of the Nativity, he called the

"Land of Natal;" but he did not enter the harbour, or touch at any point on the coast. Proceeding onward, he reached Melinda, between which port and Southern India trading vessels had for many centuries crossed the sea. A less circuitous route to India soon suggested itself. This having once been found, there was little inducement to steer far along the African coast after passing Cape Point; and for nearly two centuries Natal was rarely, and only accidentally, visited by mariners.

On the return of Diaz, there had been great hesitation in the Councils of Portugal as to the expediency of further exploration. The arguments used in the debates for or against the costly effort are given in the *Decades of Barros*, an able writer and a favourite at the Court, to whom access to the archives was freely allowed. The reasons for perseverance prevailed. Another expedition was resolved upon. The King appointed Vasco to the command, and the historian has transcribed the words of the address* pronounced amidst a concourse of nobles, in which Don Manuel, giving instructions to his officer, set forth the high views by which the great undertaking should be animated. Vasco sailed away, and one result of his mission was the discovery of the country, now our colony. The debate, the address, and extracts from the accounts of the voyage, form the first portion of the *Annals*.

Then follow a few extracts from the notes of seafarers who visited Natal, and learned something of its inhabitants, climate, and products.

But it was not until the Dutch East India Company had occupied the Cape that any copious and very reliable accounts of Natal are on record. It would seem that it was first brought to the notice of the Cape Government in 1684 by the captain of an English ship wrecked on the East Coast, in latitude 29 S.; and in a very old work on the Cape of Good Hope, mention is made of two shipwrecked men, who alone out of a much greater num-

* The discussion and address above referred to were first found in "The renowned voyages of the Portuguese" (by Pieter v. Aa, edit. at Gravenhagen and Leiden, 1797), and the translation in the *Annals* is made from the Dutch. The works of Barros, subsequently examined, showed that Van Aa had done no more than render into Dutch the account given by that author. Although a translation from another (somewhat free) version cannot be literal, there is no essential variance in the compilation from the original text.

ber, were able to make their way overland from Natal to Cape Town in 1685. Of any particulars regarding the country, at that time obtained, the official papers contain no information.

In 1686, a Dutch vessel was wrecked sixty miles S. of Port Natal. The crew, nearly sixty in number, at once set out on the journey southward in the direction of the Cape: but several, among whom was the captain, were unable to endure the hardships of the march, returned to the wreck, and, having repaired the ship's boat, ventured to leave the shore, intending to steer for Table Bay. The boat was beaten back by the surf, upset, and broken, and the unfortunate men suffered sorely from hunger and privation, until they were visited by two Englishmen, the survivors of a number, whose ship had been some time previously stranded at Port Natal. These men had learned the language of the natives, were in friendly intercourse with them, and had no difficulty in procuring the necessaries of life. They had heard of the Dutch sailors, and of their sufferings, and came to them in sympathy, led them to the port, and made them welcome to a share of their supplies. By joint effort they constructed from the remnants of the English ship a small vessel which proved to be seaworthy. Leaving Natal on 17th February, they anchored in Table Bay on 1st March, 1687. The Cape Government recognised, and faithfully fulfilled, the duty of making search for the missing men of the wrecked crew, of whom none had arrived overland. Again and again a ship was sent on the merciful errand, and nearly all the seamen were found and brought away. The wanderers had given up as hopeless the attempt to travel through Kaffraria, and were taken on board at different points on the coast, being in some instances noticed on the shore only by fortunate accident. The last thus saved had been nearly four years in the country. From all the seamen a description of what they had seen and done was demanded, and, under their solemn declarations that they would speak the truth, was taken down in writing. Their statements form an interesting part of the Annals. It is evident that native customs have since varied but little. The population was numerous, rich in cattle, and disposed to be peaceful among themselves; for those against whom, as being hostile or cruel, they warned the white strangers, must—as inci-

dental particulars indicate—have been Hottentots and Bushmen. It is interesting to notice that the larger tribes occupying Natal and the territory in the direction of Kaffraria were in the same localities and had the same names by which they are now distinguished. For though, probably in consequence of incorrect pronunciation, the names are inaccurately spelt in the records, there is no room for doubt that when mention is made of the “Magoses,” the “Magrigwas,” the “Matimbès,” the “Mapontes,” and the “Emboas,” the tribes were, as now, the Amakose, Amagaleka, Abatembu, Amapondo, and Embo; and that there were then, as now, two principal tribes of the Embo stock.

The knowledge gained of the territory made the authorities at the Cape desirous of acquiring, as an addition to their possessions in Africa, the harbour of Natal and some of the surrounding country; and on 24th May, 1690, Commander van der Stell reported to the Chamber of XVII. that the purchase of the port and its environs had been effected.* But neither the commander nor his successors made any serious endeavour to establish a port or a trading dépôt in the newly acquired territory. In a précis of information relating to Natal, on the preparation of which not a little care must have been expended, it is stated that Natal was occupied by the Dutch from 1721 to 1729. The statement is quite incorrect.† In a despatch, 23rd December, 1719, the Chamber of XVII. had, indeed, directed that if trade could be profitably carried on here, a station with a few officers should be established: but, deterred probably by the difficulty of entering the port of Natal, and attracted by the superiority of De la Goa Bay as a harbour, it was at the latter place that commerce was attempted; and at first not without some success: but the sickliness of the climate and the great mortality among the

* The natives do not appear to have been deeply impressed as to the binding force of this bargain. In 1705, the captain of a Dutch ship at Natal spoke to the chief then in power of the cession of territory made by his father, the late chief. The young ruler replied: “As to what he agreed to, it was for himself; I have nothing to say to it.” (*Vide* Compilation.)

Mr. Theal (*Chronicles of Cape Commanders*) mentions the fact that the sum named for the purchase of the bay and adjoining land was £1,650, but that the payment was actually made in beads, &c., of the value of about £50. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the young chief regarded the transaction as nothing more than nominal.

† The précis by Dr. A. Smith, given in the *Compilation*, is not the work here referred to.

adventurers so discouraged the Dutch, that the enterprise was abandoned, and never again undertaken. There is nothing to show that Natal was visited by a ship of any nation during the period of the occupation of De la Goa Bay by the Dutch. The narrative of the wreck of the "Naarstigheid," in 1759 (*vide* Compilation), the sailors of which vessel attempted to travel to the Cape, but, after proceeding as far as the country of the Abatembu, returned to De la Goa, can leave little doubt that for more than a generation no white men had been seen in any part of Natal.

After the establishment at De la Goa Bay had been broken up, 11th June, 1730, the Dutch ships ceasing to follow the line of coast to the N.E., the history of Natal is no longer to be derived from the Cape records of that period, or the writings of voyagers. But from a date that may be fixed with much probability within a period of not more than twenty years later—1750—important events, that caused great commotion and much change in the condition of the population, and the local position of very many native tribes, are known in detail. In order to indicate the sources of this historical knowledge, it is necessary to look somewhat in advance, and for a while to swerve from a regular order of date.

Soon after the year 1820, two or three of the English then settled on the Eastern frontier were attracted towards Natal, chiefly by the love of adventure. Their accounts of the country, and especially of the abundance of ivory procurable here, excited a spirit of enterprise among a few at the Cape, who became in very deed the pioneers of colonization in this country. Of this number were Lieut. Farewell, Lient. King, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Henry Fynn, and others, who, though after their arrival they regarded the neighbourhood of the bay as the place of their habitation, spent most of their time in elephant-hunting, or in trading for ivory, and were thus in constant intercourse with the natives; and had some, even frequent, access to Chaka, the Zulu king. It was indispensable to the handful of Englishmen that they should learn something of the Kafir language, and that some at least should understand it correctly and speak it

fluently.* There were many aged natives, who from personal experience and knowledge were able to relate all important occurrences of fifty, and even sixty, years before the date of 1824; and their narratives have been reduced to writing and recorded. Even of the events of a time antecedent to 1770, the traditional accounts vary but little, and are quite deserving of a place in the Annals. They show that the tribal quarrels, which up to a comparatively recent period had led to assaults rather than battles, and were not followed up with any view to conquest, gradually gave rise to more regular warfare, to organized force, and the claim of submission from the conquered. And when military instinct, a master mind, personal daring, and the absence of every trace of mercy, were united in Chaka, then followed countless scenes of aggression, devastation, and the massacre of the greater number of every vanquished tribe, no choice being left to the remnant but flight to distant fastnesses, in which concealment made it possible to save life, but to exist only in misery. As the result of such violence, very many of the natives never ventured to resist, but regarded it as most fortunate if they were permitted to bow under the yoke, and own no ruler but Chaka. The Zulu tribe grew into a nation within the limits of Zululand; but to all, except the herdsmen of the royal cattle, it was forbidden to dwell in any part of the country between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu. This depopulation of Natal was destined to become a few years later the direct cause of its being sought as a settlement by the African Dutch and, eventually, by British colonists: the remnants of the

* In gaining this knowledge of language Mr. Fynn is known to have been very successful. As, in the Compilation, extracts have been copiously made from his writings (never published) it may be interesting that an outline of his career should be traced:

Mr. Fynn arrived at Cape Town in 1818, and proceeded to the Eastern Frontier. Returning to the Cape, in 1822, he went as supercargo in a merchant vessel to De la Goa Bay, and travelled some distance inland. He then, at the instance of mercantile men at the Cape, who were desirous of trading with the natives under Chaka, came to Natal, 1824, with several other Europeans. He spent some time in exploring the country as far south-west as the Umtata, withdrawing for a time from all companionship with Europeans in order to learn the language of the natives. Nine months were passed in this seclusion, after which he remained in Natal, in frequent intercourse with Chaka and his successor. In 1834, he went back to the Cape Colony, and was one of the headquarter interpreters during the Kafir war of that period. He was then sent to secure friendly relations with the Amapondos, and afterwards served under Colonel (Sir Harry) Smith. He filled for some time the office of Assistant Civil Commissioner and Diplomatic Agent with the Tambuki Kafirs, and was ultimately for several years an Assistant Magistrate and Resident Magistrate, Natal.

aboriginal inhabitants did not return to it, until their land had passed into the possession of the white race.

After the date of March, 1824, for a period of nearly fourteen years, reliable accounts of matters relating to Natal become year by year more numerous. At first the writings of Lieut. King, Mr. Isaacs, and Mr. Fynn, a little later those of Captain Gardiner, the American missionaries, and the Rev. Mr. Owen, of the Church Missionary Society, afforded ample details of the habits and condition of the natives, and of the occurrences at the close of Chaka's reign, and during nearly the whole of that of Dingaan. (See Index.)

In 1837 commenced the great exodus of African-Dutch Boers from the Cape Colony, of whom the larger number came into Natal. Scarcely had they crossed the border when they were treacherously assailed by Dingaan. Numbers became the victims of revolting cruelty, and perished miserably. Having eventually overcome their savage enemy, and driven him from his territory, they gradually settled down in the country; at first refusing allegiance to the British crown, and at length compelled to submit.

The emigration of the Boers is the first of a series of events respecting the causes of which, and the events themselves, the accounts frequently and widely differ.

Whether the complaints of the Boers that they were neglected and ill-used by the British Government were real or feigned: whether their withdrawal beyond the borders of the Cape Colony was resolved on in consequence of unfair treatment, or was only, or in great measure, due to dislike of rulers whose nationality differed from their own; or to a migratory spirit transmitted through some generations: whether they were justified in entering any territory occupied, or that might be claimed, by natives: whether they were or not harsh and unduly exacting in their relations with the coloured races: all these are points on which the historian, or any one interested in the subject, can only form a judgment by a comparison of the allegations and arguments on either side. It is at once obvious that very large interests were for many years, and that some are even now, dependent upon the views taken of rights arising from just

causes, or claims founded on unfair pretensions : and it is equally certain that a difference of views would necessarily tinge the various representations of facts and occurrences. Without doubt it was in regard of such questions that the Legislative Council considered it necessary to stipulate that in the compilation of *Annals* strict impartiality should be observed.*

A few words will suffice to point out the means that existed, and that have been sought and found, for the attainment of the equitable object contemplated by the Society.

Of matters relating to the native races, the sources of information have been to some extent indicated in a preceding page : and to these must be added the evidence of elderly natives taken by direction of Sir John Scott, relative to the condition of the tribes before and during the reign of Chaka : "the early history of the Zulus," a paper contributed by Sir T. Shepstone to the *Journal of the Society of Arts* : and for the years 1839 to 1842, the incidents of travel and residence in Natal—by Adulphe Délegorgue, of whom some special mention will be made in the sequel. Thus, though the natives could of themselves do nothing to save their history from oblivion, it has in fact been done for them by others, of whom several were men of cultivation and fair judgment, whose writings were, for the greater part, well known and easily procurable.†

As regards the record of the views of the British Government or of Englishmen generally, much facility was afforded for reference. Official papers at the Cape and in Downing Street were placed at the disposal of the compiler : and the press, both by the issue of books of travel, and by the opportunity afforded in local journals for the publication of the statements of men qualified by personal experience to speak and write, had placed on record numerous accounts of occurrences in South Africa, in the aspect in which they presented themselves to the English.

* "The compilation of the *Annals* of the Colony to be a statistical record or history. . . without colour and without any expression of opinion by the compiler." *Vide* Report of a select committee of the Legial. Council, 5th September, 1883. (L.C. No. 28, 10th September, 1883.)

† Wherever, in these introductory pages, a reference is made, as above, to works or papers affording information, it may be assumed, unless an omission be specially noted, that they have been wholly, or so far as may be useful, transcribed for the Compilation.

Some books and pamphlets, known to have been published, can no longer be traced ; but many have been found, and extracts from these will supply the requirements of history or of individual knowledge.

But the African Boers, especially during the first three years after their emigration, had scanty means of informing even their friends in the Cape Colony of what befell in Natal, still less of recording their sufferings, their dangers, and their persevering efforts to prosper in the land of their adoption. The press did not exist among them ; very few of the emigrants were capable of writing intelligibly : and living as they did, with no shelter but their wagons and tents, obliged to be unceasingly vigilant in the fear of surprise by a reckless enemy, and to spend most of their time in procuring game for their sustenance, even the qualified few had little opportunity for committing to writing the hurried notes of daily experiences. Their first great disaster was the murder by Dingaan of Retief and his attendants (sixty Boers and about forty Hottentot or other servants). No one escaped to tell the tale of the atrocity. But it was perpetrated within a short distance from the abode of the missionary, the Rev. Mr. Owen. He and his interpreter, William Wood, witnessed the scene ; and both have described it circumstantially.

A few days after, occurred the night attack by the Zulus on the Boers, between the Tugela and Bushman's River, and the massacre of great numbers surprised in their beds, and unable to arm themselves. Some who escaped, having gone in haste to the more distant tents which had not yet been attacked, defence was hurriedly organized, and their enemies were driven off and pursued with great slaughter. Several Boers were then sent to their countrymen beyond the Draaksberg and within the borders of the Cape Colony to seek assistance. The story of the disasters was at once widely circulated and found its way into the newspapers, but the paragraphs containing the intelligence are obviously the product of vague rumour only, and have so little to vouch for their accuracy that they cannot have a place in Annals.

About two months later, Mr. Jacobus Boshof,* then residing at Graaff-Reinet, undertook the journey to Natal for the purpose of ascertaining what could best be done to relieve and assist the emigrants; and on his return he wrote a circumstantial account of the recent events. Although he did not actually witness the scenes which he describes, his position and character are a guarantee that his information was derived from very authentic sources. His letters, then published, are the best extant historical summary of the period. (*Vide* Compilation.)

Of the same scenes and of stirring events that followed, other accounts exist. The narratives of Bezuidenhout, of Bantjes, of W. J. Pretorius, and of Anna Elizabeth Steenkamp, and the journal of Charl Celliers, are full of particulars up to the date of 1840, and contain some of later date. The first two of these narratives were probably, and the third was certainly, penned by the hands of men more qualified than the actual narrators to give expression to their experiences, and were not written or printed for many years after the occurrences which they relate: but there is no suspicion as to their being genuine, and they emanate from those who had seen and borne a part in all that took place in the country. Of the writings of Charl Celliers, a "journal" is a misnomer: they were not jotted down day by day, nor till long after Natal had become a British settlement. But they give a vivid description of troublous times. Especially of the fight and pursuit—after the massacre at Blaauwkrantz—the relation is very exciting. Although Celliers has indulged unduly in sanctimonious quotations, the interest of the reader is not diminished by any misgiving that the writer was capable of

* Reference will more than once be made to Mr. Boshof's writings as being historically valuable, and a brief outline of his career will not, perhaps, be without interest. He was born in the Cape Colony, and was the favourite pupil of the Rev. Dr. Robertson, whose school was second in public repute to no other in South Africa. After visiting the emigrants in 1838, he himself became one of their number, and held a prominent position among them. When the authority of England had been established here, he entered the civil service, and was for some years the Master of the District Court. He was then elected by the inhabitants of the Free State to be the President of their Republic. His term of office having been completed, he returned to Natal, and was for many years a member of the Legislative Council. He spoke frequently on important subjects, his language had little trace of un-English error, and he was always listened to with marked attention.

hypocrisy:* for it can scarcely be imagined that the man who strove and fought, and tells in the most unpretending terms of the risks, the effort and endurance of that long day, was not too full of real courage and trust in Providence to be insincere.

A severe engagement with one of Dingaan's armies, in April, 1838, though the Boers retired, and one of their leaders, Pieter Uys, was killed, made the Zulus aware of their inability to cope with men possessed of firearms: and although in December of the same year, in an attack on the camp of another expedition sent against them, the natives behaved with impetuous courage, they were driven off and slain in such numbers that the strength of Dingaan was completely shattered. The details of the events of that year will be found in some of the pamphlets already referred to. (*Vide* Compilation.)

No sooner had the Boers regained confidence, than they gave due attention to the settlement of the country and the regulation of public affairs. They resolved that they should be governed by an elective body, the Volksraad, or council of the people. (The Rules by which that body were to be guided are given in the Compilation.) The Cape Government, fearing that any disturbance in Natal might react injuriously on their Eastern frontier, sent a small force in December, 1838, to occupy the port of Natal and its neighbourhood. It was almost avowedly a corps of observation only, and was withdrawn at the end of 1839. Meanwhile suspicion and dislike of British interference called forth an able exposition (February 17th, 1839) by Mr. Boshof of the justifying causes of the emigration, and later in the same year, a strenuous protest from the Volksraad against an immigration of English into Natal. The troops having left the country, no time was lost by the Boers in preparing for a final expedition against the Zulu king. They had a powerful inducement to take immediate action: for Panda, fearing assas-

* The first settlement of the Dutch at the Cape, and, soon after, the migration of French Huguenots to that country, occurred at a time when it was quite usual for men imbued with the religious spirit of the age to quote frequently from the Scriptures in ordinary conversation. The descendants of the first settlers, secluded, in the interior of the Cape Colony, or in the wilds of Africa, from intercourse with countries in which changes were more rapid, retained forty years ago, perhaps still retain, the habit of frequent reference to Bible texts. It was most rarely that any book except the sacred volume, a hymn-book, or a catechism, was seen in their hands.

sination at the dictate of Dingaan, had (September, 1839) fled S. of the Tugela with a very numerous following. He had an interview with the Volksraad on 15th October, and in the same month a deputation was sent to arrange terms with him, and to recognize him as "reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus." He furnished a powerful contingent to the forces of Pretorius, under whom the campaign, in January and February, 1840, was brought to a successful issue. Dingaan was wholly defeated and driven from his country. Panda's contingent consisted of 4,000 natives. The Boer force did not exceed 400 men; but even that was a considerable muster, in proportion to the number of emigrants then in Natal. Of this expedition and of the occurrences preceding it, the accounts are noted in great detail in the papers of the Volksraad. But of the campaign the proceedings are also recounted by M. Délegorgue,* whose independent testimony differs in some not unimportant respects from that of the official writers.

A period of tranquillity ensued, and occupation and tillage of the soil were undertaken somewhat actively. The Volksraad wrote to the Governor of the Cape expressing the desire that their independence should be recognised, and assuring him of their peaceful views in regard to the native races. But in the feeling of security, and conscious of their strength, they determined to seek redress for real or imaginary wrongs from Ncapayi, a native chief S. of Natal, and they also entered into negotiations with Faku. Ncapayi was defeated without any serious difficulty, and reprisals were exacted from him for alleged depredations. The view that this aggression on Ncapayi had not been justified was urged on the authorities at Graham's Town on the part of Faku, and also brought to notice by the resident missionaries. In vindication of the war the principal documents are the letter of Mr. P. H. Zietsman (5th January, 1841), of Commandant

* Adulphe Délegorgue was born at Douai. He was educated for the law, but preferring a more active life entered the French navy ("marine de guerre"). For a short time he commanded a vessel, but, having some private fortune, he quitted the service in order to devote himself to the pursuits, for which he had a predilection, of a naturalist. Arriving in Natal in 1839, he lived for some time among the Boers; accompanying the embassy to Panda, and the expedition under Pretorius. He then spent a year among the Zulus, returning in time to be a witness of the important occurrences in May, 1842.

Lombaard (February 10th) to the Editor of the *Zuid Afrikaan* (Cape paper), and of the Volksraad to Sir George Napier. But the knowledge of the fact that the emigrants had been engaged in hostilities and negotiations at no great distance from Kaffraria again aroused suspicions and uneasiness at the Cape, and it was determined to re-occupy Natal. On the 14th January, the Volksraad had once more claimed from Governor Napier the recognition of their independence; and this having been refused by the Home Government, and the refusal being communicated to the President, he informed the Governor (11th October, 1841) that the emigrants were firmly resolved not to renounce their independence, and would not admit a British force into the country. It is probable that in this bold defiance they were influenced by a hope that Holland would intervene in their favour. Designing men interested in trade between that country and Natal had assured them that sympathy, in their cause, was universal among the Dutch; and later in the year a pamphlet, printed at Amsterdam in August, 1841,* appealing somewhat passionately to the feelings of the Dutch nation, and dwelling on the wrongs and sufferings of the emigrant Boers, was in the hands of all the leading men among the latter, who rushed to the conclusion that such an appeal must be effectual, and over-rated the power of Holland to assist them. They knew, from their publication at the Cape, the proceedings of the Legislative Council there, and the views entertained as to Natal, and on 21st February, 1842, the President and Volksraad addressed to Sir G. Napier a statement in great detail of their reasons for leaving the parent colony, of their misfortunes and sufferings, and of their resolution not to be again under the yoke of Great Britain. It is from its very character an argument from their point of view only; but, in that aspect, it is a complete and noble document.† (*Vide* Compilation.)

Notwithstanding their expressed determination not to yield, they took no active measure to check the advance of the troops, which marched from the camp at the Umgazi, and reached the

* *Vide* Compilation.

† It is ascribed to the pen of Mr. Jacs. Boshof. The copy in the Compilation is a translation from the Dutch in Hofstede (Orange Free State) and must therefore differ in words, though not in essence, from the translation in the Cape archives.

site of the town of D'Urban early in May, 1842. A deputation of Boers had met the commanding officer (Captain Smith) at the Umbilo, a few miles from D'Urban, and had placed in his hands a protest against any occupation by the British Government; but no show of resistance had been made. Captain Smith encamped his men at D'Urban, and fortified his position. The Boers gradually mustered in considerable force at the Congela. They began to annoy and insult the troops, and drove off the cattle that had been used for draught on the march, and on the 23rd May, Commandant Pretorius enjoined Captain Smith by letter to break up his camp and quit the territory.

From this date commences the series of events with which, more than with any others in our history, every one for whom the affairs of Natal have an interest is conversant: the attack made by night at Congela, the defeat of Major Smith, the siege of the camp endured with patient fortitude, the chivalrous undertaking of Richard King to carry despatches to Graham's Town, the relief of the besieged by the troops under Colonel Cloete, the repulse of the Boers, their retreat from Congela, and their submission on 15th July, 1842. Of all these occurrences the accounts in the Annals are copious.

The submission of the Boers was far from being absolute, and within the next twelve months a spirit of disaffection, almost exciting on some occasions to renewed defiance and resistance, animated many of the Boers. The tendency to insubordination was kept alive by the delay of the Home Government in deciding on the relation in which the country was to stand either to the Cape Colony or to the Empire, and on the form of government to be adopted; and, when these points had been decided, by the still longer delay in appointing the officers required to control the population, and for the conduct of public business. Captain (now Major) Smith remained in command of the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of the harbour, and quite secluded from the interior of the country. He was entrusted with an ill-defined power of forbidding acts to which the British Government were known, or were supposed, by him to be averse; but he was wholly without machinery for governing. The Volksraad were allowed to regulate the civil, the judicial, and generally the

internal, affairs of their countrymen. The commandant, Major Smith, kept a watchful eye on the occurrences of the period, and took care to obtain all necessary information, which he transmitted to the Governor at Cape Town. If on any occasion he thought it right to interfere, he placed himself in communication with members of the Volksraad; and the correspondence sets forth the arguments on either side in any debatable matter.

The first step towards a termination of this confused and unprogressive condition of affairs was the appointment of Mr. Henry Cloete as Her Majesty's Commissioner in Natal. He was sent to explain to the emigrants the intentions of the Crown as to the future tenure of the country, and the terms to be conceded to them in regard to land grants, and to civil and other institutions; military protection being guaranteed by Great Britain. For some months before his arrival, disaffected Boers had been intriguing with their fellows beyond the Draaksberg,* urging them to come to their assistance. Mr. Cloete landed on 5th June, 1843. The Volksraad did not meet to hear or consider his message until 7th August: and the Commissioner states that at that time there were, within the precincts of Pietermaritzburg, no less than six or seven hundred armed men who had recently come over the mountains. The excitement was great, but the Volksraad firmly withstood the pressure brought to bear upon them. Prudent counsels prevailed, and the abettors of strife withdrew beyond the limits of Natal. The terms of the proclamation of 12th May, 1843, were accepted; and the Commissioner proceeded with the task of defining, classifying, and registering land-claims, inspecting the interior of the district, and visiting Zululand. With these objects his stay in Natal was protracted to April of the year 1844.† His presence had been a pledge to the inhabitants that something was being done in their interests.

* In these attempts, as will be seen from the correspondence, they were still relying on the assistance of Holland. So little had been, for generations, their intercourse with men of any other nationality than their own, that they thought of that country only as it had been traditionally known to them from the date of their ancestors' first landing at the Cape (1652). Mr. Cloete has noted the fact that when, at a meeting in Pietermaritzburg, he adverted to Holland as one of the minor powers in Europe, he was heard with incredulity by all but a very few. The emigrants generally regarded it, if not as the greatest of nations, yet as one of the greatest.

† His copious reports are given at length in the Compilation, and contain an interesting description of the natural and political state of the country, and of passing events.

After his departure the stagnation in the political condition of the country was very depressing. Titles to land could not be issued; there was a difficulty as to the transfer of land actually in possession. Nearly all the Boers were dependent upon pastoral pursuits: none knew to what extent the lands that had been registered would be ultimately granted. The more intelligent or more largely interested among them were also the more tolerant of delay, being certain that the purposes of England would be carried out, whatever lapse of time might intervene. But, among the more impatient, disaffection was again, though not actively, at work. In November, 1844, when the periodical election of the Volksraad took place, the newly-chosen members refused the oath of allegiance; and if the former members had not consented to retain office, very hurtful complications might have arisen. Complaint by the Volksraad that the delay in organizing a regular government was very injurious, elicited little more than an answer that it was unavoidable. Some of the Boers left the territory to join their friends inland: some even had it in view to arrange with the Portuguese for the possession of land in the tracts west of De la Goa Bay. But gradually, and at long intervals, events occurred—the nomination of salaried missionaries to instruct the natives; the erection of Fort Napier at Pietermaritzburg; the appointment of a Surveyor-General for Natal—that, even to the most sceptical, left little room to doubt that the power to rule the country would never revert to the African-Dutch emigrants.

Governor West landed at D'Urban in December, 1845, and Natal became, in fact as well as in name, a British colony.

Beyond this important epoch in our history, the compilation of Annals has not for the present been carried.

As has elsewhere been pointed out, the object of these introductory pages has not been to attempt an historical sketch, but to trace so much of the mere outline of events as would suffice to render intelligible an explanation, that seemed in some instances indispensable, of the sources from which the record for

Annals has been derived. As regards the greater number by far of the historical extracts, narratives, and documents in the Compilation, the position or qualification of the writers is either well known or sufficiently reveals itself: and the historian at a future day will have no difficulty in determining the probability of their being well-informed or dispassionate, or in estimating the allowance to be made for any bias proceeding from nationality, party spirit, interested motive, or other influence. In other cases such information has been afforded as has appeared to the compiler to be useful, or as it has been in his power to supply, and it has properly a place in an explanatory preface.

J. BIRD.



ANNALS OF NATAL.

SECTION I.

THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA,

WITH FOUR SHIPS, FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE INDIES; MADE IN THE
YEAR 1497 AND FOLLOWING YEARS.

DECADES OF BARROS.

FROM "THE RENOWNED VOYAGES OF THE PORTUGUESE TO THE EAST INDIES."

By PIETER V. AA.*

*Dedicated to Mr. Abraham van Riebeeck, Governor-General
of the Netherlands' East Indies.*

At Gravenhage, { Widow Bouquet & Sons. } Booksellers,
At Leyden. { Jan van Deyster. } 1727.
{ De Jansoons van der Aa. }

DON JOHN having died without leaving a lawful son, Don Manuel, Duke of Beja, his nephew, son of the Infant Don Ferdinand, brother of King Alfonso, to whom the succession rightfully belonged, according to the contents of the last will, was proclaimed King of Portugal. He succeeded to the Crown on 20th October, 1495, being then of the age of 26 years, 4 months, and 25 days. And having, in addition to the Crown, inherited the great undertaking of the discovery of the East by way of the Ocean, he desired not only that that labour of seventy-five years should not be brought to a standstill, but should be prosecuted, in order that other lands besides Guinea, which had been conquered by his predecessors, might

* NOTE.—After having made the translation of these pages from the Dutch, the compiler found that Van Aa had himself translated them from the Decades of Barros.

be attached to the Crown. On this subject counsel was taken in the following year, but the greater number of voices were at first for abandoning the work, as all such anxious projects threatened to weaken the kingdom so that it would not afterwards have strength left for its own protection. This they supported by farther argument, alleging, amongst other objections, that, if these explorations should turn out well, there would be no lack of rivals, as had already appeared in the differences as to the Antilles, between King John and King Ferdinand of Castile, which, in their efforts for success, had made them divide the world into two parts; and that Guinea, which had been discovered, and of which so much was said, was an instance of the profit likely to result. Others, who sought to gratify the King, maintained that on the contrary he was bound to proceed, as his father, Don Ferdinand, had left so much opportunely ready to his hand for these discoveries, and had also made known the island of Cape Verd; and his uncle, Don Henrique, who had assumed the title of Guinea, had preceded him in the project: that it was besides too profitable a matter, since these possessions could be acquired without the expense of conquest, whereas smaller States than these had cost much money; and that God might be relied on to provide for the preservation of his kingdom.

By these last arguments he was gained over to resolve in favour of the undertaking. Accordingly Vasco da Gama was appointed Captain-General, because his fidelity and fitness were known with certainty, and he had, after his father's death, been employed during the reign of the preceding monarch in the prosecution of an expedition. Bartholomew Diaz, who had come home after the discovery of the promontory of Good Hope, received instructions, as well as Da Gama, to assist in the equipment of the ships, and so to fit them out that they might withstand the violence of the sea at the said Cape of Good Hope: for among seagoing folk the dangers of the promontory were spoken of as those of Bojador had been at an earlier period. For this labour he received a captain's commission on the ships that annually proceed to St. George del Mina.

It was in the year 1497 that this fleet was ready, and Vasco da Gama, Paul, his brother, and Nicolas Coelho were again summoned to Montemort by the King, where His Majesty, wishing to speed them on their mission with more than ordinary solemnity, pronounced this address in the presence of several gentlemen of distinction:

“Whereas, my friends and sons, it has pleased God, our Lord,

that by His grace I should receive the sceptre of this Royal inheritance of the Kingdom of Portugal, and thus acquire a share in the blessings of my ancestors from whom it is derived to me, and who by their glorious deeds and victories, and by the help of their subjects, from whom you, gentlemen, are descended, have everywhere succeeded in remaining constant in their troth, and have increased it; thus it is my chief aim, after having had regard to right and to the tranquillity of my subjects, to extend its boundaries still more, and to be in a position to reward each one more generously. When in that view I reflect upon the project of happiest promise, by which I may attain my purpose, after we have (thank God) driven the Moors by force of arms back to Africa, and taken from them the principal places of the Kingdom of Fez belonging to us, I find nothing that may attain this, except the discovery of the Indies and Eastern lands, in which, though far from the see of Rome, I hope, by the help of God, not only that the faith may be spread and accepted, but that we by that means shall gain merit in the eyes of our Redeemer, praise and honour amongst men, and new kingdoms and states now defended by a horde of barbarians; just as your forefathers and yourselves have done, and increased my kingdom. For if (as it were by chance) Ethiopia has been found from which we have derived so much profit, new titles of honour and new harbours, what may we not expect if we extend these discoveries, and can reach those Eastern Kingdoms, concerning which the ancients have written so much. Is it not thus that Venice, Genoa, Florence, and other free States of Italy, have become so powerful? And so, things of which we have experience being regarded, besides that it would be an ingratitude to God to refuse what is so advantageously offered us, it would be an injustice to the memory of my ancestors, and a shame to yourselves, gentlemen, to lose sight of them. I have, therefore, caused four ships now ready at Lisbon to be equipped, and have appointed Vasco da Gama, as well as those whom I have chosen to help and obey him, as being assured of his good services for the attainment of my intentions, which may God grant him to carry out. To you all, gentlemen, I enjoin Peace and Concord, as by these we triumph, by these we overcome all dangers and difficulties, and these lighten the most serious obstacles; although I hope that the hardships of this voyage will not be greater than those of others, and will, through your services, cause the wished-for results to my kingdom."

After this address, Vasco da Gama and his principal officers

kissed the King's hand, and kneeling before the King, he was invested with the order of the Knighthood of the Cross, and said:

"I, Vasco da Gama, who, by command of Your Majesty, am going forth to the discovery of the East Indies, do swear by the sign of the Cross, on which I lay my hand, that I shall exhibit it to the Indians, as well noble as base-born, and protect it against water, fire, and steel, at all times, until I shall return to Your Majesty's presence, after having, in the faith, exerted diligence and industry on its behalf."

A manuscript was then handed to him, containing the commands of the King to search for Prester John and the King of Calicut; and he, being discharged, withdrew to Lisbon.

As soon as Vasco da Gama had made his people embark, he departed without waiting for those months in which it is now usual to go to sea so as to catch the trade winds in his journey in search of regions as unknown as those winds then were. The number of men destined for maritime, as well as military, service was 170; each ship being of 125 tons burden, more or less.

Of the Admiral's ship, "St. Gabriel," under Vasco da Gama, the boatswain was Pedro D'Alanquer, who had been at the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; and Diego Diaz (the brother of Bartholomew Diaz) was the secretary.

Of the "St. Raphael," under Paolo da Gama, the pilot was Johan de Coimbra, and the secretary was Joan da Saa.

Of the third ship, named the "Berrio," under Nicolas Coelho, the boatswain was Pedro Escobar,* and the secretary Alvaro de Braga.

Gonsalo Nunez, the servant of Vasco da Gama, was appointed captain of the storeship.

In this order, they, as well as Bartholomew Diaz, whose destination was del Mina, put out to sea.

The "Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama," ascribed to Alvaro Velho, who was upon the "Berrio," records that:—Vasco da Gama

* The pilot or boatswain in each of these ships was the officer who directed the steering and navigation of the vessel, and was in fact (under the commander) the sailing captain.

sailed "along* an undiscovered coast, which they named (from the day of exploration) Natal or Christmas." (O.S.) †

R. F. Burton, Commentary on Camoens, his Life, and his Lusiads, in two volumes. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1881.

EXTRACT FROM THE DECADES OF JOAO DE BARROS.

24 Vols. 8vo.

Edit. Royal Typographical Office,
Lisbon, 1778.

[NOTE.—At the date, December, 1497, to which the subjoined extract refers, Vasco da Gama and his party had reached and passed the Cape of Good Hope, and had encountered many dangers and difficulties.]

1st Decade. Cap. 3, Book IV.

"But the mercy of God, which in these cases consoles with calm weather, relieved them in these tribulations, and carried them to what are now called 'os Ilheos chaos,' † five leagues beyond the cross where Bartholomew Diaz had placed his last stone-beacon. And as time did not permit them to stop, they passed on to other islets. In these waters, by reason of the strong currents, they continued, now gaining, now losing, in their course, until, on the day of (Natal) the Nativity, they passed by the coast of 'Natal,' to which they gave that name."

* None of the navigators landed or anchored at Natal. They passed on northward.

† "Vasco was a third brother. Paolo, who accompanied him was the eldest. Then came Ayres, and the youngest was Estevan. A noble contest took place for the honour of *not* commanding: it was compromised by Paolo carrying the Royal Standard, and Vasco giving orders. The elder, one of the kindest and most loveable of men, had been in trouble for a trifling matter of wounding the Judge of Situbal: but the King graciously pardoned him."

"No event in the annals of Portugal is more famous than the subject-matter of the *Lusiads*. And during this period the Portuguese, like the modern Chinese and Japanese, seem to have documented every event. We have year and day for almost all the petty actions of the Lusitanian princelets. Yet in the case of a world-interesting fact, a new departure for Europe, the dates of sailing, of making India, and of returning to Lisbon, are doubtful. Even the names of the ships differ in different authors. Here and elsewhere I shall borrow textually from the *Roteiro*. The exploring squadron set out July 8th, 1497, with four hull, and returned with "two."—Burton's commentary (as above) Vol. 2, p. 265.

See also—Introduction (p. XLIX) to the *Lusiad*. By Wm. Julius Mickle. 2nd Edit. Oxford. Jackson and Lister, 1778. "General collection of Voyages and Discoveries by the Portuguese and Spaniards, in the 15th and 16th Centuries. Published by W. Richardson, Royal Exchange, and J. Bew, Paternoster Row, 1784." Valentyn. "Oud en nieuw Oost Indien, Dordrecht, Johannes van Braam, Amsterdam, Gerhard onder de Linden, 1724."

‡ "Islets scarcely above the level of the sea."

Perestrello, a Portuguese navigator, sent by King Sebastian to explore coasts and countries in South Africa, sailed from Mozambique on 22nd November, 1575, taking the southern course, and arrived at Table Bay on 28th January, 1576.

Of Natal in his despatch to the King he writes thus:

The first point is in Lat. 32. It stretches North-Easterly to the 3rd point, and occupies, towards the North-East quarter, North, about forty-five leagues. It may be known by a huge point of rock; and four or five leagues from the sea the country is covered entirely with large trees. When this point is in the North-West, three round little hills are seen about it; and one league beyond it, to the North-East, there is a wood which reaches to the sea. The summit of the hills is undulated, and we remarked a space without a wood, and the others larger than the preceding.

The whole of the Natal coast is bold, with occasional sandy spots between the reefs of rocks, but none of these capable of admitting large vessels. The sea is deep, and the waters clear. There is only one little islet near the land. In the distance are seen undulating mountains, adorned with verdure and rugged. It abounds with trees. Among them we found the wild olive: in the valleys and on the borders of rivers mint and beril, and other European plants. The soil is rich, and a great part is fit for cultivation. Consequently the country is populous, and well stocked with animals, both tame and wild. Of this character is the coast to the last point, which is in Latitude 30°, distance 12 leagues from Point Pescadores.

This point of the country of Natal may be known by not being very bold, with clayey lands towards the west, and downs of sand towards the sea. In coasting it appears to run east-north-east, and west-south-west, which I remark because Natal presents three points, viz., the two of which I have spoken, and another almost in the middle of these, and the coast runs along, forming little bays till it reaches the first two points.

A.D. 1683.

HAMILTON. "EAST INDIES."

Vol. 1, p. 9.

. I believe the first communication or commerce, either to Natal or De la Goa, with the English came by accident. About 1683 an English ship, "The Johanna," was lost somewhere about De la Goa. The natives showed the shipwrecked men more civility and humanity

than some nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeness; for they accommodated their guests with whatever they wanted of the product of the country at very easy rates; and assisted what they could to save part of their damaged cargo, receiving very moderate rewards for their labour and pains. Their language was by signs; and for a few glass beads, knives, scissors, needles, thread, and small looking-glasses, they hired themselves to carry many things to a neighbouring country, and procured others, who also served them for guides towards the Cape of Good Hope, and provided eatables for their masters, all the way while they were under their conduct. And having carried them on their way about two hundred miles by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, who conducted them and provided for them, as the others had done, for seven hundred or eight hundred miles farther, which they travelled in forty days, and so delivered their charge to others till they arrived at the Cape; and, some of them falling sick by the way, they carried them in hammocks till they either recovered or died: but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape I have forgotten. This account I have from one of the travellers. He told me that the natural fertility of those countries he travelled through made the natives lazy, indolent, indocile, and simple. Their rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and waterfowl, besides manatees (or sea-cows) and crocodiles: their woods with large trees, wild cattle, and deer, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, for game: also many sorts of fowls, with ostriches.

1684—1690.

FROM MOODIE'S RECORDS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF COMMANDER SIMON VAN DER STELL.

[NOTE.—The omissions marked thus occur in Moodie's Records.]

1684. Jan. 18. The Captain of that English vessel had been nearly three years upon the East Coast of Africa, at a place named by him. . . . in latitude 29 degrees. . . . minutes. He had bought some slaves, gold and ivory, which he had

sold at Surat. 24. The freemen requested permission to buy some slaves brought from Madagascar by the English vessel "Frances," which was granted.

A.D. 1685.

In the Dessinian Collection of Manuscripts, to be found in the Public Library at Cape Town, is a German work, by one Johan Daniel Butna, entitled "A true account and description of the Cape of Good Hope," in which occurs the following notice of Natal.

Speaking of some colonists who had been authorized by the Cape Government to trade with the natives in 1684, and who were the first to discover the Kafir people, he says :

"From the Gous ('Cawers,' vel, 'Gauritz') River, they went through the Auteniqua country, from thence to the Attaquas land, and to the country of the Heykams, in which kingdom a white man had never before been seen, except some years before, when at some place called "Terra de Natal," 500 mijlen (*i.e.*, 1500 English miles) from the Cape of Good Hope, a wreck took place. Those of the sufferers, who were possessed of firearms and would not surrender them, were sacrificed : those who laid them down received quarter, and were conducted by the natives with all the horrors of their heathenish customs. They were well fed, but they had nothing to cover their heads. They were almost naked, and only covered their shame with sheepskins. Some of them died, unable to bear the diet and exposure. Two, however, reached the Cape, who were mariners on board the wrecked vessel. They were four years on the road before they reached the Cape.

This same Natal is said to be a fertile country, and everything will grow there the same as in Europe.

The East India Company would have taken possession of this fertile land years past, but for seeing at the mouth of the port a reef or a sand-bank, that no galiot without touching could get over without danger ; so that a small vessel could not safely go in there."

In another MS. of the same period in the Dessinian Collection, called a short account of the "Terra de Natal," the harbour is thus described :—

"The River of Natal falls into the Indian Ocean in 30° S. Lat. Its mouth is wide and deep enough for small craft ("barquin"), but

at which is a sand-bank, which, at highest flood, has not more than 10 or 12 ft. water. Within this bank the water is deep. This river is the principal one on the coast of Natal, and has been frequently visited by merchant vessels."

FROM MOODIE'S RECORDS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF COMMANDER SIMON VAN DER STELL.

1687. March 1.

In the afternoon appeared here Captain Willem Knyff, with ten of his crew, ... having lost their ship, the "Stavenisse," on 16th February last year, on the coast of Terra de Natal, as appears detailed in the following statement of the said Captain W. Knyff.

Extracts of declaration of W. Knyff, in Castle of Good Hope, 25th March, 1687.

I, the undersigned, Willem Knyff, master of the wrecked ship "Stavenisse," was sleeping in the cabin at the seventh glass of the middle watch, on the 16th February, 1686, having kept the first watch: and was suddenly awakened by the cabin-boy. I asked why he so run in: he replied that we were on shore, and that he had once asked the mate to get up the cable; upon which jumping upon deck followed by the purser, I found that we were close to the breakers, and that the chief mate and boatswain were busy hauling up the cable in order to bend it to the anchor: the other two officers standing the while on the half-deck. It was dead calm and darkish weather, and after they had hastily prepared both anchors, they were successively dropped by my orders. The ship swung to the best bower and lay in the surf, which broke over the bows and as far as the waist: having lain thus about two or three glasses, a fine little off-shore breeze sprung up, when the chief mate proposed to weigh the small bower (for, being nearly up and down, it was of no use); and to make sail. The fore-topsail was loosed, but the anchor was scarcely up, before it again fell calm. After lying thus awhile, the best bower at last parted, when we again dropped the small bower, but it would not hold; so that the after part of the ship struck the rocks, and the ship being now stove in and full of water, I took to the water and swam to land. The boat was put out, when the ship

struck: the purser, the surgeon's assistant, and eleven or twelve sailors endeavoured to save themselves, but were at last upset in the surf, and most of them were drowned.

From the wood and sails which drove on shore a tent was erected for shelter on the beach. (Here follow complaints of the sailors, &c., against the officers of the watch.)

Meanwhile I asked the people if they were disposed to remain on the beach, in order as far as possible to save the Company's property, on which with one voice they replied, that they saw no chance of being able to do so, as the cargo was mostly knocked to pieces on the rocks, or driven to sea; and finding this to be the case, I determined, at their request, to set out with them overland for the Cape of Good Hope.

Setting out thus on the 19th, and having gone about three "mijlen," I found that from weakness I could not accompany them, so I returned alone to the beach, where we had left the surgeon sick, and the gunner, Theunis Janssen, together with Jan Jasper, boatswain's mate, both wounded, in the tent.

Two days after this, the boatswain, his mate, the sail-maker, and three sailors came back to us, and were soon followed by all the three mates; the chief mate having tried to persuade Jan de Groote, the junior mate, to go overland to the Cape of Good Hope, with the remaining forty-seven, which he undertook to do; but before proceeding far, he also left the Cape party, and following the mates, his companions, reached us on the beach at the same time with them.

We then set about repairing our broken boat, in order to seek our way to the Cape of Good Hope by sea; and having accomplished this in about 14 days, more or less, and having loaded her with our provisions, consisting of a half-anker of bread, about 25 lbs. of salt pork, and half a legger of fresh water, seven of us pushed off, the others remaining from choice, excepting the junior mate, who, in shoving off the boat, accidentally missed the opportunity of jumping in, and not being able to get over the surf, the boat being nearly full of water, we pushed back to the shore. There we lost our compass, quadrant, provisions, and baggage.

Being now destitute of everything, and the boat being broken in pieces, we consulted how we could best support ourselves, and by what means we could secure ourselves from starvation. The natives, indeed, offered us bread and cattle for sale, but we had nothing wherewith to purchase the one or the other. Nothing is esteemed there but beads and copper rings for the neck or arms. For nails,

bolts, and other ironwork of the wreck, we, indeed, got some bread and corn, but as the natives set to work themselves, and by chopping and burning fully supplied themselves with iron, we not being at first aware that it was so much regarded, nor daring to prevent them for fear of provoking them, as they had sometimes fully a thousand armed men, they had everything in abundance, while we suffered from want.

When we were thus reduced to the last necessity, there came to us two Englishmen, who had some months previously lost their ship at Rio de Natal, about twenty "mijlen" further to the North. These men being acquainted with the country and the language, instructed us how to deal with the natives, and willingly offered us their assistance towards our mutual preservation, together with a share in their merchandise, consisting of copper rings and common beads, and enough to find them and us also in meat and bread for fifty years. We, therefore, at the request of these neighbours, determined to set out, to unite our prospects with theirs, and to enter into an inseparable partnership, for better or for worse.

Here we procured an abundance of food for copper rings and beads; and the common people, by degrees losing respect for their officers, at length accused me of neglect of duty, and particularly of theft of the Company's pepper, &c.

Having thus passed four months in the greatest confusion, with reciprocal murmuring and unwillingness, we at last agreed to build a vessel, and each applied his skill to the work. John Kingston, the Englishman, made a saw out of a ring of the "luijk." We made one trip to the wreck, and picked whatever would serve our purposes; we found three anchors among the rocks, or thrown up on the beach, among them our best bower, with the piece of the cable to which the ship had ridden. We broke the shank in two; one part served for an anvil; the rest, with the arms and ring, were beaten into nails and bolts.

Our vessel being at length made ready by our diligence, and by the labour of the natives, we launched her, and after storing her with an indifferent supply of bread and corn, water, and meat, both salted and fresh, we at length put to sea on the 17th of last February, without chart, compass, or quadrant; and, keeping the land always in sight, we at length anchored in Table Bay, on the 1st of this month, and were surprised to hear no intelligence of the 47 healthy and active men who about 12 months ago set out for this place by

land. (The rest of the declaration relates to the conduct of the chief mate previous to the shipwreck.)

(Signed) W. KNYFF.

In my presence :

(Signed) GREVENBROEK, Secretary.

EXTRACT OF DECLARATION OF TEN OFFICERS AND SAILORS (NAMED) OF
THE SHIP "STAVENISSE," 2ND MARCH, 1687.

[The first part relates to the particulars of the shipwreck on "Terra de Natal, between the degrees of 30 and 31, South Latitude."]

On the 19th, the wreck being in pieces, and expecting no more people, it was determined unaniously, in consequence of want of food and ignorance of the country, and, as none of the natives had as yet been perceived, that all hands should set out for the Cape of Good Hope, leaving on the beach all the cargo, &c., the surgeon sick in the tent, the gunner wounded in the leg by the rocks, and the boatswain's mate wounded by an axe in cutting away the anchor. The Captain being too weak to follow, turned back to the wreck alone, the first day. The second and third day, they all marched together; but on the fourth morning the boatswain's mate, his assistant, the sailmaker, and three sailors turned back, being in a few hours followed by the three mates, as they saw no chance of executing the journey from the steepness and ruggedness of the way, together with want of food: each person's share, upon division, being but a hatful of bread, and five or six bits of pork: leaving thus the remaining 47 men well and active to pursue their journey to the south; and of whom they have from that time received no tidings whatever; they had with them quadrant, compass, and some fire-arms, with powder and lead.

At last, after much toil and distress, the deponents again came together, being thirteen in number, one of whom, the surgeon, died five or six weeks after, and the boatswain's mate was struck dead and crushed by an elephant.

[Here follows the attempt to escape by a boat, as before detailed.]

The second day after this second shipwreck, in which they had lost their compass, chart, and clothes, two well-armed Englishmen and some natives came to them, offering them all imaginable help for their common preservation, which they accepted, and resolved to set out with one of the English, for their place of encampment about 20 "mijlen" to the north, where the English had lost their ship about eleven months before: the other Englishman remained to attend upon the surgeon, boatswain's mate, and a sailor in the tent. They were not able by any rewards to induce the natives to carry the sick (they feared they would be thereby rendered unclean), notwithstanding that they would not refuse to carry 50—aye, 100—lbs. of iron or other weight, three or four days' journey over hill and valley, for a copper ear-ring.

The surgeon having died and been buried, the other people, who had been left behind, joined the rest, when they resolved to set a vessel on the stocks, and to build it as far as possible of the wood of the country. Meanwhile they made several journeys to the wreck. In the beginning of this year another party of nine Englishmen came to them, who had a short time before lost their ship, and all their property, at latitude $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

Their vessel being at last completed to the length of fifty feet, and about fourteen broad, two masts having been rigged, they shipped some provisions of ground meal, and two or three tons of corn, two or three hundred fowls, about 1,000 lbs. of salted or smoked beef, with 20 goats, 150 pumpkins, 17 half-leggers (of which 11 were made there) of water, and all purchased for the copper and beads of the English, which also sufficed to pay the natives for their labour.

They sailed on 17th February, without chart or compass, after they had resided a year and a day at Natal, and left there four Englishmen and one Frenchman, who thought it better and more advantageous to them to remain there than to trust themselves to the uncertain waves of the sea and of fortune.

They found the country very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong, ingenious, armed only with one assegay, obedient and submissive to their king or chief; living in communities, in huts made of branches, wrought through with rushes and long grass, and roofed like hay-stacks in Holland. In manners, dress, and behaviour, they are much more orderly than the Cape Hottentots. The women attend to cultivation, the men herd and milk the cows; they do not eat poultry, because these feed on filth; still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them

sick to see Europeans eat them. For a copper arm-ring, or a common neck-ring of the thickness of a tobacco pipe, they sell a fat cow or ox of 600 lbs. weight, more or less: for a similar ring they give as much corn as will fill an ordinary meat-tub, from which corn they make very well-tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer, both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels; they eat besides a certain bean, in size and taste not unlike the European horse-bean: also some roots "weker," and worse flavoured than sweet potatoes. They have tobacco, and smoke it: by good management its quality might be improved; of fruits they have only an unknown kind of prune, and coloquintidas.

There are elephants of an incredible size, and in such numbers, that 50 or 60 are seen together; wild buffaloes, hogs, cats, seacows, geese, ducks, and other birds.

Further declaring nothing except that, in less than twelve days, being eleven Dutch and nine English, they landed here from "Terra de Natal."

[Signed by the deponents and sworn to by them on the 24th March.]

March 4th.—The English who had come in their vessel from Terra de Natal requested to be taken into the Company's service. . .

6th.—Five English sailors, with their Captain, Jan Gilford, of Bristol, after losing their ship, the "Bonaventura," of London, on the coast of Terra de Natal, and who had lately arrived here with their small vessel on 1st March, asked for a passage to Europe and for some clothes: it was resolved in Council to give them a passage in the "Alkenaar," provided they did duty as sailors, and to take the two English, who had been left eleven months ago in Rio de Natal by the ship "Good Hope," at their earnest request, into the Company's service, as more fully appears by the following resolution.

[Note in Moodie's Records:—"The resolution referred to authorized the purchase from the English of the Natal Packet and her cargo, in order that further examination may be made of that country; that the 47 men left by the "Stavenisse" may be sought for, and 'that the five Englishmen left there by the Packet may 'be brought hither in order by these means to deprive European "potentates of the possession of these countries.' John Kingston, of Bristol, and Willm. Christian, of Belfast, were to be employed

"in the Company's service, with the pay of quartermasters, and "Capt. John Gilford, of Bristol, his mate, and four seamen to "receive, as alms, blankets and baftas to cover them."]

March 7.—Hendrik Witkins, of Bristol, late mate of the "Bonaventura," gave the following account of his adventures; and six blankets with six baftas were issued as clothing for Captain Jan Gilford and his men.

Henry Witkins, of Bristol, mate of the wrecked ship "Bonaventura," of 20 tons burden, states to have sailed from the Downs, on 1st May, 1686, O.S., with a crew of 9 men and a boy, bound for the East Coast of Africa; they touched at the Island of Bonavista, and there procured beef, pork, salt, and water, and other refreshments, passed by the Cape of Good Hope after sighting the land, and anchored at Cape St. Maria, in latitude 26° in the river De la Goa, where they lay four weeks.

[Here follows a description of De la Goa, and of the natives there.]

Seeing that cattle were so dear, and perceiving little chance of any profit, they sailed again along the coast to latitude 24° , and in sight of Cape Corrientes, without finding a single bay, creek, or river which they could enter, but only a flat, sandy coast: thence they sailed to about latitude $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and anchored in the bay "Piscada," intending, on occasion serving, again to enter the river; but mistaking the time of tide, they met with the ebb, and the vessel was thrown against the north shore on her side, high and dry upon a bank. The crew all went on shore, and the master and declarant, seeing no chance of inducing them to come back, followed them. With the next flood-tide, the vessel floated over the bank, and upon the north shore, on the inside, of the river; and if the crew had attended to the orders of the captain, and had a single man stayed on board to await the flood tide, they might have saved their vessel, which was now floated off, dry and uninjured; she now lay on the north shore on her side, and, having as yet made little or no water, was carried fully five German miles up the river, where they followed her, and taking out some pistols, guns, swords, musketoons, powder and lead, copper and beads, and as much provision for their journey as they could carry, after staying there three days, and being then nine in number (the second mate having been drowned by the boat upsetting in the river), proceeded to Rio de Natal (intending to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope), and there fell in with the five sailors of the ship the "Good Hope," which had been wrecked there

on 17th May, 1685. Their captain, Jan Adams, had, two or three months after the loss of his vessel, gone to sea in a boat, with two mates, two carpenters, the boatswain, gunner, and three sailors, intending to go to Mozambique.

Jan Kingston, a sailor in the English ship the "Good Hope," and now quartermaster in the service of the East India Company, residing here, says that on 24th November, 1684, old style, he sailed from Gravesend in said vessel, manned by 50 hands, and mounted with six guns, having engaged to go to Cadiz; that they did not know, before putting to sea, that their destination was the East Coast of Africa; that having touched for supplies of salt, cattle, and fresh water, at the islands of Moys and St. Jago, and passed within sight of the Cape of Good Hope, they stood direct for Rio de Natal, where they arrived on 9th May, 1685; and on entering, as they were busy with the kedge anchor, hauling their vessel in over the bar, they were driven on the north shore by a sudden squall from the south, and, seeing no chance of getting her off, they erected a hut on the south shore, stowing therein all their merchandise, consisting of copper rings for the neck and arms, and ammunition; four sailors and a boy soon after died of dysentery, while they employed themselves in putting together a vessel which they had brought from England.

In the end of July, the ship, Captain Wynnford, of 35 tons, came into the bay, who having gone more than 13 or 14 "mijlen" inland, with a party of his people, returned with two elephants' teeth of two or three pounds weight; and after having purchased, killed, and salted a good many oxen and cows, sailed again along the coast, intending, as it was reported, to go to Mozambique, Madagascar, or India.

He was the next day followed by their captain, Jan Adams, of London, who intended to trade along the coast with his vessel, to 100 "mijlen" beyond Mozambique; thence to proceed to Madagascar, and there take in slaves to sell at Jamaica. Nine men went with him; four went with Wynnford; and five of them (he, Kingston, was one) not wishing to sail with their captain, J. Adams, received from him, for the wages they had earned, each 68 lbs. copper arm, neck, and ear rings, and 14 lbs. of beads, 7 guns in all, with some powder and lead. The five then consulted how they could best subsist, and began to barter their beads for bread, meat, beer, milk, fruits, and roots; and finding that their copper rings were much prized, they sold them for elephants' teeth, and in a short time they

had collected, as he guessed, three tons; and at last, becoming acquainted with the language, their curiosity led them to examine the country to the distance of 50 "mijlen" (about) inland, where they found a very friendly and hospitable people; so that the men and women vied in offering them food and drink, and their habitations for lodging. He says that he found no minerals except a ring, which a certain chief wore on his arm, which was much heavier than a neck-ring, so that he thought it was gold, and, though he offered a neck-ring in exchange, he would not part with it.

EXTRACTS FROM A DESPATCH FROM COMMANDER SIMON VAN DER STELL
AND COUNCIL TO THE CHAMBER XVII.

1687. April 18. . . . We have not considered ourselves authorized finally to dispose of the affair of the loss of the richly-laden ship, the "Stavenisse." The captain of that vessel, William Knyff, landed here in a very miserable condition, on 1st March, from Terra de Natal, in a small vessel, built there by himself, three of his officers, seven of his crew, and nine shipwrecked Englishmen. . . . [For the details, repeated in the Despatch, see the foregoing declarations.] They agree in describing the natives of that country as very obliging, kind, and hospitable, and state that some Englishmen, who could understand the language, had been prompted by curiosity to travel about 50 "mijlen" inland, where they found people, who very readily presented them with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodging: they found metallic ores amongst those natives, and the art of smelting them: not, indeed, gold and silver. The English say that a certain chief, named Ingoose, wore a bracelet which was much heavier than the copper neck-rings; from which circumstance they conjectured it to be gold.

The country is very fertile and populous, abounding in oxen, cows, and goats, also elephants, buffaloes, hartebeests, and other tame or wild animals. The inhabitants are very ingenious, docile, and obliging; for a copper bracelet they will not refuse to carry a weight of fifty to a hundred pounds a distance of three or four days' journey over hill and dale.

Their vessel being at length made ready for sea, by the industry of the Christians, assisted by the labour of the natives, at the expense of the copper rings and beads in the possession of the English; they

made water-casks out of the native timber, laid in a store of smoked, salted, and fresh meat, corn, both ground and unground, goats, fowls, and other live stock, and on the 17th February, after they had resided just a year and a day at Terra de Natal, they took their departure, without compass, chart, or quadrant, and fortunately landed here in less than twelve days, bringing with them about three tons of ivory which the English state themselves to have purchased in a short time for copper rings and beads.

Having found that the vessel was about 25 tons burden, well built, and sailed well, we bought her of the English for *f*400, for after having put a few knees, &c., into her, she will last us many years. We bought also the residue of their meat for three stivers per pound, and the corn at six guilders per muid.

The Commander will have the grain sown or divided among the free men, during the ensuing rainy season, to ascertain whether it will grow, which is to be hoped, as it makes very nutritious bread, and is thought fit for making beer. We have taken two of the English, of the crew of the "Good Hope," into the Company's service at their own request, and have given them the pay of quartermasters, for they are acquainted with the country and the language, and are about to be employed there. We have thought it proper to annex to this despatch the declarations of the crew of the "Stavenisse," with some circumstances tending to corroborate what we have formerly had the honour to communicate relative to the East Coast of Africa. . . .

EXTRACTS FROM A DESPATCH OF COMMANDER SIMON VAN DER STELL AND
COUNCIL TO THE CHAMBER XVII.

1688. April 26 We did not long detain in inactivity the little vessel called the "Centaur," in which the crew of the "Stavenisse" came hither last year, but despatched her with 19 men on the 10th November to seek for that crew, and to examine more minutely the country of Natal. The winds and currents prevented them from reaching that place; being frequently driven, to their general astonishment, but evidently by the hand of Providence, to one and the same spot between Punta Primera and the bay De la Goa, where at length upon the 8th February they saw approaching them in the open sea, fully two "mijlen" from the land, entirely

naked, and seated upon three little beams fastened together, with a sort of little paddle in their hands, two sailors of the wrecked "Stavenisse," who, being asked about their shipmates, stated that full twenty of them were scattered about in the neighbouring kraals.

It was then resolved, as the weather was more favourable than it had been for the last twelve months, to send some one on the raft with a few little presents to the Chief of the country, to convey a request that he would allow the people to embark. To this the Chief instantly consented, when nineteen, including a French boy, were collected, and with great difficulty embarked. Three of their shipmates were not inclined to accompany them, and three others had not long before set out for the wreck of the "Stavenisse" and were already too far off to convey to them any intimation of the arrival of the "Centaur," for the vessel could lie no longer on a lee shore, and, indeed, they had scarcely embarked the last two men when a change of the weather made it high time to raise their anchor and to secure a good offing, and they were afterwards compelled to return to the Cape, where, although the men of the "Stavenisse" were naked, they arrived all well on 19th February.

They informed us that, with the exception of the six above mentioned, the rest of the crew had been either murdered by the natives, devoured by beasts of prey, or had perished of hunger and fatigue: such, at least, were their conjectures, for although they were acquainted with the country and the language, they had been unable to learn anything certain of the fate of their companions during all the term of their abode in that country.

Their statements agree in every respect with those of their shipmates last year as to the loss of the vessel and the remarks made upon the disposition of the natives and the fertility of the country, for which we beg respectfully to refer to the annexed copy of the "Centaur's" log-book.

* * * * *

EXTRACT OF LOG-BOOK KEPT IN THE HOOKER "CENTAUR."

1688. Feb. 6. Lat. 32° 39.

Saturday, 7. This afternoon calm weather as above; sailing close along the land, saw the same rock, generally called by us the Coffin, and showing itself like an island—past which we had already sailed three times. As we required wood and water, and as it was

quite calm, we dropped our kedge anchor, and sent the boat to try whether there was an opportunity of coming to an anchor: in which event the sergeant was to make the proposal to the council.

While the boat was rowing towards the land, we saw some signals made on shore, but knew not what to think of them. The boat returned with the quartermaster, who informed us that there was no suitable place to anchor, that the rock was attached to the mainland; and that they also had seen some signals made, as they thought, by Hottentots with their karosses; we could not tell what to think of them.

Raised our anchor and made sail; in the morning fine weather and calm. We were much concerned about what we had seen, as we held it for certain that the Hottentots or Kafirs had not the skill to make such gestures, and we doubted whether it might not possibly be Christians from some wrecked ship. Course and distance during these 24 hours — miles, the South latitude by observation 32° 50 minutes.

Sunday, 8. Calm, fine weather, and as we wanted wood and water, we endeavoured to reach the spot on shore where we had seen the signals made, which we thought were not made by heathens; and in the afternoon, to our great surprise, we observed something on the water approaching to us: when a little nearer we distinguished men, and lay-to for them, and perceived there were three, paddling quickly on a catamaran. On their coming on board, they told us they were Dutchmen, and people of the "Stavenisse": they said there were on shore 19 others, including a French boy, who had embarked at Madeira in an English company's ship called the "Boede": he had been ordered into a boat, with a pilot, and other men to look out for a haven, and, having lost the ship, had been driven hither, and that while some of the crew were about to cook their victuals, in a tent raised on the beach, the others having gone for firewood and water, they were discovered by a woman, and soon after overpowered by the Kafirs, who killed three men, one of whom was the pilot; the four others escaped; but to this day the boy found himself alone.

In order to rescue so many souls, we deemed it advisable to hoist the Prince's flag at the main, and to anchor there; and at sunset we anchored in 16 fathoms, with a sandy bottom.

We sent the boat and the catamaran to the shore; but as it was near night, and there was a heavy surf on the shore, they only brought one man.

Truly the miserable condition of these men is not to be described: these Christians were clad in ox-hides like the Hottentots: each of us gave them according to our ability something to cover their bodies.

Latitude 32°50.

Monday, 9. Fine, calm, pleasant weather. This day we exerted ourselves to the utmost in order to embark all the men of the wrecked ship "Stavenisse," and succeeded so fortunately that towards evening we had on board nineteen men, including the French boy; and a fat ox, bartered there from the Kafirs for an arm-ring, value one rixdollar.

Tuesday, 10. Weather as above. This forenoon three of the people of the "Stavenisse" went with their catamaran, and the boat with one man, which was to lie at anchor outside the surf, whilst the others should slaughter the two other oxen, which the king had promised to sell us for copper. The sergeant was very desirous of himself delivering to the king some presents as a reward for his kind reception of the people of the "Stavenisse." The presents consisted of five pounds of red beads, a neck-ring and two arm-rings; also in payment of the two oxen, two arm-rings: but, this not being possible, these presents were entrusted to the three seamen, the sergeant charging them to deliver the same to His Majesty in the name of the Honourable East India Company, in gratitude for the good care which he had been pleased to take of the Dutch during their stay in his dominions. But in the afternoon, the wind coming round from the eastward, and increasing hand over hand, we could no longer trust ourselves at anchor there. We therefore fired two blunderbusses to recall the sailors. They soon afterwards returned, informing us that the king was very well satisfied with the presents; they also said that they had heard nothing about the three remaining sailors, which gave us much concern, as they had been sufficiently apprised of our arrival, and of the time we had stayed, and yet had not made their appearance; the oxen had been slaughtered, but the sailors had only time to bring with them the half of one ox.

We weighed our anchor and made sail for a place which the sailors call Eerst River, where we anchored again, to try whether we could enter it with a boat, but finding this impossible, we weighed our anchor, and the sergeant assembled the council and said that having through God's mercy been so fortunate as to save the people of the "Stavenisse," to the number of nineteen, we should now determine what under the circumstances we intended to do, and whether

we should return with these men to the Cape, or prosecute our voyage according to our instructions.

R. Ross voted that we should endeavour to find a suitable place, where we could procure firewood, water, and some more meat, in order in God's name to prosecute the voyage, according to the tenor of our instructions.

R. de Galiardi only adding thereto, as above, that we should ask the people of the "Stavenisse" whether they desired to go with us to Natal, or to be conveyed to the Cape, and that they are to make a written declaration of their desire.

Laurens Hensing, "ut supra," only observing that we had not room for thirty-seven men, and in the event of any becoming sick, we had not medicine sufficient for their cure.

Erasmus Jerrianse and Willem Christian, as above.

On which it was resolved by a concurrence of the plurality of voices, to ask the people of the "Stavenisse" if they would go with us to Natal, and in the event of their objecting that they should make a proper declaration, in presence of two commissioners of our ship's council, for our justification.

Thus concluded and resolved, year and day, as above. [Signatures.]

Before me, Pieter de Galiardi, Provisional Assistant, and by the authority of the Commander, performing the office of Secretary during the voyage to Natal on board of the packet the "Centaur," appeared Jacob Cornelis, of Haarlem, carpenter [here follow all the names], all sailors of the wrecked ship "Stavenisse," who, in the presence of two commissioned members of our ship's council, declared and attested upon their faithful word as men, in lieu of oath, that those in command of the said vessel have asked us, individually as well as in general, in the name of the Honourable East India Company: First, earnestly, whether anything profitable for the company was to be procured in that country, on which we for their justification willingly testify, that during the period, twenty-two months, of our travelling from the wreck, through the whole country—sometimes holding our course along the beach—to the Magossche territory, under the government of a certain king called Magamma, where we were stopped in our journey and detained, we could discover no profit to the Company, still less any haven or river fit for the reception of the Company's smallest packet, but that the beach is generally very foul, and full of steep rocks.

Secondly, it being represented to us by the said commanders that we had been delivered out of the hands of the heathen by a wonderful providence of God, and our embarkation favoured with such pleasant and unexpected calm weather; and that they, notwithstanding the want of room, and provisions and medicine for thirty-eight men, were resolved to return to the southern latitude of—degrees—minutes, where lies a haven at which they might procure supplies of firewood and fresh water; and thence prosecute (according to the instructions of the honourable commander) their voyage to Natal (asking) whether we were inclined to accompany them; to which we unanimously replied by begging that they would cast their eyes on our melancholy and miserable condition, and, seeing that we were destitute of everything, that they would take pity on us; and as we were incapable of performing the voyage, we unanimously begged to be conveyed to the Cape in order that we might return to our fatherland with the next homeward bound fleet—which we testify to be the sincere and upright truth, being willing (when desired) to confirm the same by solemn oath.

Thus done and declared on board the vessel called the “Centaurus,” on 11th February, 1688.

[Here follow eight signatures and ten marks certified by P. D. Galiardi, Member and Secretary.]

Wednesday, February 11. Fine weather, wind as above. This day the men of the “Stavenisse” signed the annexed declaration. Course and distance, W. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S., 36 miles. Latitude, 33°42.

These men related to us the sufferings, hardships, and dangers which they had sustained during their journey from the wrecked ship, and which may easily be imagined; for it was not enough that the poor fellows were in daily risk of being drowned in rapid streams, by which two lost their lives, or devoured by ferocious animals, the supposed fate of two more of their number, who, being unable to proceed any further, sat down, and are believed to have served long ago as food for a lion or a bear, or otherwise miserably perished, but, for the aggravation of their misery, they were ill-treated by those barbarians and inhuman heathen, robbed of all their property, beaten and exhausted. They passed among five sorts of Hottentots (among whom they found some so simple that they assisted the sailors to carry their weapons) named (beginning from the place of the wreck) the Temboes, the Mapontemousse, the Maponte, the Matimbos, the Maligryghas (the most cruel of all;

those were they who plundered them of everything), and the Magossebe, where they were received with every kindness, and have been supplied with necessaries of life up to this day.

They state that it was their intention (notwithstanding their reception from those compassionate Magossebe) to prosecute their journey overland to the Cape, but that they were always prevented by this tribe, who alleged that they must pass tribes armed with bows and arrows, who would obstruct their passage and murder them: thus their intention remained unexecuted.

Twelve of them, however, bolder than the rest, would undertake the journey to the Cape; but it was afterwards understood from the Hottentots that it was reported that these twelve had been put to death by the Batuas. What really became of them we have not learned.

These tracts of land are called Magossebe, and are so fertile, that if a grain of wheat is let fall on the top of the mountains, it will produce as much as if sown in the field: there are beans, pumpkins, watermelons, and such like in great abundance.

These Kafirs are well formed in body, swift runners, and live under the gentle monarchy of their king, Magamma, who is a very friendly, good-hearted, young, and active fellow.

They use the greasy caps like the Hottentots of Natal, and are clothed like those of the Cape, except that the girls are somewhat more handsomely ornamented. As the Natal Hottentots smelt their iron, so they can smelt the metal for arm-rings: they may also have some knowledge of minerals.

They are generally kind, compassionate, and hospitable, but lazy in their nature; for the women perform all the hard work, as digging, delving, thrashing, and making the huts, besides cooking and dressing the victuals, whilst the men do nothing but milk the cows and make the kraals.

They are armed with shield and assagai, with which they oppose their enemies, the Makanaena, who use the bow and arrows, and do them great injury; for they not only steal their cattle, but they do not spare women and children, inhumanly murdering them.

Religion.—During the time that these Christians lodged with those heathens, they could discover that circumcision is held in high respect, that no one can serve as a man unless he be circumcised; while this is doing, the circumcised person lives in a hut alone, and when recovered they dress the new man's waist with green leaves: as soon as the relations, mother, and others observe such an one at

a distance, he is received with every mark of joy, and clapping of hands. They offer up also, for the continuance of their health, some cattle: but to whom, or with what further object, our people could never ascertain.

Mourning.—When their king dies, they must wear no caps for a whole year, and they instantly lay aside the copper rings worn as ornaments on the necks and arms, keeping themselves apart also from the women. This would be condemned in other countries, but there the women are patient under this mode of mourning.

Punishments.—When anyone dies, and another, either man or woman, is accused of having killed the deceased by poison (for they deem themselves immortal unless the thread of life is thus severed; therefore, on getting sick, they become suspicious, and are very distrustful), the suspected culprit is laid on the ground; his hands and feet extended, and tied to four stakes; he is then severely beaten with sticks: and to double the pain, they lay on the patient's breast, nostrils, and privates, the nests of red ants, which they forcibly push into those parts of the body; and if a person is only sick or indisposed, and a person is laid hold of on that account, the torture is renewed, until either the sick person recovers, or both die.

Ceremonies of the Women.—The plurality of wives, if the husband can maintain them, is customary among them, and they must purchase their wives from the parents for cattle, assagais, iron, and copper, which must be paid when the woman is brought to bed: the husband is then to content himself with one of his concubines until the child is weaned. As soon as he has purchased her, oxen are slaughtered, with which the newly-married pair, and the bridesmaids, are entertained; this being consumed, they begin to dance, and afterwards the bride and bridegroom, having each danced for a while alone, they dance towards each other, with which the marriage feast terminates.

Customs.—When the Magossebe have a dispute with any of their enemies, and declare a war, the booty of cattle taken from the enemy is divided between the king and other great men: but the iron and copper is worn as a mark of bravery by those who get it. When any of those flat-nosed Kafirs dies, all his things are thrown away, but they preserve the copper and iron. When the son separates from the father, and goes to set up for himself, the father will eat no milk with his son, unless the son, in honour of his father, kills a fat ox, and entertains him therewith. No one must presume to barter anything to a stranger without the king's consent. On going

to hunt, and killing any game of value, they bring the same before the king, who keeps it, rewarding the bringers by slaughtering an ox.

Having thus far noticed the laws and customs of these Magossebe Kafirs, I shall (according to what I have understood from others) treat of the cultivated and indigenous productions of the soil. Nothing is grown in these countries but pumpkins, small calabashes, watermelons, sugar-cane, beans, and wheat, two sorts of wild figs of a very good taste; also a certain kind of prune, with a variety of sweet smelling and medicinal herbs, unknown to the sailors.

The country swarms with wild animals. There are seen elephants, bears, tigers, wolves, and venomous snakes. There run wild horses with white manes, white feet, and black tails, grazing together with asses, deer, and other unknown animals.

I have been obliged to pass over much more concerning the habits of those flat-nosed people in their huntings, sickness, burials, and other matters besides, as on those points the sailors did not agree in their accounts.

Three of the crew had deemed it more advisable to return to the wreck of the "Stavenisse" than stay there any longer, where they saw no chance for escape: as they had understood that there were some English in that quarter, and also because ships occasionally touched there, by which they might probably be enabled to return to Europe.

EXTRACTS FROM A DESPATCH FROM COMMANDER SIMON VAN DER STELL
AND COUNCIL TO THE CHAMBER OF XVII.

1689. April 15. The Commander being meanwhile disinclined to keep the galiot, the "Noord," unemployed, sent her on the 19th October, well manned and supplied, with full directions to go straight to the Rio de la Goa, between the 25th and 26th parallel of Latitude, to sound and survey it and to form a minute description of all the advantages offered to the Company by the intervening country, either on the coast or in the interior, the character of the people, their merchandise, their animals, whether tame or wild, fruits, vegetables, minerals, and other riches; and also to recover the men still missing of the crew of the "Stavenisse."

At Rio de la Goa they found a very good bay, where a great number of vessels, whether great or small, may lie in safety, into which bay that and other rivers discharge themselves.

The "Noord" having lain at De la Goa until the 29th December, and fully completed their survey and examination, proceeded to examine the coast and the bay of Natal, where they anchored on the 5th January of this year, and found there Adrian Jans, boatswain, and Jan Pieters, a boy, both of the wrecked ship "Stavenisse." Having surveyed that bay, they sailed on the 23rd, and on 28th anchored abreast of the country of the Magosse, Lat. 33° 42', where Izaak Jans, formerly a sailor in the "Stavenisse," swam on board through the surf, at the peril of his life, while his companion, from want of courage, remained on the beach.

These three persons fully confirm the solemn declaration made before the Commissioners on 2nd March, 1687, by the mates and seamen of the "Stavenisse."

They further state that on 22nd February, 1686, they quitted the mates Isbrand Hoogrood, Abraham Ruygman, and Jan de Groot; and being forty-seven in number, and all in good health and strength, they set out to the S.W., intending to proceed overland to the Cape of Good Hope; and that during the interval between that date and the 6th April, having wandered over hill and dale, and passed four great rivers, they left behind them the carpenter and a seaman, who were drowned in one of the rivers; that the trumpeter and the quartermaster lay down exhausted, and that at length, being only . . . men in number, they were hostilely assailed by a certain people called Hagriquas, plundered of everything, and stripped quite naked; on that occasion the cooper was killed, and the sailmaker lost an eye—his right eye. They were then obliged for some days to beg their food in the kraals or villages of the Magosse Africans, until at length they were distributed in the surrounding villages or neighbourhood, and there were very well treated.

During the two years and eleven months which they passed amongst that people, they were unable to discover amongst them the slightest trace of religion.

They deduce their origin from a certain man and woman, who grew up together out of the earth, and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer.

It would be impossible to buy any slaves there, for they would not part with their children, or any of their connections for anything

in the world, loving one another with a most remarkable strength of affection.

Their riches consist in cattle and assagais, also copper and iron; their shields, clothes, and other furniture, are burned on the death of the owner. Their land is in common, each grazing his cattle or cultivating the ground where he likes; they may also remove from place to place, provided that they remain within the boundaries of the kingdom.

The country is exceedingly fertile, and incredibly populous, and full of cattle, whence it is that lions and other ravenous animals are not very apt to attack men, as they find enough tame cattle to devour.

They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good and free from weavils for years.

In their intercourse with each other they are very civil, polite, and talkative, saluting each other, whether young or old, male or female, whenever they meet; asking whence they come, and whither they are going, what is their news, and whether they have learned any new dances or songs; they are, however, thievish and lying, though hospitable.

Revenge has little or no sway amongst them, as they are obliged to submit their disputes to the king, who after hearing the parties, gives sentence on the spot, to which all parties submit without a murmur; but should the matter in dispute be of great importance, and when he cannot rely on his own judgment, he refers the parties to an older king in his neighbourhood.

When a father beats his son so as to draw blood, and complaint is made to the king, he must pay the king a cow as a fine.

The kings are much respected and beloved by their subjects. Their houses are like hay-cocks in Europe, and only a little larger than the common huts, and they (the kings) wear the skins of the deer or tiger, but in other respects they are quite like the common people. Of their courage little can be said, as during the stay of the Netherlanders amongst them they had no wars.

One may travel 200 or 300 "mijlen" through the country, without any fear of danger from the men, provided you go naked ("bloot") and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them.

Neither need one be under any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertain-

ment for travellers, where these are not only lodged but fed also: care must only be taken, towards nightfall, when one cannot get any further, to stop there, and not to go on before morning.

In an extent of 150 "mijlen" travelled by your servants along the coast, to the depth of about 30 "mijlen" inland, and through five kingdoms, namely: the Magosses, the Magrigas, the Matimbos, Mapontes, and Emboas; they found no standing waters, but many rivers with plenty of fish, and full of seacows.

There are many dense forests with short-stemmed trees; but at the bay of Natal are two forests, fully a "mijl" square, with tall, straight, and thick trees, fit for house or ship timber, in which is abundance of honey and wax; but no wax is to be had from the natives, as they eat the wax as well as the honey.

In all the time of their stay in that country or travelling through it, they found but one European, an old Portuguese, in the country of the Mapontes; he had been shipwrecked there about forty years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and, as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannon are still to be found there. This Portuguese had been circumcised, and had a wife, children, cattle, and land: he spoke only the African language, having forgotten everything, his God included.

They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, watermelons, and beans much resembling the European brown beans. They sow annually a kind of earthnut, and a kind of under-ground bean, both very nourishing, and bearing a small leaf. Tobacco grows there wild, and, if they knew how to manage it, would probably resemble in flavour the Virginian. The true European fig grows wild, also a kind of grapes, which are a little sour ("rijnsch"), though well tasted: they are best boiled. They have also a kind of tree fruit, not unlike the fatherland medlar, and not unpleasant to eat; wild prunes grow abundantly on the shore, and are well tasted. There are also wild cherries ("strand-kaarsen") with long stalks, and very sour. Finally, they have a kind of apples, not unpleasant eating, but which are not ripe until they fall from the tree; before they fall they are nauseous ("walging") and cause flatulency.

The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers, and goats. There are few sheep, but no want of elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, leopards, elands and harts, as well of the Cape kind as the fatherland, with branched ("getakte") horns; rheboks of various kinds, wild hogs, dogs, buffaloes, seacows, crocodiles, and horses.

The latter they do not catch or tame, although they approach within ten or twelve paces; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength. Some have the tail black, others white.

They also say that they saw two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and colour like the elephant, having the head like the horse, a short tail, but a long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe ("giraffe" ?).

There are many kinds of snakes, scorpions, large and small, also centipedes, toads, and frogs; ostriches, geese, ducks, pigeons, red and brown partridges, abundance of pheasants, and "pauws" with a shining top-knot ("kuij") and tail (Balearic crane ?).

In the rivers are eels and congers, and in the bay of Natal king's-fish and sun-fish, besides all kinds of fish known in India and here, as may be further seen from the annexed account taken down from the mouths of our men.

We trust that this long detail may not be disapproved by Your Honours, as it tends to convey information concerning countries which, although lying so near to your Colony, have hitherto remained so little known, in spite of several vain attempts.

The galiot, after being supplied with every necessary, was about to return to the bay De la Goa, in latitude 33° (i.e. Algoa Bay), which is the only place that has not been examined, as when, in the mouth of that bay, she was forced by bad weather to hold off the land, and to return to the Cape; but the Frenchman, who has disturbed the peace of Europe, has put us also upon our guard. . .

It was therefore after full deliberation deemed very serviceable to the Company, that a mission should be sent thither forthwith, under the guidance of the said Inqua, and some of the Cape Hottentots, to endeavour to procure from them some oxen, cows, sheep, and other cattle, or whatever produce of grain, merchandise, or minerals their country might offer, in exchange for tobacco, arrack, beads, assagais, and other trifles, so that we might thus be in a position properly to supply the free men who are still expected; and also to try whether we could not open a road in this direction to Terra de Natal, procure some intelligence of the missing crew of the "Stavenisse," and discover the whole country as far as Rio De la Goa, so as to bring into the hands of the Company, and of this Colony, whatever profits that country may afford.

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EXTRACT FROM THE LOG-BOOK, KEPT IN THE GALIOT "NOORD," DURING
A VOYAGE TO DE LA GOA BAY, IN SOUTH LATITUDE 26°.

The "Noord" sailed from Table Bay on 19th October, 1688, anchored in "Rio" de la Goa Bay on 15th November, whence she sailed for the Cape on 30th December.

1689. Jan. 4.—In the forenoon watch the quartermaster, W. Christian, told the captain that the land opposite to us seemed to be that where he had lost his ship. . . . Our latitude by reckoning was 29° 28, but the meridian altitude gave us 30° 1, so that we were a little to the south of our reckoning. We were now near where the said quartermaster had lost his ship, and sailed N.N.W. two "mijlen" to the land, and anchored in ten fathoms, right before the ("gat") entrance opposite to a high bluff point (L). This L bore S.S.W. one-sixth "mijl": from this L there extends a reef of rocks N. by S., over which the sea breaks; around the point lie rocks which show themselves in the water like a fence or breastwork. While we lay at anchor, we saw people on shore running, waving, and making fire. We therefore put out the boat, and, at God's mercy, rowed into the entrance: we found two fathoms in the shallowest place at low water. This was about 3 p.m., and two days before full moon. When we got in with the boat, we saw two Dutchmen and one black. They were the boatswain and mate's boy of the "Stavenisse": they were entirely naked, except linen trowsers. They sprung into the water, and, coming to us, kissed the captain and me, thanking God that they were again amongst Christians.

5th.—At 4 p.m., being high water, we warped into the bay (Natal); the natives towed us along by a road-line, until about one-third "mijl" within the entrance, where we anchored in 4½ fathoms. In the evening I, and our quartermaster, Willem, accompanied the boatswain and boy of the "Stavenisse" to their lodging, where we found six very fine cattle; after fastening one for slaughter next day, I went with the others to a kraal (negereijs), and ate some milk and bread of the new corn. We found these people very civil and kind, but without the least fear of God.

6th.—In the afternoon the captain had all our sick (four in number) brought to this post; one of them, named Claas, died in half an hour: we interred him in the evening on this hill, which is called the "Engelsche logie." In the evening I went on board, after

procuring water, which stood in large holes: the native women carried it on board, or to the boat, in large pots.

7th.—This morning the natives came to the opposite bank of the bay with milk, bread, and pumpkins to barter; so that our ship had milk standing about everywhere, and we had abundance of food. We got two fowls for six or seven beads, and for eight or nine, six or seven pumpkins, so that these natives prefer beads to food: for we bought about half a pound of bread for six or seven beads.

16th.—This morning I went with Theunis, the mate, and the boy of the "Stavenisse," to the north side of the bay; and about two "mijlen" along the beach; we found it very steep, but all clear sand, without rocks. About two "mijlen" from the point where the vessel lay, we found a small river, which discharges itself into the sea, but is not navigable, as the channel is very narrow. Going about a "mijl" up this river, we found fresh water, and good people, who at once gave us milk for some beads: hence we struck directly across the country for the vessel, guided by three or four natives, singing as they went; we arrived about an hour before sunset. Our party, who had been eight days out, returned to-day. The mineralogist brought some stones, with some red glittering sandstone. They had been about 24 or 25 "mijlen" to the north of the galiot, to the flat hills which we could see from the galiot: these hills are level on the top, with fine grass, but uninhabited.

20th.—I went to the opposite shore to barter. There were about a hundred natives with milk, beans, and poultry, so that I bought about a sack of beans, a half-aum of milk, 10 or 12 fowls, and 16 pumpkins.

21st.—Our mate and the boatswain of the "Stavenisse" were sent on shore to try to buy a calf for the sick, and at the same time to leave three letters in the hands of a trusty friend, one of the natives, where the boatswain and W. Christian had resided fully a year, as they were quite satisfied that the blacks would take good care of them. They returned in the evening with a young heifer.

23rd.—At daylight, weighed and made sail. In sailing out of the opening you must steer for the north point of land, keeping close along the east bank, though not nearer than twelve feet; for with ten feet the galiot touched, though slightly. If the house is kept in a line with the outward point of land, that which is seen from a distance, the furthest land bearing N.N.E., you are then in the right channel with two fathoms.

24th.—About noon we were about the place where the "Stave-nisse" was wrecked. We could not get a meridian altitude; estimated latitude $30^{\circ} 28'$, longitude $53^{\circ} 42'$.

25th.—Fine weather, easterly wind (light); saw the land to the W., six or seven "mijlen" distant; steered W., but at sunrise it fell calm. Here the coast showed itself in lofty mountains, divided by a great "kloof." Here we lay becalmed. We estimated our latitude $33^{\circ} 3'$, longitude $52^{\circ} 30'$, but, getting a meridian altitude, our latitude was $32^{\circ} 14'$, and our estimated longitude $52^{\circ} 30'$. The coast here runs N.E. and S.W.; it is high land with round-topped mountains ("stompe bergen") bearing west about 12 or 13 "mijlen" distant; we steered in for the coast. In the evening there came a little breeze; we ran along the shore; we here found a strong southerly current, running fully 24 miles in the 24 hours.

26th.—Saw the land and steered along the shore, with a light breeze which scarcely filled the sails, estimated our latitude $33^{\circ} 2'$, longitude $50^{\circ} 46'$ —this was near a river: we then saw, $1\frac{1}{2}$ "mijlen" west of us, the large rock A, whence the year before the men had been embarked. We now had a storm from the north.

27th.—Found ourselves fully eight miles to the westward of the rock.

28th.—We passed the said rock about the third glass of the morning watch, and anchored about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the east of the rock before a great river, where the surf broke heavily, so that we saw no chance of entering. We instantly put the boat out to fetch the people. They pulled towards the shore with six men: on approaching the shore dropped the dredge, and Arien Keint, the boatswain, whom we had brought from Aden dire (?) de Natal, swam through the surf with a letter to be given to the Dutch. This was instantly undertaken by the natives at the request of the boatswain, who swam back to the boat, and returned on board to make his report to the captain, saying that the people would soon come, as they lived at three hours' distance; and, upon their arrival, about 2 p.m., the boat was again sent to the shore, but, before reaching the surf, one of the men swam out through the surf and met them. He was an old man, named Pay Isaak, but the other stood on the shore, not daring to encounter the surf, and desired that we should come and take him from the great rock, where he could better get through the surf. On this the boat returned on board with the old man, who, as soon as he got on board, thanked God, and reported that two of the men

who had been with them had, on 1st January, set out for the lodge, whence we had brought the boatswain and boy; meanwhile it began to blow, and we were obliged to weigh and make sail.

29th.—Could not get to windward of the rock.

30th.—The wind at sunrise from the eastward: stood in for the shore: about the third glass of the morning watch we saw the rock, and steered for it. Came there about the sixth glass of the morning watch—instantly hove to, and put out the boat; on reaching the breakers they dropped their anchor, and the said boatswain swam to meet him with a lead-line. He seeing this also took the water and swam until they were within two boats' lengths of each other, and in the worst part of the surf, at that moment breaking very heavily; the shipwrecked man turned for the shore, not daring to venture further. The boatswain on seeing this called to him to come a little nearer: but he swam to the rock, and on reaching it waved to them to go away. On this the boatswain swam back to the boat, and returned on board, where, with tears in his eyes, he gave us these particulars: and as we could not stay here any longer, in consequence of the strong east wind and the current, we filled our sails, and put the vessel before the wind. We saw no means of getting him off, as all along the coast was a rocky reef over which the surf broke with violence. At noon we were in latitude $33^{\circ} 23'$, long. 50° , being then about one "mijl" from the land, the rock bearing E.N.E. $10\frac{1}{2}$ "mijlen"; so that this rock lies in latitude 33° , longitude $50^{\circ} 45'$. We sailed from the rock along the coast, and saw, in passing along, four rivers, none of them fit to enter. Towards the evening we saw another such large rock, which we passed. At sunset the wind began to increase hand over hand, and after sunset we saw a small island which is at the eastern point of the bay De la Goa. This place we were forced to pass by a half-storm, the current pushed us on very rapidly (next day, lat. $34^{\circ} 37'$, longitude $46^{\circ} 54'$, on 3rd February); the reef of Soetendaal therefore lies in latitude $34^{\circ} 46'$ —longitude $41^{\circ} 32'$.

On the 4th the east point of Cape False, bearing N.W. about six "mijlen," latitude observed $34^{\circ} 43'$.

[Note in Moodie's Records.]

These longitudes were probably calculated from the meridian of Teneriffe. Humboldt's observations fixed the difference between the meridian of Teneriffe and that of Greenwich at $16^{\circ} 12' 45''$, but this correction will rarely, if ever, satisfactorily account for the geographical position assigned by the Dutch to known points in or near the

colony. In a memorandum to the French Ambassador to Holland in 1750, the Academy of Sciences represent that fixing the longitude of the Cape was an object worthy of the support of the Company, as the difference upon that point among European navigators "is no less than 100 leagues." The latitudes also were frequently erroneous. A surveyor appointed to take astronomical observations during the journey of Bentler, in 1752, places the mouth of Zwartkops River in latitude $34^{\circ} 57'$; longitude, $44^{\circ} 17'$. The following entry furnishes another test of the accuracy of the log-book of the "Noord," which, together with that of the "Centaur," seems to fix the positions of the Kafirs at the period: "Sunday, 24th October, 1688. This morning we saw an eclipse of the sun, about 5h. 38' 48". The middle as seen by us was at 6h. 22' 48". Latitude at noon by a/c, $35^{\circ} 58'$; by observation, 36° . Longitude, $32^{\circ} 52'$."

EXTRACTS OF A DESPATCH FROM THE CHAMBER XVII. TO COMMANDER
SIMON VAN DER STELL AND COUNCIL.

1689. September 30.

We were happy also to find that about twenty of the crew of the wrecked ship "Stavenisse" had been saved and brought to the Cape by the "Centaur," and thus restored to their country. We hope that the remaining three will be brought back with the next vessel sent there. From what is testified of the fertility of the country, it will be desirable that we should fully inform ourselves upon all points connected with it, and, in particular, whether there are any good bays or harbours where ships may lie in safety.

* * *

OCTOBER 22ND.—EXTRACT OF RESOLUTION OF COUNCIL.

It was unanimously resolved to send the galiot "Noord" to the bay of Natal to fetch the remaining people of the "Stavenisse," and to endeavour to purchase on the Company's account, under a formal and duly executed written contract with the chief of that country, the said bay and some of the land around it for merchandise, such as beads, copper, ironwork, and such other articles as are liked by them

. . . . and that the said galiot shall then return hither along the coast, and with all possible care sound and survey the bay of De la Goa (Algoa) to see whether it may not be suitable for the Company's homeward-bound fleets and to use the same precautions in saving the crew of the "Stavenisse," and in purchasing that bay and the adjoining land ("aancleven") from its chief or inhabitants, which have been ordered with regard to Natal.

OCTOBER 25, 1689. (JOURNAL.)

The Commander this day delivered the following instructions to the officers of the galiot "Noord."

Instructions for the guidance of Pieter Jans Timmerman and the other officers of the Company's galiot "Noord," proceeding from this place to the bays of Natal and De la Goa (Algoa Bay) :—

1. Upon receipt of these instructions, and when wind and weather serve, you will weigh anchor and make sail for False Bay, where you will careen the galiot at the usual place, and having cleaned her, prosecute your voyage without delay to the bay of Natal.

2. Having arrived there, you will exert your skill and assiduity in finding, saving, and endeavouring to secure the residence of the crew of the "Stavenisse."

3. Should it happen that the inhabitants of the Terra de Natal purposely and maliciously conceal from the men of the "Stavenisse" the intelligence of your arrival, you will, at proper times, fire a gun now and then for the purpose of giving them that intimation, but will take care to fire these signal guns under one or other pretext, so as not to alarm the natives or render them unfriendly to you.

4. Watching a fit opportunity, you will enter into a negotiation with the chief, or so-called Ingose,* solemnly to purchase from him, for the Honourable Company, for beads, copper, ironmongery, and such other articles as they have a liking for, the bay Natal and the adjoining land, and you will have a deed of conveyance, "in comuni et solemni formâ," written by Lourens van Swaanswyk, passed before commissioned members of the ship's council, and signed by the said chief Ingose and some of his nearest relatives, taking good care that the articles of merchandise for which the bay and adjoining

* "Opperhoofd of zoo genaamde" Ingose. This word resembles the Kafir word for Chief, and probably signifies the office, not the name.

land is purchased are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms, and that the amount of the same be estimated at nineteen or twenty thousand guildens.

5. Having effected this, you will run down the coast, and endeavour to make the bay De la Goa, lying in from 33° to 34° S. latitude, and to ascertain whether, as stated by the Portuguese, and laid down in their charts, there is a round sandbank at the entrance; you will carefully sound the bay, and have a chart of it drawn by the quartermaster, Cornelis Hemerans.

6. With regard to securing the missing men of the "Stavenisse," and the purchase of this bay, you will use the same precautions which are above dictated in the fourth article; and you will above all attend carefully to your duty, and to the interests of the Company, taking good note of everything which may be in any way profitable or is worthy of remark, and having such things carefully entered in your log-book by Lourens van Swaanswyk.

EXTRACTS OF DESPATCHES FROM COMMANDER SIMON VAN DER STELL
AND COUNCIL TO THE CHAMBER OF XVII.

1690. May 24th.—The galiot "De Noord" sailed from Table Bay on 28th of last October, intending according to verbal as well as written instructions—a copy of the latter being herewith transmitted—to proceed first to False Bay to be hove down and cleaned, and thence to sail for the bay of Natal. But meeting with severe S.E. winds, they put into the bay of Saldanha on the 30th—and after having been there cleaned, sailed on the 12th November, and on the 4th December arrived before the bay of Natal, which she safely entered on the following day: and after embarking the residue of the crew of the "Stavenisse," and solemnly purchasing that bay with some surrounding land from the king and chief of those parts for some merchandise, consisting of copper arm and neck rings and other articles, upon behalf of the Honourable Company, whose marks were set up in various places ("der zelfver wapen in verscheidene plaatsen opgerigt") and proper attention having been paid to everything, they sailed on the 11th January following, and four days later put into the so-called bay De la Goa (Algoa)—without anchoring, however, but keeping under sail. It was no bay, but only a bight,

quite open to the sea, having three or four visible rocks in the middle, and fully as many in its entrance.

* * * * *

[The despatch proceeds to inform the Chamber XVII. that the galiot was wrecked on the coast within a few hours after leaving Algoa Bay.]

FROM DAMPIER'S VOYAGES.*

“The following paper, containing a short description of a part of Africa that is not well known to Europeans, I thought would not be unacceptable to the curious reader. I have therefore annexed it, as I received it from my ingenious friend, Captain Rogers, who is lately gone to that place, and hath been there several times before.”

The country of Natal takes up about three degrees and a half of latitude, lying between the latitude 31°30m. and 28° S.

'Tis bounded on the South by a country inhabited by a small nation of savage people, called by our English wild Bushmen, that live in caves and holes in rocks, and have no other houses but such as are formed by nature. They are of a low stature, tawny-coloured, and with crisped hair. They are accounted very cruel to their enemies. Their weapons are bows and poisoned arrows. These people have for their neighbours, on the south, the Hottentots. Delagoa Bay is a navigable river, in latitude 28°. The inhabitants of this river have commerce with the Portuguese of Mozambique, who visit them in small barks, and trade there for elephants' teeth, of which they have great plenty. Some English, too, have lately been there to purchase teeth, particularly Captain Fresk, just mentioned in my former volume, . . . who, after he had been in the river of De la Goa and purchased eight or ten tons of teeth, lost his ship on a rock near Madagascar.

The country of Natal lies open to the Indian sea on the East, but how far it runs back to the West is not yet known. Great part of the country which respects the sea is plain, champion, and woody; but within it appears more uneven by reason of many hills which rise in unequal heights above each other. Yet it is interlaced with

* In British Museum.

pleasant valleys and large plains, and 'tis checked with natural groves and savannahs. Neither is there any want of water, for every hill affords little brooks, which glide down several ways, some of which meet by degrees, which make up the river of Natal, which dischargeth itself into the East Indian ocean, in latitude 30° S., where it opens pretty wide, and is deep enough for small ships. But at the mouth of the river is a bar, which has not above 10 or 11 feet of water on it in a spring tide, though within there is water enough. This river is the principal of the country of Natal, and has lately been frequented by some of our ships, particularly by a small ship that Captain Rogers owned.

There are also other streams and rivers which bend their courses N., especially one of considerable bigness about a hundred miles inland, and which runs due North.

The woods are composed of divers sorts of trees, many of which are very good timber and fit for any uses, they being tall and large. The savannahs also are clothed with kindly thick grass.

The land-animals of this country are lyons, tigers, elephants, buffaloes, bullocks, deer, hogs, conies, &c. Here are also abundance of sea-horses.

Buffaloes and bullocks are kept tame, but the rest are all wild.

Elephants are so plenty here that they feed together in great troops, a thousand or fifteen hundred in a company. Mornings and evenings they are seen grazing in the savannahs, but in the heat of the day they retire into the woods, and they are very peaceable if not molested.

Deer are very numerous here also. They feed very quietly in the savannahs among the tame cattle, for they are seldom disturbed by the natives.

Here are fowls of different sorts, some such as we have in England, viz., ducks and teal, both tame and wild, and plenty of coocks and hens, besides abundance of wild birds unknown to us. Here are a sort of fowls as big as peacocks, which have very fine coloured feathers. They are very rare and shy. There are others like curlews, but bigger: the flesh of these is black, but sweet and wholesome meat.

The sea and rivers also do abound in fish, yet the natives do seldom endeavour to take any, except tortoises; and that is chiefly when they come ashore at night to lay their eggs: though they have also another very odd way which they sometimes make use of to catch turtles or tortoises. They take a living sucking fish, and, fastening

a couple of strings to it, let it down into the water on the turtle-ground, and when they find they have fastened to a turtle, they draw him and the turtle up.

The natives of this country are but of middle stature, yet have very good limbs. The colour of their skins is black ; their hair crisped. They are oval visaged, their noses neither flat nor high, but well proportioned. Their teeth are white, and their aspect altogether graceful. They are amiable people, but very lazy, which probably is for want of commerce. Their chief employment is husbandry. They have a great many bulls and cows, which they carefully look after, for every man knows his own, though they run all promiscuously together in their savannahs, yet they have pens near their own houses, where they make them gentle, and bring them to the pail. They also plant corn, and fence in their fields. They have guinea-corn, which is their bread ; and a small grain, which is their drink.

Here are no arts or trade, but every one makes for himself such necessaries as need or ornament requires, the men keeping to their employment, and the women to theirs.

The men build, plant, hunt, and do what is to be done abroad. The women milk, cook, &c. Their houses are not great or richly furnished, but are made close and well-thatched, that neither winds nor weather can hurt them. They wear but few clothes, and those extraordinary mean. The men go in a manner naked, their common garb being only a piece of cloth, of silk-grass, as an apron. At the upper corner it has two straps around the waist ; and the lower is fringed with the same, and hangs down to their knees. They have caps made with beef-tallow, 9 or 10 inches. They are a great while making these caps, for the tallow must be very pure. . . . It would be ridiculous for a man to be seen without a cap, but boys are not allowed to wear any.

The women have only short petticoats which reach to the knee.

The common subsistence of these people is bread made of guinea-corn, beef, milk, fish, eggs, ducks, hens, &c. They drink milk often to quench their thirst, and this sometimes when it is sweet, but commonly sour.

Besides milk, they make a bitter sort of (drink from) grain purposely to make merry with ; and when they meet on such occasions, the men make themselves extraordinary fine with feathers stuck in their caps very thick.

Besides this they wear a piece of cow-hide, which hangs behind like a tail, and reaching to the ground.

Every man may have as many wives as he pleases; and without buying none are to be had; neither is there any other commodity to be bought or sold but women. Young virgins are disposed of by fathers and brothers: the price according to beauty.

They have no money in the country, but give cows for wives, and therefore the richest man is he that hath most daughters or sisters. They make merry when they take their wives, but the bride cries all her wedding-day.

They live together in small villages, and the oldest man governs the rest, for all that live together are of kin, and therefore they submit to his government. They are very just and civil to strangers. This was experienced by two seamen who were among them five years. Their ship was cast away on the coast, and the rest of their consorts marched to the river De la Goa; but they staid here until Capt. Rogers accidentally came and took them away. They had gained the language of the country, and the natives freely gave them wives, and cows too. They were beloved by all the people, and so much revered that their words were taken as laws; and when they came away, many of the boys cried because they could not take them with them.

A.D. 1705.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BY JOHN MAXWELL, 1706.

[Published in London, 1715.]

At the Cape I met with one Johannes Gerbrantzer, master of a Dutch ship, who, 1690, was in Terra de Natal, distant from the Cape about 800 miles, where, he says, he bought the place for the Dutch East India Company for 20,000 florins. Coasting thence to the Cape, his ship was cast away, but they all got safe ashore, who, eighteen in number, set out by land for the Cape, distant about 200 miles, where only four arrived, all the rest dying of hunger, thirst, or heat, except two or three who were killed by the Hottentots. They saw no wild beasts except elephants. In 1705, Gerbrantzer went again to Natal the late king's son then reigning, to whom he spoke of the former agreement with his father. "My father," answered he, "is dead;

"his skins (*i.e.*, his clothes) are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him; and the place is fenced in over which none now must pass; and as to what he agreed to, it was for himself: I have nothing to say to it."

So Gerbrantzer urged it no farther, having no orders concerning it from the Company.

1750—1824.

OCCURRENCES AMONG THE NATIVE RACES.

(From Papers left by Mr. Henry Fynn.)

HISTORY OF GODONGWANA (DINGIZWAYO) AND (IN PART) OF CHAKA.

[MR. H. FYNN.*]

IN the year 1824, on my arrival at Port Natal, Chaka was the Chief of the Zulu Country. From his statements, corroborated from other sources, I received the information in reference to events which appear to refer to (about) the year 1750. It may be necessary to remark that a custom prevails among the tribes which enables the year in which any remarkable event occurred to be traced with some probability of correctness. An annual feast is observed, when the chief eats of the first fruits of the season, prior to which ceremony not even a fallen grain may be eaten under penalty of death.

The country between De la Goa Bay and the Tugela had for many years been a scene of commotion. At the time here referred to it was occupied by various tribes, the two most important being the Amangwane and the Umtetwa; the latter having Ujobe for its chief. The first account given of this chief in any way connected with subsequent occurrences is that, before he had selected from among his wives the one who was to be the mother of his successor, he had several sons, of whom it is only necessary to mention two, Godongwana and Mawewe, whose mothers were of different tribes. The friends of Mawewe, with the view of establishing him as the

* It is plain that this paper was written in the year 1839—possibly early in the year—since the destruction of Cane and his party is spoken of as recent.

successor to his father, circulated a rumour that Godongwana intended to assassinate Ujobe. The chief, believing the rumour, ordered a party to destroy Godongwana and his adherents. In the attack made on Godongwana's kraal, he escaped to a neighbouring forest, though severely wounded in the side. He was seen, hidden under a fallen tree, by two of the foremost of his pursuers. These, however, were anxious to save his life. They shouted to the others in the rear that Godongwana had made good his escape, and these returned to the chief, reporting to him that his son must certainly die of his wound. Godongwana, however, lived; his wound was healed, but he sought safety, flying from country to country, while his father sent presents to the chiefs who harboured him to induce them to put him to death. After repeated escapes from the hands of his executioners, he fled to a tribe under Pangane. . . . Being employed to milk the cattle of the family whom he served, Godongwana attracted the notice of the chief, who took him into his own service, and suspecting that he was the son of Ujobe, assured him of future protection. After having resided for some time with that chief, Godongwana went out with the tribe, which had been mustered for the destruction of a lion that had made some havoc among their cattle. He asked to be allowed to engage single-handed with the animal, and leave having been given, as well as the promise of a reward if he should succeed, he killed the creature (which proved to be a lioness) in presence of the tribe, and brought away two of her cubs, for which he received a large present of cattle, and was made chief of a portion of the tribe. Shortly after it was reported that Ujobe was dead, and that Mawewe had succeeded him.

While this was no more than a doubtful rumour, the attention of the various tribes was excited by the appearance of a "malungu," or white man, said to be coming from the west. This strange phenomenon was represented by those who had seen it as having a human aspect: his garment, though so small as to be held in the grasp of his hand, when slipped over his head covered his whole body; on his feet there were no toes; his heel was so long as to penetrate the ground; he was mounted on an animal of great speed, and carried a pole in his hand, which spit fire and thunder, and killed all the wild animals he looked at; he was represented as the chief of the diviners, from whom they all derived their powers. At his presence the natives fled, after killing an ox to be consumed by him; and, whenever he entered a kraal, beads and brass were left behind, and found by the natives on their return. Pangane, more

daring than his neighbours, awaited his arrival. During his stay with that chief, the white man performed a surgical operation on Pangane's knee, which had for some years been affected in some painful way. The European of whom this description is given was probably Dr. Cowen, who travelled from Cape Town in a N.E. direction in the year 17—. This traveller endeavoured for some time, in vain, to procure guides to direct him to the sea-coast, then distant nearly 300 miles; and at length accompanied Godongwana, who, with his followers, proceeded to his country with the object of dethroning Mawewe, and establishing himself in his stead. Arriving in the neighbourhood of the coast, the stranger proceeded towards the sea, and entered a tract under the rule of Pakatwayo, who had him seized and put to death. A belief prevailed among the tribes on the coast that white men were not human beings, but a production of the sea, which they traversed in large shells, coming near the shores in stormy weather, their food being the tusks of elephants, which they would take from the beach if laid there for them, and placing beads in their room, which they obtained from the bottom of the sea. Godongwana's arrival in the neighbourhood was reported to Mawewe, with exaggerated accounts of his power, of his riding on an animal and having the weapon of thunder, both of which were said to have been brought by him from some distant country. Mawewe, to learn the truth, sent one of his councillors to see where Godongwana was and observe his strength. The councillor sent on this errand proceeded direct to Godongwana, who, probably assuming a claim to the magic powers which rumour conferred on him, gained over this emissary, and concerted his schemes of future action with him. The councillor, returning to Mawewe, advised that a force should be sent against him. This was done, and the command was given to the councillor, who, as he approached Godongwana, placed foremost the men whom he believed to be attached to Mawewe. These, beginning the fight, were attacked in their rear by the chief and his followers. In the midst of the confusion thus occasioned, Godongwana rushed amongst them amidst the acclamations of his friends, which in a moment became general. Mawewe, hearing of these proceedings, fled to the Knobe Kafirs, and this was the cause of several subsequent wars between Godongwana and Pakatwayo, who harboured Mawewe; but Pakatwayo was ultimately compelled to give him up to Godongwana, who had him put to death.

Godongwana commenced his career about 1780. His first act was to forbid the name of Godongwana being any longer applied to

him, substituting for it that of Dingizwayo, which implies "One in distress," in allusion to his having been an outcast. Dingizwayo appears to have possessed much natural ability, and this was increased by his experiences in travelling through the neighbouring countries. His superior intellect would have given him an advantage over his neighbours, but the surprising strides he made in improving the form of government, in war, and in the encouragement of ingenuity, lead to the supposition that he must have derived knowledge from some other source than intercourse with native tribes; and there is a probability that during the time he was with Dr. Cowen he acquired much information from him, and that on this were founded his plans for the future.

In the first year of his chieftainship, he opened a trade with De la Goa Bay, by sending 100 oxen and a quantity of elephants' tusks to exchange for beads and blankets. Prior to this a small supply of these articles had been brought to that country from De la Goa Bay by the natives. The trade thus opened by Dingizwayo was afterwards carried on, on an extensive scale, though the Portuguese never in person entered his country. The encouragement held out to ingenuity brought numbers around him, liberal rewards being given to any of his followers who devised things new or ornamental. Milk-dishes, pillows, ladles of cane or wood, and snuff-spoons, were produced. (Many curious specimens of excessively neat workmanship are still made in the Zulu country.) A kross (karosse) manufactory was also established, a hundred men having been generally employed in that work. From the presents received from De la Goa Bay he selected some for imitation; and a handsome reward was offered for the production of a chair and table. The former was accomplished: it was cut from a solid block of wood, and was by no means disgraced by the presence of its model of European workmanship. The chiefs of the Zulus still have chairs made for their use by their own subjects. An umbrella could not be imitated, but the idea of its use was supplied, and a shield was substituted for it, and continues to be used by the Zulu chiefs. It is held over them by their servants, and is more suitable and characteristic than an umbrella could be, which must be held by the person using it. The wars which Dingizwayo began with his neighbours were not at first on a great scale. But they were successful, and spurred him on to more important movements. He assumed a despotic power hitherto unknown; he divided his followers into regiments, distinguishing each by name and by the colour of their shields. He introduced war-dresses of a

most imposing appearance to be worn by his chief men and warriors, as if he wished to claim for them rather the respect of their enemies than to terrify them by that appearance of fury which would be supposed to be the vice of the savage. He declared war on all the neighbouring tribes, assigning as his reason that he wished to do away with the incessant quarrels that occurred amongst the tribes, because no supreme head was over them to say who was right or who was wrong: a state of things that could not have been the design of Umvela, the first of the human race. Dingizwayo's proceedings sufficiently testify that these were really the views that actuated him. The first tribe he conquered were the Amakwadini. He directed their cattle to be brought to his place of residence, and there to be assorted. The oxen were distributed among his warriors, but he restored the cows to the defeated tribe, from whom he exacted submission to his authority. On this principle he continued his conquests. The most important of the conquered tribes were the Kwabis, Amalanga, Amakwadini, Amazulu, Amatyaleni, Telayizi, Kuyivane, Amatembu, Amaswazi, and the Amakose. The only chief he had not subdued was Zuedi, chief of the Endwandwe.

Before proceeding further with the acts of Dingizwayo, it becomes necessary to take some notice of the Zulu tribe under Senzagakona, one of those subdued by Dingizwayo. At that time the tribe numbered only 2,000 men. Before the date of Dingizwayo's conquests, the custom of circumcision had been general among all Kafir natives: but he ordered the rite to be deferred until he should have brought under his dominion all within his reach. Owing to this circumstance, circumcision fell into disuse among all the Eastern tribes, and the omission of the ceremony extended to all who acknowledged his authority. Among these was Senzagakona: the rite was postponed in his case. But by long usage it was unlawful that, though a chief might set aside a number of women for a seraglio, he should until after circumcision have any intercourse with them for the propagation of his race. Among the females thus set apart by Senzagakona was Nandi, of whose death an account is separately annexed. She was of the Amola tribe. She became enciente. Senzagakona, not suspecting the truth, attributed the change in her figure to disease, known by the name of Cheka. But, in the course of time, the true cause could no longer be concealed. A son was born, and, owing to the circumstance just mentioned, with the difference of a single letter in the word, was called Chaka. Nandi displaying a very ferocious temper, was driven away, and returned to her country

amongst the Amola tribe. She afterwards married a commoner, and had a son named Engwade. Dingizwayo then took Chaka under his protection, saying that, as he had himself been driven from his father, and had become an outcast wherever he went, Chaka should be under his special care. During Dingizwayo's wars, Chaka was at an early age conspicuous for his bravery, and gained the name of Sigiti. At the death of his father, Senzagakona, Chaka solicited Dingizwayo to establish him in the Zulu chieftainship. This Dingizwayo refused, stating that the Zulu tribe were under his authority, and that Umfogazi, the heir apparent, had a prior right. Chaka, finding this to be the only obstacle, employed his brother Engwade to assassinate Umfogazi. This having been done, he sought some assistance: and then, dressed in his war attire, and accompanied by many of Dingizwayo's followers, he entered his father's kraal, chanting a song composed by himself, in which he set forth his warlike views. The experience he had gained during his attendance on Dingizwayo, and his own ambitious views, could not find scope for action so long as his protector was alive. Chaka took the earliest opportunity of ridding himself of such an obstacle. Dingizwayo having gone out to attack the chief Zuedi, Chaka accompanied him, commanding one division of the force, and knowing the spot where Dingizwayo would post himself to observe the battle, secretly communicated this knowledge to the enemy, who sent a force and took him prisoner. He was kept bound for three days, and then put to death. The Umtetwas, their chief being a prisoner, were defeated. Some joined the ranks of the victors, while the remainder returned to their country, acknowledging as their chief Mondesa, Dingizwayo's brother. The various tribes who had been conquered and formed part of the Umtetwa tribe, refused to acknowledge Mondesa, and took the opportunity of claiming their independence.

To give an adequate idea of Chaka's proceedings, from the death of Dingizwayo to the time when he (Chaka) was assassinated by his brother, Dingaan, would require an extensive work, while the object of what is here recorded regarding him is chiefly to give an insight into the revolutions the various tribes have undergone, and the rise and progress of the Zulu nation, to elucidate which it has been necessary to give a more minute account respecting Dingizwayo and the tribes antecedent to the time of their being under the dominion of Chaka. Hence the little mentioned regarding Chaka can give but an indifferent idea of the character of that chief. The death of Dingizwayo leaving him without control, he found a pretext for attacking

Mondesa while the tribe was still in confusion from the loss of its chieftain, and were in fear of retaliation from the tribes which, having been conquered by Dingizwayo, were now left at liberty. This fear, as well as the inducements held out by Chaka, led them to unite under his authority. With this additional strength he meditated greater conquests, and fought over again Dingizwayo's battles; but now they were attended with greater slaughter. He disapproved of the custom of throwing the assagai. To substitute a different mode of attack, Chaka assembled two divisions of his followers, who were ordered to supply themselves with a reed (javelin) each from the river-bank, that he might be convinced of the effect which only one weapon would produce when used at close quarters. The two divisions thus weaponed were ordered to oppose each other, the one throwing the weapon, the other rushing on and stabbing their opponents. The result of this collision was momentary, and met with Chaka's entire satisfaction, few having escaped being wounded, and several severely. Chaka then ordered six oxen to be slaughtered in his presence; and collecting the assagais of his followers, with the exception of one left to each, he ordered the shafts to be broken and used in cooking the meat, of which the prime parts were given, hot, to those who had been conspicuous for courage: the inferior parts, after being soaked in cold water, were given to those who had been seen to shrink in the combat. Thus originated the use of the single spear by the Eastern tribes.

Chaka having, after much opposition, overcome the neighbouring tribes, in order to prevent a repetition of revolt, put to death the chiefs and principal families of the conquered, selecting, however, the younger men, whom he attached to his regiments, forming together a body of 50,000 effective followers: these he governed with despotic severity. Having, with the exception of Matuwana, who fled to the North-East, brought under his dominion all chiefs and tribes between De la Goa Bay and Umzimvubu, he determined to continue his wars, so long as any body of people could be found to stand in opposition to his force. To fight or die was his maxim, and certain was the death of any man or body of men who retreated before the enemy. The countries to the N.E., as also the coast westward, were separately invaded. Those who attempted to withstand him were overpowered by numbers, and ultimately exterminated, neither sex nor age being spared. Many were burned to death, their huts being fired at night; while the barbarous cruelties he practised struck terror into many who had never seen his force and fled at his name.

The recital of his cruelties, though horrid, is necessary, for the omission might leave him entitled to be regarded only as a savage. One instance is related by his followers and participators in the deed as having occurred in the commencement of a battle with Zuedi. Some aged women having been taken in the outskirts of their country were seized and brought into Chaka's presence. After eliciting from them the information he required, he ordered them to be bound with straw and matting, which being set on fire, the tortured victims were driven towards the enemy amidst the acclamations of Chaka and of the furious demons attending him. Whilst those opposed to him were subjected to such cruelties, his own followers were not exempt. The instances are numerous in which, though not a semblance of crime was imputed to them, he has had men seized, and their eyes taken out of their sockets; and then they were allowed to move about and be ridiculed by all who met them. It is needless to dwell on the enormity of his cruelty. It required some off-set to gloss over this, his predominant feature. He seemed to possess qualities that might do so, and these, though only assumed, were sufficient for the ends he had in view. When the feelings of his heart were appealed to, he was by no means deficient in kind expression; and tears appeared to be always ready at his command. Excessive liberality gained for him that ascendancy for which he was esteemed above all before him. His despotism made the lives and property of all his followers exclusively his own. Hence his treasury, though exhausted by liberal gifts, required but the death of two or three wealthy owners of cattle to replenish it. The success that had always attended him in his numerous wars, and his own pretensions to superiority, led his followers to believe that he was more than human; and in this light he was ever adored by his subjects. He succeeded in overrunning the whole country from De la Goa Bay to the St. John's River; and if death had not put a stop to his ambitious career, or had he not been deterred by the probability of a collision with the Cape colonists, he would assuredly ere this have exterminated every tribe of Kafirs up to the Colonial border. The numbers whose death he occasioned have been left to conjecture, but exceed a million. Of the tribes yet extant who escaped subjugation by Dingizwayo, the first was that of the Chief ———, who occupied the tract from St. Lucia to De la Goa Bay. He fled beyond that port inland, and his is now the only tribe east of De la Goa speaking the Kafir language. At the death of this chief he was succeeded by his son Sotskhongana, who was

three times attacked by Chaka. On the last occasion Chaka's army, before making their intended attack, was surprised in the night by Sotshongana and his followers, who were led to make this movement by a deserter, one of Chaka's chiefs. Little is known of Sotshongana or his people, though they cannot be much less numerous than Chaka's adherents. The next tribe of importance in point of numbers is that under the chief Umsiligazi, misnamed by the colonists Matsilikatzi: an error arising from the adoption by the tribe of the name of their head, and so calling themselves Amasiligazi. Chaka had no sooner commenced his wars after the death of Dingizwayo than the country was invaded by Zuedi. Chaka, knowing his inability to meet the invader, retreated with his adherents, having first destroyed every kind of grain and cooking utensil in the tract he was leaving. When his spies returned with information that the invading force had totally consumed their supply of provision, he turned upon his adversaries, who in their famished state fled before him. Three of Zuedi's petty chiefs were left behind, two of whom, Beju and Umlotsha, joined Chaka, by whom they were afterwards put to death. The third, Umsiligazi, with 300 followers, became a freebooter. He began his aggressions by setting fire to the huts of petty tribes by night. His men, scattered abroad for the purpose, gained advantages without difficulty, receiving into their ranks such as escaped the flames. The tribe of Umsiligazi rose into notice, but was never considered important until the year 1830, when he was attacked by Dingaan. The extensive increase of the adherents of Umsiligazi was caused by the accession to their number of the refugees driven out by Chaka, especially when Zuedi was defeated in 1826.

The mode of government to which the Eastern tribes have been accustomed has been despotic, though it was not till after the chieftainship of Chaka that it can be said to have attained a very arbitrary character. The advantages resulting from that mode of government, and the success of the new mode of warfare, induced the natives to imitate the example of Dingizwayo and Chaka; but the different degrees of power assumed by the rulers admit of a softer designation than despotism; for such tyranny as Chaka's could not be adopted by them with any probability of success, for their retainers would certainly in such case have attached themselves to Chaka, whose continued fortune offered a strong inducement. By his tyranny and barbarous acts, Chaka secured the most abject submission to his will, and restrained his subjects from the most trivial

offences. If we keep out of sight Chaka's barbarities, the Zulus were a superior people, distinguished for good order and discipline. The region devastated by the marauding chiefs exceeds the Cape Colony in extent. It is for the greater part quite void of inhabitants. Many of the inhabitants who escaped from the spear were left to perish by starvation. Their cattle having been taken and their grain destroyed, thousands were for years left to linger on the slender sustenance of roots—some even of a poisonous kind. One species could not be safely eaten until it had been boiled repeatedly for twenty-four hours; and, if the cravings of starvation led to a disregard of caution, they knew the fate that awaited. Insanity was the invariable consequence. In this state they cast themselves down from mountain-cliffs, or became helplessly the prey of wolves or tigers. In my first journey from Natal to the Umtata, in 1824, I witnessed very awful scenes. Six thousand unhappy beings, having scarcely a human appearance, were scattered over this country, feeding on every description of animal, and driven by their hungry craving in many instances to devour their fellows. The excessive liberality of Chaka in his gifts of cattle to the European party enabled them to do much in alleviating the distress which they witnessed around them; the first attempts, however, in affording relief were attended with obstacles. The safety of the party would be endangered by Chaka's displeasure; and, moreover, as Europeans had never before been seen in the country, the motives of their offer of help were misconstrued by these victims of misery, who fled from them as from destruction. The treatment experienced by the first of the natives who accepted relief soon brought the remainder to Port Natal—above 4,000 of both sexes were saved in this way—and Chaka, hitherto implacable in their regard, became softened, and, feeling a deep interest in forwarding the views of the Europeans, he encouraged rather than discountenanced the protection afforded to the distressed, and he spared the lives of those of his subjects who, having been sentenced to death, had made their escape and fled to Port Natal. Their arrival among the Europeans being reported to Chaka, he replied: "They have gone to my friends and not to my enemies: take care of them as of your own." To these circumstances it is due that a body of natives under the control of the European party was collected at the Port. The fate of the natives became identified with our own, and could scarcely be separated. While their recent destruction in the attack on the Zulu nation is much to be deplored, they have

proved themselves deserving of the protection that had been afforded them by dying in the cause of their protectors, and in the same field. Their general good conduct has led to the belief that under an established government, the natives would prove to be good subjects and exemplary soldiers.

This body of people was small in proportion to the numbers who had fled from the country in fear of Chaka, and took refuge among the western tribes of Kaffraria. From these they received the name of Amafengu, from the word "Fenguza," which is expressive of want. The first of these refugees expressed their need of sustenance by saying "Fenguza," "We want." Hence all who followed them at different periods, though belonging to various classes, were called Amafengu. The position of these people in their state of servitude under their Kafir masters was one of restlessness. Being generally industrious, they aimed at the acquisition of cattle. Once in possession of such property, they evinced a disposition to be free from bondage. A custom prevails in all Kafir races in regard to cattle acquired by a dependant. They are considered to be his property only so long as he remains in his subordinate condition, or by permission of his master builds a separate kraal, in which case he is still looked on as an adherent: but if he join another chief or withdraws from the authority of his master, his property is subject to seizure. In their anxiety to be no longer menial servants, the Fengus have taken every opportunity to escape with their property. The first that occurred was when an attack was made by Ncapayi on the Tambookies. Some of the Fengu joined Ncapayi, and the Tambookies, in a spirit of revenge, persecuted those who had joined the ranks of the invaders, and had remained with their masters. The rumours as to the conduct of the Fengu who had escaped reaching the other tribes, the persecution became general. The next instance occurred in 1834, in the last Kafir war, when they embraced the opportunity, and became British subjects. In the confusion caused by the war, some had lost their cattle, while others had brought away those of their late masters, with which they had no sooner escaped than they extensively increased their stock by plundering the cattle taken by the Colonial forces from the Kafir tribes. The Fengu, like the natives at Port Natal, belonged to fragments of every tribe defeated by Chaka: those at Natal, however, had advantages that materially influenced their character—for they lived in a rich and extensive country, and being supplied with cattle and grain, had no inducement to roam. Under the government of their own chiefs and laws, they had always been

under sufficient restraint, and were an orderly people. The Fergus, on the contrary, have for years been without any settled abode, divided from their chiefs, having nothing but the name of Fergus to connect them with their fellows, and roving from place to place. They have fallen materially in character, and bear little resemblance to those of their countrymen who have not been exposed to the hardships endured by the Fergus.

The Kafir tribes may be considered to be almost exclusively a pastoral people, and wholly so as regards the tribes near the Cape Colony, since the quantity of grain produced among any portion of them will barely suffice for their consumption for three months in the year. The Amapondas, before their defeat by Chaka, in 1824, were a pastoral people. Having then lost much of their stock, they became agricultural and pastoral. The Natal refugees also became agriculturists, loss of cattle having in most cases been the only stimulus to tillage. To this rule the Zulus are an exception, being at once agricultural and pastoral. * * *

During the life of Dingizwayo, thefts of cattle by the natives from one another were not unfrequent. Under Chaka no penalty less than death was inflicted for the offence, and this at once put a stop to that description of plunder. During the twelve years of my residence in the Zulu country, not a single instance occurred of cattle stealing.

* * * *

A.D. 1824.

LIEUTENANT FAREWELL TO LORD CHARLES SOMERSET, GOVERNOR,
CAPE COLONY.

Cape Town, 1st May, 1824.

MY LORD,—In consequence of your Lordship's wish that I should communicate in writing my plans relative to the speculation I am at present undertaking to the South-East Coast of Africa, I beg leave to submit the following remarks for your perusal.

Having felt convinced that a trade might be established with the natives on the coast between the Cape frontier and De la Goa Bay, I last year went to a considerable expense in trying to form an intercourse as well as to ascertain the capabilities of the country; but in consequence of its being a dangerous coast, and of our losing

four men drowned in attempting to land, as well as of want of provisions, after a few months' absence, we were obliged to return without accomplishing our object, and by chartering two vessels for the occasion we sustained a very considerable loss.

Towards the conclusion of my last voyage, we found a port, where a small vessel can lie perfectly secure; and I am therefore to venture another trial, hoping that by making some stay there we may get the natives to bring their produce to exchange for our goods; which in time might lead to important advantages. My intentions are to keep a vessel lying constantly in port, and to have a small party on shore to communicate with the natives, and carry on the trade.

The natives have already requested that we would come and traffic with them, and probably by a constant intercourse we shall eventually lead to a commerce of importance to the colony and advantage to ourselves. For the purposes I have mentioned it is necessary that we should take a larger proportion of people than are required to navigate the vessel; and consequently we have about 25 persons, including principals and servants, besides her crew.

I hope your Lordship will conceive that our present undertaking is entitled to every encouragement, being one of much hazard; and, if successful, likely to lead to important advantages to the colony, in furnishing articles of export as well as new sources of trade, and tending to civilize many populous nations hitherto unknown to Europeans. I am therefore convinced that, in case of our having to solicit your Lordship's aid on any future occasion to forward these views, we shall meet with that patronage and assistance which your disposition to promote enterprises beneficial to the colony will prompt.

(Signed) F. G. FAREWELL.

REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.

Colonial Office, May 5th, 1824.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and to acquaint you that His Excellency acquiesces in your taking the persons with you to the South-East Coast of Africa, whom you state to be necessary to prosecute your commercial undertaking there.

His Excellency will hear with great satisfaction that your endeavours to establish a commercial intercourse, and to lay the ground for civilizing the inhabitants of that part of South Africa have been successful; but His Excellency begs that you will distinctly understand that all your intercourse with the natives must be conducted in a conciliatory manner, and upon fair terms of barter; and that he cannot sanction the acquisition of any territorial possessions without a full communication being made to him of the circumstances under which they may be offered, and be intended to be received.

(Signed) P. G. BRINK.

To Mr. FAREWELL.

From a fragmentary paper written by Mr. Fynn, probably in reply to some one asking for information respecting Natal, after he had quitted it for the Eastern frontier of the Cape Colony (1834), and before the advent of the Boers (1838).

* * * *

It does not appear that any attempts were made by the Portuguese to settle Port Natal. The first factory appears to have been commenced by the Dutch, who were ultimately compelled to abandon their settlement, owing to the disturbed state of the neighbouring tribes. * * * The Dutch claimed a right to the country, under a purchase made by them from the native chief Inyangesa. It appears, however, that his tribe occupied only five miles of coast: the neighbouring country, or rather that within the first and last points of Natal, being inhabited by various tribes, probably not less than 25, independent of and incessantly at war with each other, and by one of which Inyangesa and his tribe were destroyed. This territory at a later period was occupied by a tribe who fled from their native soil in fear of Chaka, but ultimately shared the fate of other native races in the general desolation of the entire country when it was depopulated by that sanguinary chief, only forty of the inhabitants escaping. These ultimately found protection with the party of English who arrived there in the "Julia." From the time the Dutch left Natal till the arrival of the "Salisbury," there is no tradition amongst the natives that any vessel put into Port Natal.

The brig "Salisbury" (Mr. King) was chartered by several merchants at Cape Town, and sent on a trading voyage to St. Lucia,

the object of which having failed, they entered Port Natal, in the hope of opening up a communication with Chaka. This attempt also failed, and they returned to the Cape.

Mr. Farewell then chartered two vessels, with the permission of Lord Charles Somerset,* and with about forty persons left Cape Town for Port Natal. The sloop "Julia," under my guidance, arrived there six weeks before the "Ann," on board of which Mr. Farewell took his passage, that vessel having been delayed in Table Bay. In the interim I had established an intercourse with Chaka, who evinced a great desire that the English should take up their residence at Port Natal. The "Julia" took a number of the party back to the Cape, and returned to Port Natal, sailing thence with others of the party. She is supposed to have foundered. By the loss of this vessel, communication with the Cape was cut off from the few remaining settlers. Owing to this circumstance the small party were under the necessity of being very circumspect in their conduct and dealings with the Zulu chief, in order to conciliate his friendship, for his despotism has never been surpassed, as far as we are informed by history. Fortunately, his capricious disposition inclined him to show kindness to us: and during his reign we received continued marks of it from him.

The country which may be considered as connected with the Port of Natal extends about fifty miles east and two hundred miles west of that port. That vast extent may be considered as connected with the port, for two reasons: first, the common devastation under which the whole tract has suffered, and still remains suffering, being totally depopulated, with the exception of the European settlement at the port, and the unfortunate beings who have collected under its protection: and secondly, its soil, climate, productions, and aspect, which differ essentially from those of the surrounding countries: so widely, indeed, that it would appear as if Nature itself had set boundaries to that district.

This unhappy region was depopulated by Chaka and the other marauding tribes who fled from his terrible outrages; and it was in this uninhabited state when, on our arrival, we found only a few stragglers who had escaped indiscriminate massacre. These were in the extreme of want and misery, barely subsisting on a scanty supply of roots, often poisonous, and the cause of many deaths. They were not long in collecting round the English settlement, and by the pro-

* The Governor of the Cape.

tection and humane assistance afforded them by the whole party their lives were saved. The kindness shown by the English excited the greatest astonishment in the Zulus. Being the first Europeans they had seen, they were supposed by the natives to be of the brute species, in the form only of man, and whose language was as unintelligible as the chatter of baboons. Chaka alone, being a man of intelligence and discernment, had formed a more favourable opinion of the party: the Zulus generally remained in ignorance of who and what they really were, until I became sufficiently acquainted with their language to instruct them. It appears they had formed their opinion of Europeans from the circumstance that, vessels having been wrecked on the coast, such of the crew as escaped drowning were murdered by the natives in the belief that they were sea-animals, not having any country, and that each vessel contained a separate family, who lived on salt-water and the ivory which they found on shore. The treatment experienced by the starving natives induced many Zulus, who escaped the hand of the executioner, to fly to Port Natal for protection, and there they were allowed by Chaka to remain unmolested. Since the death of that chief, Dingana, his successor, looks with a more jealous eye on the Europeans under whose care the distressed people are, and whose strength is daily increased both by the addition of persons coming from the Cape Colony, and of natives who desert to join them. He is held in some check by the dread of fire-arms, of the effect of which very exaggerated accounts have been circulated by those who escaped from the defeat inflicted by the frontier colonists on Metawana's tribe in 1828. The number now under the management of the Europeans at Port Natal amounts to nearly 6,000 souls, who would all be massacred if the Europeans were to withdraw from the Port.

* * * *

The frontier tribes—that is those between the Keiskamma and the Umzimvubu—occupy a country extending about 300 miles along the coast. The whole of Kaffraria, extending from the Colonial frontier to De la Goa Bay, must have been originally occupied by one people, as is evident from their language, manners, and customs, which are very similar, and differ only in a provincial degree. As far back as can be traced by tradition, their government was patriarchal: and although wars have always been frequent, they never were of that destructive kind practised during the last sixty, and especially the last twenty, years under Dingizwayo and Chaka. The desolation caused by these two chieftains has left the country un-

occupied except by the Zulus, who occupy an extent 200 miles in length and 150 in breadth. It is calculated that the scattered tribes may have had a population originally numbering a million, of whom only a few thousands have escaped the destruction of the two last-mentioned reigns.

* * * *

1824.]

VISIT TO CHAKA.

[FYNN.]

(Mr. Farewell and Mr. Fynn.)

CHAKA WOUNDED BY AN ASSASSIN.

On arriving within a mile of the king's residence, we were directed to wait under a large tree till the arrival of the messengers who were to call Mr. Farewell and myself and the rest of our party.

The kraal was nearly two miles in circumference. At the time of our entering the gates, the kraal was surrounded by about 12,000 men in their war attire. We were then desired to gallop round the kraal several times, and, returning, bring the remainder of our party. When we came again, we were directed to gallop four times more round the kraal—then to stand at a distance of twenty yards from a tree at the head of the kraal. Umbekwana, who had accompanied us, made a long speech to the king, who was so surrounded by his chiefs that we could not distinguish him. One of the chiefs spoke in reply to Umbekwana, to whom he stood opposite. His speech concluded, he brought out an elephant's tusk as a present to Mr. Farewell. Umbekwana again spoke, urging us frequently to exclaim "Yebo"—meaning "Yes"—but what we were assenting to we did not know. Chaka then sprang up from among the chiefs, striking the shield of the chief on either side of him. The whole body then ran to the lower end of the kraal, leaving us alone, with the exception of one man who had been in the crowd. This man proved to be a native of the Cape frontier, who had been taken prisoner in a war between the colonists and Kafirs and sent to Robben Island. Capt. Owen, of the "Leven," had taken him as an interpreter to attend him during his survey of the Eastern coast. Afterwards the interpreter had been given over to Mr. Farewell on his voyage to St. Lucia Bay. There he ran off, and had sought protection with Chaka,

who gave him the name of Hlamba-amanzi, denoting one who had crossed the water. Among the colonists he had been known by the name of Jacob Sumbiti. He spoke good Dutch. But to return to the subject of our visit.

The whole country, so far as our sight could reach, was covered with numbers of people and droves of cattle. The king came up to us and told us not to be afraid of his people, who were coming on-wards. The cattle had been assorted according to their colour, each drove being thus distinguished from others near it. A distinction had also been made from the shape of the horns. These had been twisted by some art or skill into various forms, and to some additional horns had been attached—as many as four, six, or even eight—part of which were erect, part hung loosely down. There were instances of cattle on which strips of skin, cut from the hide, but not detached from it, were hanging loosely from the bodies of the oxen. After exhibiting their cattle for two hours, they drew together in a circle, and sang and danced to the war-whoop. Then the people returned to the cattle, again exhibiting them as before, and at intervals dancing and singing. The women now entered the kraal, each having a long thin stick in the right hand, and moving it in time to the song. They had not been dancing many minutes, when they had to make way for the ladies of the seraglio, besides about 150, distinguished by the appellation of “sisters.” These danced in parties of eight, each party wearing different coloured beads, which were crossed from the shoulders to the knees. Each wore a head-dress of black feathers, and four brass collars fitting close to the neck. The king joining in the dance was accompanied by the men. The dance lasted half an hour. The king then made a long speech, which was made intelligible to us by his interpreter, Hlamba-amanzi. He desired to know from us if ever we had seen such order in any other state, assured us that he was the greatest king in existence, that his people were as numerous as the stars, and his cattle innumerable. The people now dispersed, and he directed a chief to lead us to a kraal, where we could pitch our tents. He sent us an ox, a sheep, a basket of corn, and a pot of beer (about three gallons). At 7 o'clock, we sent up four rockets and fired off eight guns. He sent people to look at these, but, from fear, did not show himself out of his hut. On the following morning we were requested to mount our horses and ride to the king's kraal. On our arrival we found him sitting under a tree, in the act of decorating himself. He was surrounded by about 200 people, a servant standing at his side, and

holding a shield over him to keep the glare of the sun from him. Round his forehead he wore a turban of otter-skin, with a feather of a crane erect in front, full two feet long. Earrings of dried sugar-cane, carved round the edge, with white ends, and an inch in diameter, were let into the lobes of the ears, which had been cut to admit them. From shoulder to shoulder he wore bunches, three inches in length, of the skins of monkeys and genets, twisted like the tails of these animals, and hanging half down the body. Round the ring on the head (of which a separate description will be given) were a dozen bunches of the red feathers of the loorie, tastefully tied to thorns which were stuck into the hair. Round his arms were white ox-tails, cut down the middle so as to allow the hairs to hang about the arm, to the number of four for each. Round the waist a petticoat, resembling the Highland plaid, made of skins of monkeys and genets, and twisted as before described, having small tassels round the top, the petticoat reaching to the knees, below which were white ox-tails to fit round the legs, so as to hang to the ankles. He had a white shield with a single black spot, and an assagai. While he was thus dressing himself, the natives proceeded, as on the day before, to show droves of cattle, which were still flocking in, and repeatedly varying the scene by dancing and singing. Meanwhile it became known to us that Chaka had ordered that a man standing near us should be put to death, for what crime we could not learn: but we soon found it to be one of the common occurrences in the course of the day.

Mr. Farewell then offered him the present he had brought for him, which the king accepted with much satisfaction. Dancing and singing were then continued till 4 o'clock, when we withdrew to our tent. At 7, a messenger came to call me to attend the king. We found him sitting in the palace, which before we had not entered. He was sitting seven yards away from his hut, with a fire before him. He asked me if I had any medicine, as he had heard that I had cured several invalids on my first trip to Umbekwana's. He spoke of having rheumatism. His whole conversation was on medicine. I remained talking with him until 10 o'clock, and on retiring I promised that I would remain with him, according to his request, for a month after Mr. Farewell, Mr. Peterson, and their party should return to Natal.

On the following morning, Chaka requested me to take a walk for about 12 miles to see one of his chiefs, who was very ill. When I arrived, I bled him and gave him medicine, and in five days after

I heard of his complete recovery. Umbekwana informed the king that Mr. Peterson, too, had medicines, and he (Mr. P.) was asked to produce them and to state their qualities. He produced a box of pills, which he said were good for all diseases, and strongly recommended Chaka to take two. The king took four, and gave one of them to each of four chiefs, desiring Mr. Peterson also to take four. Mr. Peterson tried to argue that four were too many for one person, but, the king insisting, Mr. Peterson took them. The chiefs were then asked what was the taste of the pills, and said that having swallowed them as directed, they had discovered no taste at all. The king now swallowed two, and desired Mr. Peterson to keep him company and take two more. This request met with a positive refusal, but, the king insisting, and the chiefs adding the pressure of the argument that one who recommended medicines should not refuse to take them himself, Mr. Peterson was compelled to swallow two more, that is, six in all. The consequences of this to a person of the age of 63 years do not require to be explained in detail. On the following day, Chaka having understood that Farewell and Peterson intended to return to Natal next morning, collected all such of his forces as were in the neighbourhood, male and female, numbering about 25,000. At about 10 o'clock they began, as on the first day, to dance, and at intervals to display their cattle. They had marked their faces with clay of various colours, white, red, black, and other shades. When these amusements had been continued till 4 o'clock, the king desired his people to look at us, to see the wonder of white men, and to consider his own greatness. He was able to tell the origin of his nation, and he was proud to be able to say that these men were the subjects of King George. His own forefathers and theirs were cowards, who would not have dared to admit a white man to their presence. He stated an instance of a white man, who had escaped from a wreck only three years before, and who was put to death by his neighbour, the King of the Kwabis, because he supposed the unfortunate shipwrecked sailor to be a mere animal sprung from the sea. He should expect his nation to look on us, and pay us the respect due to kings, and not consider us their equals. This speech being concluded, we dispersed and went to our tents. The next morning I accompanied Mr. Farewell and Peterson, when they went to bid farewell to Chaka. After receiving presents of cattle, &c., they started, while I, according to promise, remained, as did also a Hottentot servant. At 12 o'clock, he presented me with twelve oxen, and then left the kraal to go to

another 15 miles distant. On the following day he sent for me, and on my arrival asked me to look at a large drove of cattle, which I had not yet seen, and to count them. I did so. There were 5,654. When I stated this result of my count, it caused very general laughter: and they asked how it was possible that I could count so many, since I had not once reckoned ten with my fingers. They came to the conclusion that I had not counted them at all, and the interpreter could not persuade Chaka of the possibility of counting without the use of the fingers. The Zulus have no other mode of reckoning. They commence from the little finger of the right hand, the thumb of the left hand representing six, and so in rotation to ten, which is the little finger of the left hand; twenty being two tens, thirty three tens, until they come to ten tens, or a hundred, which they call a "great" ten. There are some who have an idea of a thousand, which they call a "great" Ingwanu. Chaka went on to speak of the gifts of Nature. He said that the forefathers of the Europeans had bestowed on us many gifts, by giving us all the knowledge of arts and manufactures, yet they had kept from us the greatest of gifts, a good black skin: for this did not necessitate the wearing of clothes to hide the white skin, which was not pleasant to the eye. He well knew that for a black skin we would give all we were worth, our arts and manufactures. He then asked what use was made of the hides of oxen slaughtered in our country. When I told him that they were made into shoes and other articles which I could not distinctly explain, he exclaimed that this was another proof of the unkindness of our forefathers, who had obliged us to protect our feet with hides, for which there was no necessity—whilst the forefathers of the natives had shown that the hide should be used as a more handsome and serviceable article, a shield. This changed the conversation to the superiority of their arms, which, he said, were in many ways more advantageous than our muskets. The shield, he argued, if dipped into water previous to an attack, would be sufficient to prevent the effect of a ball fired whilst they were at a distance, and in the interval of loading they would come up to us at close quarters: we, having no shields, would drop our guns and attempt to run; and, as we could not run as fast as his soldiers, we must all inevitably fall into their hands. I found it impossible to confute his arguments, as I had no acquaintance with his language, and his interpreter, on whom I had to depend, would not have dared to use strong arguments in opposition to the king. I was obliged, therefore, to accept all his decisions. * * *

I remained till late in the evening, conversing on different matters relating to England. He placed the worst construction on everything, and did this in the presence of his subjects, ridiculing all our manners and customs, though he did this in perfect good humour. He would listen with the greatest attention, when none of his people were with us, and then could not help acknowledging our superiority. He expressed, however, his aversion to our mode of punishing for some crimes by imprisonment, which he said must be the most horrid pain that man could endure. If he were guilty, why not punish the deed with death. If suspicion only attached to the individual, let him go free; his arrest would be a sufficient warning for the future. This argument had arisen from the circumstance of his interpreter having been taken prisoner and sent to Robben Island, and through him, therefore, it was out of my power to explain how wishful we are to save the lives of the innocent, and in how few instances life was despised by its possessor. I had to give way as before.

The following day was spent in dancing, and this was kept up till the evening. Having spent the afternoon in reading, I was induced to take another peep at the dancers. As it was dark when I came, the king ordered a number of people to hold up bundles of dried reeds, kept burning, to give light to the scene. I had not been there many minutes when I heard a shriek: and the lights were immediately extinguished. Then followed a general bustle and a cry. Having left Jacob (as I shall henceforth call the interpreter) and Michael, the Hottentot, at the hut, I endeavoured to ask of every one who would give me a hearing what was the occasion of this extraordinary commotion. I found at length that Chaka, while dancing, had been stabbed. I immediately turned away to call Michael, whom I found at no great distance, shouting and giving the hurrah, mistaking the confusion for some merriment. I immediately told him what I had heard, and sent him to prepare a lamp, and to bring some camomile, the only medicine I had by me. I also desired him to send the interpreter. The bustle and confusion was all this time very great. Jacob and Michael arriving, we proceeded to Chaka's hut in the palace, where we supposed him to be. Jacob, joining in the general uproar, fell down in a fit, so that now I could ask no questions or gain information as to where Chaka was. I attempted to gain admittance into his hut. There was a crowd round it. My lamp was put out. The women of the seraglio pulled me, some one way, some another: they were in a state of madness. The throng still increasing, and the uproar, with shrieks and cries,

becoming dreadful, my situation was awkward and unpleasant in the extreme. Just as I was making another attempt to enter the hut, in which I supposed the king to be, a man, carrying some lighted reeds, attempted to drag me away, and on my refusal to accompany him * * he made a second effort to pull me along, and was then assisted by another. I thought it best to see the result, and, if anything were intended against myself, to make the best of it. I walked with them for about five minutes, and my fears and suspicions were then relieved, for I saw the king in a kraal immediately near. I at once washed the wound with camomile-tea and bound it up with linen. He had been stabbed with an assagai through the left arm, and the blade had passed through the ribs under the left breast. It must have been due to mere accident that the wound had not penetrated the lungs, but it made the king spit blood. His own doctor, who appeared to have a good knowledge in wounds, gave him a vomit, and afterwards repeated doses of purging medicine, and continually washed the wound with decoctions of cooling roots. He also probed the wound to ascertain whether any poison had been used on the assagai. Chaka cried nearly the whole night, expecting that only fatal consequences would ensue. The crowd had now increased so much that the noise of their shrieks was unbearable. Morning showed a horrid sight in a clear light. I am satisfied that I cannot describe the scene in any words that would be of force to convey an impression to any reader sufficiently distinct of that hideous scene. Immense crowds of people were constantly arriving, and began their shouts when they came in sight of the kraal, running and exerting their utmost powers of voice as they entered it. They joined those already there, pulling one another about, throwing themselves down, without heeding how they fell, men and women indiscriminately. Many fainted from over-exertion and excessive heat. The females of the seraglio more particularly were in very great distress, having over-exerted themselves during the night, suffering from the stifling hot air, choked by the four brass collars fitting tight round their necks, so that they could not turn their heads, and faint from want of nourishment, which they did not dare to touch. Several of them died. Finding their situation so distressing, and there being no one to offer them relief, I procured a quantity of water and threw it over them as they fell, till I was myself so tired as to be obliged to desist. Then, however, they made some attempt to help each other. All this time I had been so busily employed as not to see the most sickening part of the tragical scene. They had begun to kill one

another. Some were put to death because they did not weep, others for putting spittle into their eyes, others for sitting down to cry, although strength and tears, after such continuous exertion and mourning, were wholly exhausted. We then understood that six men had been wounded by the same assassins who wounded Chaka. From the road they took it was supposed that they had been sent by Zuedi, King of the Endwandwe, who was Chaka's only powerful enemy. Accordingly two regiments were sent at once in search of the aggressors. In the meanwhile the medicines which Mr. Farewell had promised to send had been received. They came very opportunely, and Chaka was much gratified. I now washed his wound frequently, and gave him mild purgatives. I dressed his wounds with ointment. The king, however, was hopeless for four days. During all that time people were flocking in from the outskirts of the country, joining in the general tumult. It was not till the fourth day that cattle were killed for the sustenance of the multitude. Many had died in the interval, and many had been killed for not mourning, or for having gone to their kraals for food. On the fifth day there were symptoms of improvement in the king's health and wounds, and the favourable indications were even more noticeable on the day following. At noon, the party sent out in search of the malefactors returned, bringing with them the dead bodies of three men whom they had killed in the bush (jungle). These were the supposed murderers. The bodies were laid on the ground at a distance of about a mile from the kraal. The ears having been cut off from the right side of the heads, the two regiments sat down on either side of the road. Then all the people, men and women, probably exceeding 30,000, who had collected at the kraal, passed up the road crying and screaming. Each one coming up to the bodies struck them several blows with a stick, which was then dropped on the spot: so that before half the number had come to the bodies, nothing more of these was to be seen; only an immense pile of sticks remained, but the formal ceremony still went on. The whole body now collecting, and three men walking in advance with sticks on which were the ears of the dead men, the procession moved up to Chaka's kraal. The king now made his appearance. The national mourning-song was chanted; and, a fire being made in the centre of the kraal, the ears were burned to ashes.

From the moment that Chaka had been stabbed, there had been a prohibition to wear ornaments, to wash the body or to shave; and no

man whose wife was pregnant had been allowed to come into the king's presence. All transgressions of these regulations being punishable with death, several human beings had been put to death.

There being now every appearance of Chaka's complete recovery, the chiefs and principal men brought cattle as an offering of thanksgiving; and on the next day the chief women did the same. Chaka then offered victims to the spirit of his deceased father.

The restoration of the king to health made some great changes. The tumult gradually ceased. A force of about a thousand men was sent to attack the hostile tribe, and returned in a few days, having destroyed several kraals, and taken 800 head of cattle. Mr. Farewell and Mr. Isaacs, having received a letter from me stating particulars of the recent occurrence, came to visit Chaka, and had not been seated many minutes, when a man, who had, in defiance or neglect of the prohibition, shaved his head, was put to death. After this the privilege of shaving was again conceded.

A present to the king from Mr. Farewell had been brought to the kraal during the king's illness, and he had on that account been unable to accept it. It was now called for. Chaka now made a grant of land to Mr. Farewell, who noted the particulars in a document drawn up by him. The grant extended fifty miles inland, and twenty-five miles along the coast, so as to include the harbour.

Chaka, no longer suffering from his wound, quitted the kraal in which he had been stabbed and removed to the one in which we had first visited him. Farewell, Davis, and I accompanied him, the natives singing all the way. On the day after our arrival, four thousand men were sent inland, with orders to conceal themselves in an ambush, until they should be joined by another detachment, to march next day. These were mustered in the kraal, about 3,000 in number, and, being ordered to march out, they ran, in four divisions, to the spot at which they were directed to halt, and there formed three sides of a square. A fire was lighted in the middle, and a pot with a mixture of roots and plants was kept boiling. An "Inyanga," or doctor, in his ceremonial dress, kept dipping an ox-tail frequently into the decoction. The men in turns placed themselves with their backs towards him, and he sprinkled them with the mixture, which was supposed to have the effect of giving them strength in war, and ensuring a good result. A speech was made by Umbekwana, in which he showed with every aggravating circumstance the cause that called for revenge—the attempt on the life of their king. The order to march was given, and they were directed to spare neither

man, woman, child, nor dog, to burn their huts, to break the stones on which the corn was ground, to prove their attachment to their king. The command was given to Benziwana, an elderly chief. The force marched off in the following order:—

The first division wore a turban of otter-skin, with a crane's feather, two feet long, erect on the forehead: ox-tails round the arms; a dress of cow-tails hanging over the shoulders and breast; petticoat of monkeys and genets, made to resemble the tails of those animals, and ox-tails round the legs. They carried white shields chequered at the centre with black skin. The shields were held by sticks attached to them, and at the top of each stick was the tail of a genet. They carried each a single assagai and a knobbed stick.

The second division wore turbans of otter-skin, at the upper edge of which were two bits of hide resembling horns. From these hung black cow-tails. The dress round the breast and shoulders resembled that of the first division, a piece of hide cut so as to resemble three tails hanging at the back. They carried red-spotted shields.

The third division wore a very large bunch of eagle-feathers on the head, fastened only by a string that passed under the chin, trappings of ox-tails over the breast and shoulders, and, as the second division, a piece of hide resembling three tails. Their shields were gray. Each man carried an assagai and knobbed stick.

The fourth division wore trappings of ox-tails over the breast and shoulders, a band of ox-hide with white cow-tails round the head: and their shields were black.

The force descended the hill in the direction of the enemy's country. They held their shields downwards at the left side—and at a distance very much resembled a body of cavalry. The first and third divisions marched making a shrill noise, while the second and fourth uttered a sound of dreadful howling. * * *

Mr. Farewell and Mr. Davis, as well as myself, having expressed our gratification at the king's recovery, parted from him on the next day, and arrived at Port Natal in six days, the distance being 125 miles.

1824.]

CHAKA.

[Fynn.]

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SIKONYANA, KING OF THE ENDWANDWE.

Impunya, brother of Sikonyana, present King of the Endwandwe, fearing that his life was in danger from his brother, fled to Chaka, and gave him such information as could not have been procured through the agency of spies.

I had not been at Natal [after my return] many days before messengers from Chaka arrived to call all hands, white and black, to resist an attack expected to be made at any moment on Chaka's kraal. This placed us in an awkward situation. We were far from being in fighting order. Powder was scarce, and our arms out of repair. We considered that, taking part with the king, we should be violating the laws of our country, and following a course that could in no way be beneficial to ourselves; but we were fearful of the consequences that might ensue from our refusal, and after a general consultation on the matter, agreed to proceed to Chaka's residence.

On our arrival we found all in peace and tranquillity. But the whole nation had been called to arms. Chaka acquainted us with his intention, and spoke of the necessity of our accompanying him, it being the custom, when the king proceeded in person to war, for every individual to attend him. Our explanation of the laws of our country called forth some very unpleasant observations from him, such as that vessels seldom, or never, visited Natal; that he could destroy every one of us so that none might tell the tale; and if the English should seek revenge for our blood, they would be terrified at his power. Mr. Farewell refusing to lend Jacob a musket, one was taken from him by force. Finding that the more ready we showed ourselves to proceed, the better it would be for us, we ceased from objecting, and retired to rest, after hearing from Chaka that there would be no necessity for our fighting, only we must accompany him. The next morning, to our surprise, we found that the whole nation had made a move during the night, two chiefs only being left to accompany us. We made all possible haste to overtake them, but were unable to do so until we reached Nobamba, after we had travelled sixty miles from Chaka's abode. Nobamba had been the residence of Chaka's father, and was now the general rendezvous of the forces. Thence the army

was to proceed in separate divisions and by different routes. Here we rested two days. The divisions having been sent off, and spies having been despatched to watch the enemy, we proceeded with Chaka at the head of the remaining forces, each regiment being headed by its chiefs. The day was exceedingly hot, and every man was ordered to roll up his shield and carry it on his back, a custom observed when the enemy is supposed to be distant. In the rear of the regiments were the baggage boys, few above the age of twelve years, and some not more than six. These boys were attached to the chiefs and principal men, carrying their mats, pillows, tobacco, &c., and driving the cattle for the army. Some of the chiefs were also accompanied by girls, carrying beer, corn, and milk: and when this supply had been exhausted, these carriers returned to their homes. The whole number of men, boys, and women amounted, as nearly as we could reckon, to 50,000. All proceeded in a close body, and at a distance nothing could be seen but a cloud of dust. We had not rested from the time we started, and were parched and almost perishing from thirst, when, coming to a marshy stream about sunset, the craving to obtain water caused a general and excessive confusion. After the first regiment had passed, the whole marsh became mere mud, yet that mud was swallowed with avidity. Several men and boys were trampled to death; and although there was a cry of "shame" raised by many, and a call to help the unhappy beings, every one was too much occupied to attempt to extricate them. We travelled on until about nine at night, when we arrived at some kraals belonging to a once powerful nation, the Isindani, of whom no more than 150 or 200 souls now remained. They were a different people from any we had yet seen. They were of a strong muscular build, more active than the Zulus, and not having their heads shaved, but wearing their hair about six inches long and twisted in strings of the thickness of whip-cord.

As these people had a perfect knowledge of the country, Chaka took them as guides and spies.

Next morning we proceeded at daylight, marching over extensive plains of stony ground. At 11 o'clock we rested, and Chaka employed the Hottentots in making sandals of raw-hide for his use. Cattle were killed for the use of the army. * * *

We encamped at the end of the plain, and the army rested here for two days. On re-commencing our march Chaka requested me to join the first detachment. He did this merely to please his own fancy. The frost of the preceding night had been so severe that

many of the detachment, from the excessive cold, had slept to wake no more.

During the whole of this day's march not a bush was to be seen. We roasted our meat with dry grass. * * *

On the following day Chaka arrived with the remainder of the forces, and next morning we proceeded in one body to a forest, where we rested for two days, awaiting the return of the spies. Several regiments were sent to kraals deserted by the hostile nation, the people having betaken themselves to a general rendezvous. They returned on the evening of the following day, loaded with corn, a great luxury to us who had had nothing but meat for several days.

* * * The spies returning, the army moved forward and encamped in an extensive forest, from which the enemy was not far distant. We had generally marched ahead to relieve ourselves from dust, and we had done so this morning till we came within sight of the enemy, when we thought that we ought to join Chaka. We found that he was on the opposite mountain, and seeing a regiment with white shields I directed my course to it at once. * * *

When I had reached the bottom of the hill, and was ascending the opposite one, expecting to find Chaka there, I met one of his servants, who informed me that the king had remained at the forest, and advised me to turn back, as, the ascent being difficult the regiment would leave me a long way behind. Being a stranger to their mode of attack, I determined to ascend the mountain and be a spectator of passing events. The hill from which we had first seen the enemy presented to our view an extensive valley, to the left of which was a hill separated by another valley from an immense mountain. On the upper part of this there was a rocky eminence, near the summit of which the enemy had collected all his forces, surrounding their cattle: and above them the women and children of the nation in a body. They were sitting down awaiting the attack. Chaka's forces marched slowly and with much caution, in regiments, each regiment divided into companies, till within twenty yards of the enemy, when they made a halt. Although Chaka's troops had taken up a position so near, the enemy seemed disinclined to move, till Jacob had fired at them three times. The first and second shots seemed to make no impression on them, for they only hissed, and cried in reply, "That is a dog." At the third shot, both parties, with a tumultuous yell, clashed together, and continued stabbing each other for about three minutes, when both fell back a few paces. Seeing their losses about

equal, both armies raised a cry, and this was followed by another rush, and they continued closely engaged about twice as long as in the first onset, when both parties again drew off. But the enemy's loss had now been the more severe. This urged the Zulus to a final charge. The shrieks now became terrific. The remnant of the enemy's army sought shelter in an adjoining wood, out of which they were soon driven. Then began a slaughter of the women and children. They were all put to death. The cattle, being taken by the different regiments, were driven to the kraal lately occupied by Sikunyana. The battle, from the commencement to the close, did not last more than an hour and a half. The numbers of the hostile tribe, including women and children, could not have been less than 40,000. The number of cattle taken was estimated at 60,000. The sun having set while the cattle were being captured, the whole valley during the night was a scene of confusion. * * *

Many of the wounded had managed to crawl to the spot, but for the wounded of the enemy there was no hope. Early next morning Chaka arrived, and each regiment, previous to its inspection by him, had picked out its "cowards" and put them to death. Many of these, no doubt, forfeited their lives only because their chiefs were in fear that, if they did not condemn some as being guilty, they would be suspected of seeking a pretext to save them, and would incur the resentment of Chaka. No man who had been actually engaged in the fight was allowed to appear in the king's presence until a purification by the doctor had been undergone. This doctor gave each warrior certain roots to eat, and to every one who had actually killed an enemy an additional number. To make their bravery as public as possible, bits of wood are worn round the neck, each bit being supposed to reckon for an enemy slain. To the ends of this necklace are attached bits of the root received from the doctor, part of which had been eaten; they then proceed to some river to wash their persons; and until this has been done, they may not eat any food except the meat of cattle killed on the day of battle. Having washed, they appear before the king, when thanks or praise are the last thing they have to expect; censure being loudly expressed on account of something that had not been done as it should have been; and they get well off if one or two chiefs and a few dozen soldiers are not struck off the army list by being put to death.

During the afternoon, a woman and a child of the defeated tribe, the latter aged about ten years, were brought before the king, and

he made every enquiry respecting Sikunyana: what had been his plans when he heard of the intended attack, and what was the general feeling as to its result. To induce her to set aside all fear, he gave her some beer and a dish of beef, which she ate, while giving all the information she was possessed of. When her recital was finished, both mother and child were sentenced to instant death. Being present, I begged the life of the child, that it might become my servant. An application to save the life of both was little likely to succeed. From her information, Chaka found that Sikunyana with a few men had escaped, and a regiment was ordered to pursue them, whilst another was detached to kill the wounded of the enemy. The army then commenced its return home.

When we had been three days on the march, orders were given for the army to be divided into three corps; one of which was to accompany Chaka; the other two were to attack two tribes under Umlotsha and Batya. These chiefs had formerly been under Zuedi, the late king of the defeated enemy. In an unsuccessful attack on Chaka, these two tribes had been cut off from the main body, and were induced to join Chaka. Believing that they had joined him only from motives of policy, he dealt kindly with them at first, but the moment their former king had been subdued, and they could have no opportunity of revenge, they were attacked.

Umlotsha took up his position on the Umpondwana mountain, where his father had several times successfully defended himself. This was in the centre of a plain, and could only be ascended by two difficult passes, guarded by men who hurled down masses of rock on their assailants. The women kept up the supply of these boulders for the men. This mountain-hold was usually well stored with provisions; but being now taken by surprise, they had neglected the store. His provisions being exhausted, Umlotsha submitted himself to Chaka, and was again received into favour.

Batya's capabilities of defence were equally good. He, too, had a strong position among the rocks, and succeeded in cutting to pieces one of Chaka's regiments, raised only two months previously, and numbering two thousand men. This regiment had the name of the regiment of "Dust." A few escaped and came to the army, now on its return homeward; but orders were given to put them to death at once, as men who had dared to fly.

DEATH OF CHAKA'S MOTHER.

[FYNN.]

While Chaka was engaged in hunting elephants, he received intelligence that his mother was seriously ill, which induced him to suspend the hunt, and proceed immediately to her residence, a distance of 80 miles from the hunting-ground, which distance was travelled during the latter part of the day and the night. Fynn* had been with Chaka some time, and various cases had occurred in which he had been successful in restoring health to sick natives, and once healing Chaka himself when severely wounded. Implicit confidence was placed in his skill, and he was on this occasion requested to visit Chaka's mother. He found her in the agonies of death, and she expired an hour after his arrival. Fynn in two previous instances had been at mournings, but little anticipated the scene he was now to witness, or the alarming height to which it was to be carried. The whole scene was a political scheme in furtherance of Chaka's vain imaginations, and to keep the minds of his people filled with wonder. No sooner was her death announced than the people tore from their bodies every description of ornament. When Chaka, accompanied by his chiefs in their war-attire, appeared near the hut in which she had died, he stood for twenty minutes in a silent melancholy attitude, while his tears dropped on his shield. At length his feelings were ungovernable; he became frantic. The chiefs and people, to the number of about 15,000, commenced the most dismal and horrid yells; the inmates of the neighbouring kraals came pouring in. Each body, as they came in sight, although at the distance of half a mile, followed the example. The cries continued during the night, no one daring to sleep, or even to take water to refresh himself. By morning the numbers had increased to upwards of 60,000. The cries now became indescribably horrid. Hundreds were lying faint from excessive fatigue and want, although not less than forty oxen had been slaughtered as offerings to the spirits, the flesh of which was not allowed to be eaten. About 10 o'clock the war-song was sung, which slightly revived them. When it was concluded they became uncontrollable. Chaka had several executed upon the spot. The multitude, bent on convincing their chief of their extreme

* See a notice in the Preface of the not unfrequent use made by Mr. Fynn of the "third person" in writing of matters relating to himself.

grief, commenced a general massacre. Those who could no longer force tears from their eyes, those who were found near the river panting for water, were furiously beaten to death; and towards midday, each took this opportunity of revenging an injury, real or imaginary, the weak falling by the hands of the stronger. By 3 o'clock, not less than 7,000 had fallen in this unjustifiable massacre. The adjacent river became impassable, and on the ground blood flowed in streams. The horrid cries continued till ten the following morning, when Chaka became somewhat pacified, and the people were permitted to take some refreshment. Till then the scene had been local, but the chiefs, anxious to show further their excited feelings, despatched bodies of their soldiery to all parts of the country, and massacred all who had not been present to lament the death of Chaka's mother. When the seat of majesty was quiet, several speeches were made by the chiefs. The following resolutions were strictly to be observed. As the Great Female Elephant, the goddess or rather the overruling spirit of vegetation, had died, and it was not improbable that heaven and earth would come together, no cultivation was to be allowed that year, no milk was to be taken as food, the milk of the cattle to be spilled on the ground; and all women who should be found in a state of pregnancy during the following twelve months should, with their husbands, be punished with death. For the three ensuing months these orders were strictly adhered to and the latter for a whole year. The first two were permitted to be withdrawn on the chiefs and principal warriors offering a forfeiture of cattle. During the following year, the tribe were three times called together to repeat their lamentations for the death of the Female Elephant. On the last occasion the cattle of the whole tribe were collected, the bellowing of which was to be figurative of their lamentation. On this occasion Chaka was to be washed from all uncleanness. Every individual possessing cattle killed a calf by ripping open its side: then took out the gall, while the animal was still living, and sprinkled it round their chief. The calves were allowed to die in agony, and it was not permitted to eat their flesh. As a concluding resolution, it was decreed that as the death of so great a personage ought to be generally felt throughout the land, and as tears could not be forced from foreigners, an attack should be made on the frontier tribes, whose cattle should be considered as tears shed for Chaka's mother.

On the third day after the death of the Great Female Elephant, a grave was dug near the spot where she died, in which she was

placed in a sitting posture; and Fynn learned from some of the attendants, though it is now endeavoured to deny the fact, that ten females of her retinue were buried alive with her. Fynn was prevented from being an eye-witness to this scene, as he would, according to custom, have been compelled to remain at the burying-ground for twelve months after. All those present were formed into a regiment, and resided on the spot for a year, and cattle to the number of 15,000 were contributed by all cattle-holders for the use of this regiment.

CHARACTER OF CHAKA.

[BY LIEUT. FAREWELL.]

History perhaps does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka. His subjects fall at his word; he is acknowledged to be the most powerful ruler for many hundred miles. He came to the throne after the death of his father; his elder brother should have succeeded, but through some treachery on his part he got him put to death, and it therefore devolved upon Chaka.

He has reigned about eight years, during which time he has conquered and laid waste the whole country between the Amapondos, nearly two hundred miles S.W. of Natal, and the southern and most western parts of De la Goa. He has under him many tributary kings, and the only powerful enemy he has now to contend with is Sikunyana, whose territories lie N.W. of the Maputa; he has gathered all his forces with the intention of destroying Chaka. Several attempts have been made, but have always been repulsed. The Zulus are now preparing for an advance upon them, and but little doubt is entertained that they will succeed, although the enemy exceeds them by many thousands. Chaka's strict discipline and method of attack are such that nothing in their warfare can possibly withstand the attack of the Zulus. His warriors wear a war-dress similar to his own: he differs only in his feather; and they are distinguished in the different divisions by coloured shields. They charge with a single "umkonto," or spear, and each man must return with it from the field, or bring that of his enemy, otherwise he is sure to be put to death.

MISSION TO HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

At Chaka's principal residence, Umbololi,
February, 1828.

I, Chaka, King of the Zulus, do in presence of my principal chiefs now assembled, hereby appoint and direct my friend, James Saunders King, to take under his charge and protection Sotobi, one of my principal chiefs, whom I now create of the "Tugusa" kraal, Kati, my body-servant, Jacob, my interpreter, and suite. I desire him to convey them to H. M. King George's dominions, to represent that I send them on a friendly mission to King George; and after offering him assurances of my friendship and esteem, to negotiate with His Britannic Majesty on my behalf, with my chief Sotobi, a treaty of friendly alliance between the two nations, having given the said J. S. King and Sotobi full instructions and invested them with full power to act for me in every way as circumstances may seem to them most beneficial and expedient. I require my friend King to pay every attention to the comforts of my people entrusted to his care, and solemnly enjoin him to return with them in safety to me, and to report to me faithfully such accounts as they may receive from King George.

I hereby grant him, my said friend, J. S. King, in consideration of the confidence I repose in him, of various services he has already rendered me, presents he has made, and above all the obligations I am under to him for his attention to my mother in her last illness, as well as having saved the lives of several of my principal people, the free and full possession of my country near the sea coast and Port Natal, from Natal head to the Stinkein River, including the extensive grazing flats and forests, with the islands in the Natal harbour, and the Matabana nations, together with the free and exclusive trade of all my dominions; and I hereby also confirm all my former grants to him.

(Signed) JOHN ^{his} X JACOB.
mark.

Witness the above scrawl having been made by King Chaka, as his signature.

(Signed) N. J. ISAACS.

Sworn before H. Hudson, Esq., Resident Magistrate, Port Elizabeth, July 20, 1828, by Nathaniel Isaacs, and John Jacobs, the Interpreter, as a true document and signed in their presence.

Quod Attestor,

(Signed) JOHN ANTHONY CHABAUD, Notary Public.

DEATH OF MR. KING.

[Fynn.]

DEATH OF CHAKA, 1828.—BEGINNING OF DINGANA'S REIGN.

After leaving the King, I had not been more than two days at Natal, when Chaka's army was again sent off, scarcely a single able-bodied man remaining in the country. They had been on their march two days when Chaka sent after them, and directed that the boys employed in carrying the baggage of the chiefs and principal men should be sent back, thus obliging the headmen to carry their own baggage. With these boys he formed a regiment, whom he named the "Bees," and kept for his personal emergencies. During the absence of the army, reports of their proceedings were brought to the King, until the distance put an end to these communications. In their first onset, they attacked the tribe of Contelo, a small nation whose offence had been that they had formed alliances with females, and had worn bead ornaments during the period when, by reason of Nande's death, these things had been prohibited. This nation they destroyed entirely. They then attacked and defeated the Isinda, and proceeded to make war on Sotshongana, King of the Umdwandise, whose people occupied caves and rocks, in which they were able to defend themselves, though they were not more than three hundred in number, against 30,000 assailants. During this attack, Sopusa cut off the communication with Chaka, patrolling the roads, and killing all who passed to and fro.

Shortly after the departure of the army Mr. King returned to Natal with Sotose and Bosambosa, the chiefs who had been sent by the Zulus on a mission to the Cape, in which they had been disappointed. They had turned back at Algoa Bay. Mr. King landed in ill-health, and was prevented from visiting the king in person. He sent the chiefs, and with them his companion, Mr. Isaacs; Chaka's disappointment being great. Mr. Isaacs was treated with the usual courtesy. He returned to the Port, and had not been there long before Mr. King, who had been dangerously ill ever since he landed, breathed his last. Having paid the tribute of respect to the dead, we, the remaining party, went to pay our farewell visit to Chaka. He condoled with us in the loss of one whom he so much respected, and said that although he had expressed his displeasure as to the failure of the mission, the things he had said were not words from his heart. Mr. King deserved much respect from him, and it was

now in his power to boast of more than any of his forefathers could have done, by saying that a white chief had died a natural death in his country, not the victim of brutal treatment, or by any act of his.

During the absence of the army, Chaka could not long remain quiet, or abstain from bloodshed. He took on himself the title of "dream-doctor." * * * He had professed himself, six or eight months previously, capable of undertaking that function, the duty of which would consist in interpreting dreams or doubts as to thefts, cases of poisoning, sickness, &c. Now he took it on himself as an employment. He collected the women of the kraals, and subjected them in rotation to some operation, selecting some who were to be put to death. Though he went through the ordinary customs of the dream-doctors, yet those who were not selected for death did not on that account escape their fate. He enquired of them whether they were possessed of cats: and whether the answer was in the affirmative or negative, the result was the same. During three days, the dead bodies of women, numbering not less than three or four hundred, were seen carried away to the rivers, or left for the wolves; and that in the absence of their husbands.

The design of killing Chaka had, no doubt, long been contemplated, and the conspirators only waited for an opportunity to effect their purpose. Only three were in the secret, namely, Dingana and Amaclangana, sons of Senzagakona, and Umbopo, Chaka's body-servant, without whose aid it could not have been accomplished, as it was, at midday, on 24th September, 1828.

Chaka had been dreaming. He dreamt that he was dead, and that Umbopo was serving another king. On waking, he told his dream to one of his sisters, who within an hour mentioned the circumstance to Umbopo. He, knowing that in consequence of the portent he would not have many hours to live, urged the confederates to take the first opportunity to assassinate the king; and this shortly occurred. Some Kafirs arriving from remote parts of the country with crane's feathers, which the king had sent them to procure, the king was dissatisfied at their having been long absent. He came out of his hut and went to a small kraal fifty yards distant. There these people sat down before him. Inguazonca, brother to Nande (the king's mother), an old man much in favour with the king, was also there. Chaka asking in a severe tone what had detained them so long with the feathers, Umbopo ran up to them with a stick and called on them to state why they had delayed so long to fulfil the king's orders, and then struck them. Being aware that

their lives were in danger, and supposing that Umbopo had, as is usual when some one is ordered to death, received the private signal, they all ran away. Chaka, seeing them run, asked Umbopo what they had done to deserve being driven off in this way. Amaclangana and Dingana had hidden themselves behind a small fence near which Chaka was standing, and each had an assagai concealed under his kaross. The former seeing the people run off, and the king by himself, stabbed him through the back on the left shoulder. Dingana also closed upon him and stabbed him. Chaka had only time to ask: "What is the matter, children of my father?" But the three repeated their stabs in such rapid succession, that he died after running a few yards beyond the gate of the kraal. The few people at the kraal and in the neighbourhood ran to the bush, believing that now "Heaven and earth would come together." The news flying rapidly through the country, every one was filled with terror; and it was with difficulty that Dingana, Amaclangana and Umbopo could induce them to return. They collected a few, to whom they said that the act was Senzagakona's. With threats and promises they prevailed on them to raise the war-whoop. Inguzonca, Nande's brother, was killed at the same time, as was also a chief named Umxamama, one of Chaka's favourites. After the war-whoop an ox was killed as an offering of thanksgiving to the spirits of their forefathers. * * * The body of Chaka remained out all night. In the morning people were selected to bury him; and his body was then placed in an empty corn-cellar, and every private article of property that had touched his person was buried with him. This cellar was in the same kraal in which he was stabbed. * * *

Until the return of the people, by whom the claim of succession to the kingdom could be discussed, Umbopo assumed the direction of affairs, and set on foot an expedition against Engwade, another of Nande's sons (by Ingindiyana), who no doubt would have aspired to succeed Chaka. It was not likely that he would succeed in that object, but the attempt might have caused much unnecessary bloodshed. The first thing Umbopo did was to have all the cattle collected and brought to him that had been taken from the Amapondas. These cattle had been left at large in the uninhabited country between the Umzimkulu and Port Natal, and might have been retaken by the Amapondas without more trouble than that of driving them, and they would no doubt have done so had they not so much feared the dreadful name of Chaka. Whilst the cattle were being collected, many slight quarrels occurred between Dingana and

Amaclangana, on subjects apparently the most trifling. Once a dispute about two sticks rose to a very high pitch, and showed evidently that these disagreements were only occasioned by their broodings on the subject of the grand point which each was wishing to attain. However, their better sense induced them to set such feelings aside, and prepare to attack Engwade. They started from Tugusa under the command of Umbopo, in two divisions, one being the regiment of "Bees" raised by Chaka, and the other consisting of all the stragglers that had remained at home from sickness or other cause. Engwade, during Chaka's reign, had been much in his favour, and reigned as a king over his own kraals in a very independent way, not adhering to Chaka's orders, unless when they related to himself personally. When the nation was ordered to the eastward, Engwade remained at home with his division. This force being so greatly superior to that under Umbopo, the greatest secrecy was required on the part of his assailants, in order that he might be cut off before the kraals in his neighbourhood should know of the attack that impended over their chief; and in this Umbopo succeeded so far as to be able to make the attack at break of day. It being a custom among the chiefs to assume names of distinction, Engwade claimed that of our sovereign, George, adding to it the prefix of "Um," for the Kafirs do not use any word of one syllable. The inhabitants of his kraal rushed out to the fight from their huts, swearing (like Britons) "by George" to die for their king; and this they did to the letter. Although their number was small compared to that of their aggressors, not one attempted to escape. All fought to the end, and killed more than their own number before they were destroyed by the few left of Umbopo's army. Engwade himself killed eight men before he fell, stabbed in the back by a boy. This obstacle to their designs being removed, Umbopo and his associates returned to one of Chaka's kraals, to await the homeward march of the great army, when a king would be elected. But Amaclangana could not endure long suspense, being under the impression that there was more hope for his brother than for himself. Dingana saw him sharpen an assagai, and suspected that it was intended to take his life. He informed Umbopo of the circumstance, and requested him to sound his brother as to his intentions, so that he (Dingana) might know how to act. Umbopo accordingly went to Amaclangana, and ridiculed the idea of his sharpening an assagai for his brother, since the murder would not attain his object without the approbation of the army. Amaclangana replied that Dingana was such a fool as

not to be capable of filling the throne as well as the least of his brothers, and that positively he should not be king. Umbopo expressed his concurrence in this, assuring Amaclangana that the act he was meditating was unnecessary, as he, Umbopo, intended from the first to do all in his power for him, and only awaited the return of the army to convince him of his good wishes; but he strongly recommended him to set aside his present intentions, as the whole of the community was still in terror from what had already occurred. This pacified him so as to give Umbopo time to tell Dingana the result of his visit. This the latter had no sooner heard than, collecting a few people on the spot, he made them surround the hut, from which Amaclangana was brought out and put to death. This removed every obstacle that stood in Dingana's way, until the return of the army, which occurred in about fourteen days after. The troops on their arrival were in a miserable plight. They had passed by De la Goa Bay into the interior and had marched as far as Inhambane, frequently losing their way, and suffering much from famine and sickness. They had been reduced to feeding on locusts, and fully half the force had remained behind, enfeebled or prostrate through illness, and did not reach home for two or three months after the return of the main body. Fortunate it was for the nation that Chaka did not live to see them come home. No such thing had occurred during his reign. To return without the defeat of an enemy, without the trophy of cattle, would have aroused his severest anger; his independence of all self-control would have hurried him to such acts as would have compelled the nation to revolt and destroy him, or to suffer sadly. Under these circumstances there were few who did not bless the spirits of their forefathers for allowing them to enter their huts and rest themselves: few who did not contemplate their late sad position, and compare it with the present, and that which the promises made them led them to expect. For Dingana promised to set the minds of his people at ease by not imitating the conduct of Chaka, in such matters as he considered to be hurtful to them. He composed, or caused to be composed, national songs, containing the denunciations against the former state of things; he adopted mild measures, and thought that he was establishing himself freely, when obstacles occurred which showed him the true state of things, and the motives that had driven his predecessor to such extreme lengths of severity and cruelty. I shall not be in the least surprised to see repeated by Dingana the very acts for which he punished Chaka with death. I

shall recount the obstacles to tranquillity as they occurred to Dingana. For reasons no doubt of political purpose, he put to death the commander-in-chief, who had held that position from the commencement of Chaka's reign, had had the entire management of the army, and had always led them successfully, conquering every nation whom he attacked. He had given great satisfaction to Chaka, though it was never acknowledged. But his protector no longer living, his days were numbered. Then the destruction of human beings went on as it had done in Chaka's time, and many similar customs were retained, contrary to the expectation of the people in general. The Zulu nation, however, being composed of a multitude of tribes, which had been combined and formed into one by Chaka, and which he alone had the ability to control, became insubordinate under Dingana, who was regarded by the tribes that had been annexed as having no claim on their allegiance. Cetu, the heir apparent to the supreme authority among the Quambe tribe, revolted, with a portion of the nation. Advancing into the heart of the country by night, with a general cry of the rebels, proclaiming liberty to the oppressed, and lavish of promises of good, he collected a body of men, who committed many outrages; and, as Dingana did not act promptly in repressing these, many more were induced to follow Cetu, in the belief that Dingana had been terrified by this sudden rising. In a few days they had a skirmish with a small division of Zulus, who retreated with a small loss: and this still added confidence to Cetu's army, which was fast increasing in numbers. They formed their camp in the midst of a small tribe, the farthest to the westward of the tribes that had been attached to the Zulus. Cetu required Mangi, the head of the tribe, to join him; but Mangi was irresolute, not knowing how to act; as, however, Cetu's men had destroyed all his corn, he would not consent to join them, and in consequence was attacked on the following morning. He retreated with the loss of only one man, but his cattle remained in the hands of his aggressors. * * *

[The narrative (in an incomplete manuscript) here digresses from matters relating especially to Dingana.—J. B.]

DEATH OF CHAKA AND OF MR. FAREWELL.

[FYN.]

On our arrival at Port Natal (1824), Chaka's curiosity was much excited. When we reached his residence, he held a festival which lasted three days. Many circumstances concurred to induce him to think well of us.

Our party consisted principally of Dutchmen. The expectations with which they left the Cape not being realised, they returned to the colony, leaving a few to follow on the return of the vessel. They, too, ultimately sailed away in her, but, unfortunately, were never again heard of. We were therefore left, only seven Europeans, with little chance of being able to communicate with the colony, there being no possibility at that time of passing overland. In our position we were wholly dependent on Chaka. We had no articles fit for traffic, were almost destitute of clothing and provisions, and, his sway over his subjects being despotic, our weakness taught us that, to be safe, we must submit to many of his whimsical customs. By our intercourse with the natives, we soon acquired a knowledge of their language, manners, and customs, and Chaka became daily more attached to us. In this situation we remained four years, though in the interval we received several chance supplies from ships: these, however, were not of the description suited to our market. It was not till 1828 that an overland communication was opened up with the Cape Colony, and this was only effected in consequence of the fear of the frontier Kafirs that they would be attacked by the Colonial forces under Colonel Somerset. In October of the same year, Chaka was assassinated by his brother.

After this event several parties of colonists visited Port Natal: and, owing to this circumstance, a change came over the affairs of the country.

Mr. Farewell, who had visited the Cape Colony, was on his return overland. Qetu, of the Kwabi tribe, who had been tributary to Chaka, had revolted from Dingana, and had taken up his station at the Umzimvubu. Dingana had two spies among the Amapondas, who were watching their movements. Qetu, however, had intelligence of their purpose. Mr. Farewell, who had known Qetu, relying on his acquaintance with him, visited him on his way towards the port. But he had with him one of Dingana's spies, whom he tried to disguise by making him wear a greatcoat. This did not escape the discerning eyes of Qetu, who recognised the man. This alone would have angered the chief; but he also knew that all Mr. Farewell's articles of barter would go to enrich Dingana, whilst the opportunity offered itself to Qetu not only to enrich himself, but to annoy his enemy. He determined, therefore, to murder the party. On the same night the tent-ropes were cut, and they were put to death.

DEATH OF JOHN KANE.

[Fynn.]

The few English in Natal (on the advent of the Boers) had suffered much by Dingana's hostility and oppression. They had sufficient motive for revenge, and took the opportunity to revenge themselves.

After the death of Retief and his party, and the attack on the Boers' encampments, they (the Boers) proceeded in force and entered the Zulu country.

John Kane, the most experienced of the English, planned an expedition. He had with him eight hundred armed natives, and made an attack on one of Dingana's regiments in their encampment. The slaughter was great. The English fought as Englishmen sometimes do, and not one of them on that day disgraced his country.

Much has been said by Natal colonists of the order in which the natives were kept by the Boers, and the subjection they continued in, until Natal became a British colony. From 1824, when natives were first brought from a distance of hundreds of miles by myself and others, to occupy the country from which they had been driven, up to the period when I quitted it, no people of any country could have been more under subjection, more honest and faithful than these natives, who looked up to the several white men as their protectors and chiefs. This was not attributable to the wisdom or good judgment of the white inhabitants, but to the circumstances in which we and they were placed. The power had been given us to protect; and the natives knew that without that protection destruction was their lot.

In the attack made by Kane and his party, two white men only escaped. The natives on this occasion fought most desperately, fulfilling an assertion which they frequently make use of, "that they will die round the body of their chief." Where a white man fell, they rushed to cover his body, and were killed in heaps. This has been related to me both by the natives themselves and by the Zulus. That the natives in Natal, since it became an English settlement, can no longer be spoken of in such high terms, is our misfortune and theirs.

EVIDENCE OF HENRY FRANCIS FYNN BEFORE NATIVE COMMISSION, 1852.

I am Assistant Resident Magistrate, Pietermaritzburg, which office I have filled only three months. Immediately previous to this appointment, I was British Resident with the chief Faku for three years. From 1837 to 1849 I filled the office of Resident Agent of the northern boundary of the Old Colony. I had entered the Government service as headquarter interpreter to Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the breaking out of the Kafir war in December, 1834. Anterior to this period I had resided in Natal from 1824 to 1834. I came here in connection with Lieut. Farewell, R.N., on a mercantile speculation, and, having opened a communication with Chaka, I shortly afterwards proceeded southward, travelling through Faku's country, on the Umzimvubu. I proceeded as far as the Umtata.

These journeys gave me an early opportunity of knowing the extent of the devastation occasioned by the wars of Chaka on this side of the Drakensberg Mountains: for from the Itongati River, 25 miles N.E. of Port Natal, up to within a few miles of the Umzimvubu, I did not find a single tribe, with the exception of about 30 natives residing near the Bluff, under the chief Amatubane, of the Amatuli tribe, now under Umnini. There were neither kraals, huts, Kafirs, nor corn. Occasionally I saw a few stragglers, mere living skeletons, obtaining a precarious existence on roots and shell-fish. Some of these sought refuge under the English, and in time several tribes had established themselves at Port Natal.

I would here remark that at this period, and in fact until the Boers entered into a treaty with Panda, the southern boundary of the Zulu country was the Itongati, the tribes between that river and the Utukela being conquered tribes tributary to Chaka, and their ancestors had dwelt in that part of the country from time immemorial. These tribes were Amacwabi (in part), Amakabela, Amahlubi, Amapamulo, Abakwanhlovu.

On my arrival in Natal in 1824, I commenced taking notes, and continued doing so until 1834, for a future history of this country. Having been the first European who travelled through it, I had the advantage of obtaining information from the natives unmingled with any notions which they might have formed from an intercourse with white men. These notes enable me to lay before the Commission certain historical points, which I believe may be relied on. There

are probably no people, possessing an equal amount of intellect and intelligence, who are less acquainted with their own history than the Kafirs; while each individual retains a strong recollection of some remarkable circumstance in which he was, more or less, personally concerned. It is the white man alone who, having lived many years in this portion of South Africa, and possessed of many sources of information, can give a clear, correct, and connected narrative of events which have occurred here during the last forty or fifty years.

From what I ascertained at different times in the Zulu country, during the reign of Chaka, from my communications with the Portuguese of Sofala, and from what I subsequently traced among the Kafir tribes on the frontier, I am convinced that all these tribes formed originally one nation: that about four centuries or more ago they were driven from the region of Sofala, and those now known as the Colonial frontier Kafirs were probably the first who appeared in this direction. There is some reason for believing that they came originally from Arabia, and have ever been pastoral, and more or less nomadic, in their habits.

The first natives who appeared in this country as refugees from the Zulu country arrived in 1827 or 1828, and on being reported to Chaka were permitted by him to reside at Natal.

The tribes dwelling between the Itongati and Umzimkulu rivers, previous to my leaving Natal in 1834, were as follows:—

TRIBE.	CHIEF.
Amabiya.	Umabiya.
Amabombo.	Umtukuteli.
Amacwabi.*	
Amaduma.	Dumisa.
Amadunge.	Dontsela.
Enhlangwini.	Fodo.
Amahlongwa.	Umjulela.
Amakanya.	Umakuta
Amalanga.	Ufiedwa (Regent).
Amanyape.	Umkalipi.
Izinkumbi.†	Vundhlazi.
Abasembotweni.	Umahizo.
Amatuli.	Umatubani.

* Only a portion of this tribe were here as stragglers.

† Consisting of remnants of tribes under one chief.

To account for the difference in the statement of different witnesses as to the number of natives in Natal when the Dutch came, I may explain that I removed several tribes in 1833 into Faku's country ; but on Major Smith's passing to Natal with troops they commenced returning.

All the refugees may be said to have fled from Zulu rule and despotism, and from the period above-mentioned they have continued to enter Natal, either individually or in bodies, up to the present time.

The war between the Dutch and the Zulu nation produced a revolution in the Zulu country, when Panda embraced the opportunity of establishing his chieftainship, which he could not have accomplished without the aid and countenance of the Dutch.

During the unsettled state of the country at the time of this revolution, a greater number of refugees entered this district than at any previous or subsequent period.

* * * *

SUPERSTITIONS AND USAGES OF THE NATIVES IN THEIR PRIMITIVE CONDITION.

* * * *

I am fully convinced that up to the period of their becoming acquainted with white men, they had but a very confused idea of the Deity.

The idea held by the most intelligent natives during the reign of Chaka was that at death they would enter a world of spirits, occupying in it the same position they had held in this; the last departed spirit of a person who had held the highest rank in a family becoming its ruling spirit. As long as health and prosperity were enjoyed by a family, its ancestral guardian spirit was said to be lying on his back, but when misfortunes came upon them, on his face. These expressions were evidently used in a figurative sense.

Some few Kafirs may be found who state their belief that Umkulunkulu (the Great Great), shook the reeds with a strong wind, and there came from them the first man and woman.

When I consider the perfection of their language, the remarkable suitability of their laws to their circumstances, and the nature of their offerings to their ancestral spirits, to say nothing of the resemblance of many of their customs to those of the ancient Jews as prescribed in the ceremonial law under the Levitical priesthood,

I am led to form the opinion that the Kafir tribes have been very superior to what they are at the present time. On examining some memoranda many years since, I was surprised to find a considerable resemblance between many of the Kafir customs and those of the Jews. The following are the most striking:—War offerings. Sin offerings. Propitiatory offerings. Festival of first fruits. The proportion of the sacrifice given to the Isanusi (or witch-doctor, as he is termed by the Europeans). Periods of uncleanness, on the decease of relatives and touching the dead. Circumcision. Rules regarding chastity. Rejection of swine's flesh.

It has been a very popular error that the natives believe that after death their fathers become snakes. I have previously stated that they believe in the existence of departed spirits. They also believe that the ancestral spirit visits their houses, internally or externally, inhabiting for a time the body of a snake: that this occurs when some member of a family has omitted a known duty, or committed some offence; and this visit of the spirit has for its object to treat the offence with lenity. If, however, on such appearance a sacrifice is not offered, some severe punishment, such as sickness or death, will follow.

Those natives who exercise the healing art professionally (or make professions of it) are termed "Izinyanga," but as will be shown hereafter, the term "Inyangà" is not given to such persons only. I have frequently purchased a knowledge of native herbs from native doctors, and embraced every opportunity that occurred of witnessing their medical practice or surgical operations. Their knowledge of medicinal plants is considerable, though not very extensive; nor is it confined to them alone. A knowledge of the virtues of particular plants, when possessed by private families, is considered their heirloom. Hence, on a native being attacked by disease, he obtains the opinion of a native doctor as to the nature of his complaint, and is recommended to apply to a family which possesses the knowledge of the appropriate remedy—for the fever, dropsy, rheumatism, or whatever the complaint may be. But the doctors frequently purchase a knowledge of such remedies for their own practice. These practitioners always receive a fee in advance; but with regard to full remuneration for their services, it is an admitted point of law that, where there is no cure, there is no pay, beyond the retaining fee.

I have found that many of their plants are really valuable medicines. But it is rarely that these healing plants are given to the patient without being mixed with others possessing no such property;

the object of this doubtless was, originally, to prevent a knowledge of the remedial plant becoming general. The useless additions are now believed to be an essential part of the remedy.

In acquiring a knowledge of plants possessing healing qualities, it is evident that the natives would also become acquainted with others of a poisonous nature. With several of the latter description I have an acquaintance; and I am of opinion that Europeans generally do not give sufficient credence to the fact that there are many nations who possess a knowledge of poison of a most destructive character perfectly unknown to themselves.

As, on the one hand, additional herbs are employed with healing plants, so also we may conclude that innocent plants are used to conceal those which are destructive. I have made every possible research during a period of twenty-eight years to make myself acquainted with that custom which prevails among all Kafir tribes known by the European population under the name "witchcraft." It is much to be regretted that a language so perfect as that spoken by the Kafir, capable of conveying every idea of the mind, with the exception of the terms used in arts and science, should be daily losing its value from the misapplication of words by bad interpretation. These erroneously translated words being circulated universally among the European population, the most incorrect views are formed on subjects which deserve a better fate. This is strictly applicable to the word "Tagata" as used by these tribes, and supposed by Europeans to signify "witchcraft." Hence the latter arrive at the erroneous conclusion that the practices indicated by "Tagata" are identical with the witchcraft of their native land. There is probably no subject of greater difficulty connected with the customs of these tribes, or one which requires to be settled with greater delicacy and discrimination than this. "Tagata" includes every species of crime committed by the Kafir. "Umtagati" is the word applied to the person committing the crime, and signifies the "evil-doer," without indicating the exact nature of his offence.

One who is guilty of lighter offences is called "Ishingan," which means "a rascal." It is therefore a continuation of the above-mentioned error when Europeans speak of "witch-doctors."

The Kafir term employed to designate the person called a "witch-doctor" is "Isanusi," having the same signification as "Obie" of the West Coast. This designation is specific, and indicates one who is not only gifted with an extraordinary power of discernment, but has also an intercourse with the spiritual world; but it is his own

ancestral spirit whom he particularly addresses and propitiates on any application for the exercise of his superior knowledge.

The term "Inyanga" has a more extensive application, and is not only used to denote a native dispenser of medicines, but a smelter of iron or copper, a blacksmith, a basketmaker, an oxhide worker, or any one exercising an occupation in which much skill is required. It would be too extensive a task, and exceed the object contemplated, to enter into minute details regarding the Isanusi and the exercise of his profession. It would fill a large pamphlet to represent this subject so as to make it fully understood by the European reader. I shall therefore only mention one or two peculiarities connected with the Isanusi as being worthy of notice.

It is a principle understood throughout every tribe of Kafirland, that none of the children of an Isanusi can succeed their parent in that profession. It is believed that the requisite discernment and power are denied to them, but may frequently appear in their descendants of the second generation. The first symptoms which appear in a male or female which indicate their being intended by the ancestral spirit as the future agent between the spiritual and material world, are these :—The individual is generally perceived to exclude himself, or herself, from their accustomed society, experiencing an excessive lowness of spirits, which is followed by severe fits, similar to those of an epileptic nature; at this period, the individual so affected has in most cases so great a dread of the sight of blood when cattle are slaughtered that a fit is the immediate consequence. I have obtained the clearest evidence that Isanusi are guilty of imposture, and it not unfrequently occurs that the natives perceive it, and charge them with it. Every Isanusi has an assistant under the title of servant, whom he employs to obtain information secretly regarding persons who may be suspected of evil practices.

The amount of pay received by the Isanusi depends entirely on himself, and he generally regulates his demand according to the importance of the transaction, the anxiety of the applicant, and his ability to remunerate him for his services. I have observed that the Isanusi's servant generally receives a considerable share of the pay.

Any native using a poisonous preparation is naturally very cautious in doing so. These cautious movements are noticed by his neighbours, and create suspicion in their minds. This is much strengthened if he is observed to roam alone at night.

We frequently hear of persons, called Abatakati, being accused of having under their control and direction, snakes, baboons, leopards,

owls, &c., and by employing these creatures causing the destruction of individuals, and even of entire families. In the trial of such cases, it is of course necessary to separate the possible from the impossible; and without a thorough knowledge of the character of these people, Europeans are not competent to give a correct decision.

On sickness or death prevailing in any locality, a person whose actions had previously raised suspicions which had spread throughout the neighbourhood is now suspected of being the guilty cause of such calamity. The fearful rumours caused by such suspicions are eagerly sought for by the assistant of the Isanusi. Thus the latter having obtained a knowledge of them is often prepared to give such proofs of his supposed preternatural knowledge and discernment when the matter is referred to him, as to leave no doubt of his great professional ability. Thus it will be seen that it does not necessarily follow, as Europeans generally believe, that the Isanusi is in all cases wrong in pointing out the criminal. As the result of many years' close observation, I am inclined to estimate the proportion of really guilty persons as about one-third of the total number who are accused by the Isanusi as Abatakati, or evil-doers.

The Isanusi is shielded by the style and manner which he employs when pointing out a criminal. The language he uses on such occasions is figurative: he leaves more to the imagination of the applicant than his words will fairly warrant; and the tact he displays with those who seek his aid causes them unconsciously to supply the information from their own previous suspicions which he might hitherto have failed in obtaining.

One very important point to be considered in reference to the Isanusi is the position which they occupy in native society; and when the particular joints of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice, claimed for their personal share, are compared with those allotted to the priests of the ancient Jewish nation under the Levitical law, I am compelled to believe that the Isanusi are the descendants, or at least the successors, of their original priesthood, who, having shared in the gross darkness which has fallen on these tribes, have gradually lost the high position which their predecessors held.

The Isanusi appears to be revered by the people during his supposed intercourse with his ancestral spirit. At all other times he is feared and respected from the power over life and death which he is known to possess. He is also the great lever by which the chief exercises his power.

I am decidedly of opinion that no chief who exercises his power only by the principles of justice could control a Kafir nation. There is abundant proof of that throughout all the Kafir tribes when living in their purely native condition. The Isanusi are regarded with feelings of fear and awe. These feelings arise from the belief that the Isanusi have frequent intercourse with departed spirits—that they can employ powerful agencies to accomplish their purposes, and possess an extraordinary degree of penetration in the detection of evil-doers, while it is well known that those whom they declare to be criminals are certain to be summarily and severely punished.

This universal belief regarding the Isanusi, it must be borne in mind, is very closely interwoven with the worship of their ancestral spirits, and with a great number of their superstitions, ceremonies, customs, and usages which have been handed down to them through many generations. Their ancestors firmly believed and faithfully observed these very things, which they have been taught to believe and observe throughout every family of the tribe, from infancy to old age, as matters of very high importance. Any attempt, therefore, which may be made by any race coming from a far distant land, a race altogether different in colour, language, religion, laws, and customs, to destroy forcibly, utterly, and speedily the powerful hold which the Isanusi possess, and have so long possessed, upon the native mind, must not only prove a great failure, but for a longer period at least produce much greater evils than those which are attempted to be removed.

The Cape Government and many of the missionaries have made the attempt here referred to. They have succeeded in this, that the Isanusi are less openly resorted to, but they have failed by causing them to be more consulted privately, and produced three great additional evils:

1st. The powerful restraints (for such they were) which their faith in the power, penetration, and spiritual intercourse of the Isanusi had raised against the perpetration of crimes, has been much weakened among the tribes, and now the frontier Kafirs have little or no fear of consequences in the present world, and none with regard to a future state; for Christianity and civilization have not yet made sufficient progress to remedy the evils produced, and implant better principles in the native mind to any noticeable extent.

2nd. The chiefs have been required and expected to keep their respective tribes under due control, when those very means which with them were the most efficient have been greatly impaired.

3rd. A feeling of bitterness and animosity has sprung up in the minds of the natives in consequence of this interference ; a feeling fraught with danger to the whites, when the immense numerical superiority of the natives is duly weighed.

The appearance and success of the prophet Umlanjani, among the frontier tribes, is a strong indication not only of the bitter feeling which they cherish against the whites, but of the ill success which has attended the efforts already made to annihilate their faith in such characters.

I cannot, however, admit as correct what has been stated by some who have gained a considerable knowledge of these tribes, that it is a general belief of Kafirs that no death occurs without the agency of what is termed witchcraft. To corroborate my own opinion on this point, I might refer to the deaths of two of the most important personages among the native tribes during the present age, viz., the mother of Chaka and the mother of Faku : both of whom died without any of the natives of either tribe suffering under the imputation of witchcraft ; nor were there any natives accused in either case.

MARRIAGE.

It frequently happens that marriages are entered into with the full consent of the female ; that is, when the age of the intended husband is at all proportionate to hers.

It sometimes occurs that marriages are arranged between young people between themselves only, or by their parents, and it does not unfrequently happen that marriages are effected by the father of the female proposing to the intended husband or his parents. In some cases, without any previous intimation, the girl is sent to the party so selected by her parents. Of such intention of the parent, however, the girl is generally informed a month or more before she is sent.

In some instances the husband selected by the parents is unsuitable by reason of age or infirmities ; and there are cases in which the young woman is harshly treated by her parents if she opposes their will. It does not unfrequently occur that in the interval between her being first acquainted with her father's intention and the period when she is to leave her home, the young woman will elope to the man of her own choice, from whom she may be forcibly brought back by her parents and sent to the one chosen by her father ; but it generally happens that if she persists in eloping, her parent, either of his own will, or at the intercession of the girl's mother, gives up

his own intention, and he does so frequently when the amount of cattle which he receives from the husband chosen by the girl is much less than he would have obtained from the other party ; and this is a point of serious consideration with a Kafir.

Marriages are conducted after various fashions, as the Kafir tribes differ from each other in some minor points in almost all their proceedings ; but in the principal points they generally correspond.

Without entering into unimportant particulars, the general custom is that the bride, attended by all the young women of the neighbourhood, proceeds to the kraal of the bridegroom, escorted by her male relatives and friends bearing their assagais and shields, thus intimating that they are prepared to drive home the cattle to be received for her.

When the parties can afford it, three head of cattle are presented by the father of the bride to the bridegroom—

- 1st. An ox in lieu of the copper ring usually worn by the bride in former times ;
- 2nd. An ox presented to the ancestral spirit, for his consent to the marriage ;
- 3rd. The third ox is to replace or reproduce the cattle paid by the bridegroom.

The bride is also provided with a bundle of assagais, some picks, and a basket of beads in bunches.

She is also attended by her mother and other married women ; the ceremony may commence immediately on the arrival of the bride, or on the following day, as may be arranged. When it commences the bridegroom and his companions seat themselves on the ground, while the bride and her attendants approach within a short distance, dancing in a semicircle. The young men connected with the bridegroom soon unite in the dance. The old women who are related dance round at a distance, addressing the bride in songs of a depressing nature, that she may not feel too highly elated, or assume too much importance in her new position. On the other hand the old women who accompany her boast of her beauty and chastity, extolling her goodness of heart, and proclaiming how carefully she has been reared by her parents. The dance having been continued for some time, the bride leaves her position and dances by herself in front of her companions. She then proceeds, accompanied by two of her bridesmaids, towards the bridegroom (who is surrounded by his nearest relatives) and dances directly in front of him. It most frequently happens that the bride will take some liberty with

the bridegroom just at this time, such as addressing him in some opprobrious term, kicking the dust in his face, thus intimating that the moment of her submission has not yet arrived.

Her attendants then come forward with the unshafted assagais, beads, and picks, which are distributed by one of the bridesmaids among the nearest relatives of the bridegroom. An ox is then slaughtered by the bridegroom, and feasting commences. This appears to be the fixing point of the ceremony. A cow or an ox is then given for slaughter to the bride's mother and her attendants, which is called "ukutu," meaning the long leather thongs for which a beast was slaughtered for the purpose of procuring the thongs or entrails which, according to custom, were hung about the bride during her infancy. The beast referred to was probably a sacrifice to the ancestral spirit of the family. This head of cattle is always repaid by the bridegroom, and is not recoverable by law in case of divorce.

Although dancing and other amusements be continued, the bridegroom and bride may from that moment be regarded as man and wife. So long as the relations of the bride remain at the bridegroom's kraal, the bride remains with her relatives. But she is not designated a wife until she has borne a child, or has a house under her charge, until which time she is termed "Umlbokazi," intimating that the cattle given for her have not as yet been all delivered to her parents.

In the evidence I now give before the Commission, I wish to be understood as showing those Kafir customs as they prevailed prior to Europeans coming amongst them. If cases ever occurred in the tribes of a stipulated amount of cattle being given by a bridegroom for his bride, it was not a common occurrence. The general mode is that on the ceremony being concluded, the male friends of the bride make the demand for cattle, but not for any particular number; the bridegroom having previously arranged as to the number he will give on the occasion, presents them with an apology for the smallness of the number, or as the case may be, and is desired to come on some future occasion. The number of cattle given depends more upon the wealth of the bridegroom than upon any other circumstances. Avarice is certainly a characteristic of the Kafir, and the number of cattle to be obtained by the marriage of the female relative is a great consideration; but I am of opinion that in at least one-third of the marriages which take place, the parents of the bride consider the benefits which they are likely to derive from the connection, either in a political point of view or as the family may be raised in society by the union.

Trade, as implying buying or selling, is understood by the Kafirs as "tenga," which originally meant exchange. This word is applicable to every description of trading, but the word was never used among themselves in connection with marriages. Such an application of the word would be ridiculed by all who heard it.

I admit that it is sometimes used by natives who have been in the service of Europeans, and I am bound to conclude that this introduction of the word has been forced upon such natives by those Europeans who have arrived at the conclusion that women have been bought for a stipulated price, and suppose the word "tenga" an appropriate one. It has been stated in evidence that a larger amount is now given for wives than formerly. This may be easily explained without admitting that the cause assigned by the witnesses is the true one. It is said that the amount of produce which a husband can dispose of in the European market has become the motive for increasing polygamy. If such witnesses knew anything of the neighbouring tribes, such as the Amampondo, Amaswazi, and others which are in no degree affected by European markets, they would relinquish such an idea.

Previous to the wars of Chaka, the number of cattle given to the parents of the bride was as now: and it was only under his despotic rule the number was reduced, he having ordered that it should be only nominal, or rather only so many as were necessary for the marriage feast: and the comparison made by Europeans is merely that of the number now given with the number given in the reign of Chaka.

The ties of consanguinity controlling marriages are very strictly observed.

A man cannot marry any female who is a relative by blood. Such an offender would at once be termed an "Umtagati," i.e., an "evil-doer." The marriage would be dissolved, and a general belief expressed that the offspring of such a connection would be a monster: a punishment inflicted by the ancestral spirit.

As an exemplification of the laws of marriage, of the inheritance of property, and of the resemblance which many of the Kafir customs bear to those of the ancient Jews, I submit the following case:

A Kafir dies, leaving seven wives with their children, and three brothers. The period for mourning (a circle of the seasons) having been completed (during which the widows and fatherless children have been under the protection of the brothers of the deceased), it becomes the duty of these brothers to provide for the future manage-

ment of their brother's family. They take the wives of the deceased to be their own, adjusting the number to each, as may be mutually agreed.

The property of the deceased brother does not become the property of the surviving brothers, unless he has died without issue. In all cases the brothers are only the guardians of the property on behalf of the children of the deceased, and they are liable by law to make restitution for any cattle disposed of by them (which was their brother's property, or the offspring thereof) during the minority of the children, unless such cattle had been used for the benefit of the children or their mother, and then only to a reasonable extent.

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY.

It is a well-known principle through all the Kafir tribes that no female can possess property in cattle except in the following cases :

1. When the chieftainship is in the hands of a female.
2. The elder female relatives of a chief by his permission.
3. A female Isanusi.
4. When a female, perhaps an only daughter, has received from her departed relatives the knowledge of any valuable medicinal plant which is supposed to be retained in the family.

In such instances females may be proprietors of cattle.

There are some tribes in which the men never think of parting with cattle without the consent of their wives, not even to purchase fresh wives ; for instance the Amabaca, Amaxola, Amangutyane, Amavundhle, and Amampondo generally act in that manner.

Every female by her marriage brings cattle to the possession of her relatives.

If she is attacked by sickness, her husband reports it to her relatives, and it is generally attributed by the Isanusi to the ancestral spirit of the family, who has inflicted it as a punishment for some misconduct or irregularity on her part, and the punishment can only be removed by a sacrifice being offered either by the woman's husband or her father.

Sacrifices to the spirit by the father of the married women may be said to be almost unlimited in cases of barrenness. It is by no means uncommon to hear of from ten to fifteen head having been slaughtered to propitiate the spirit in such cases.

The head of the family may require some of his cattle to procure wives, offer sacrifices, celebrate festivals, or other purposes. These cattle he takes in fair proportion from each house (which, as will be

seen hereafter, have been duly allotted to it), but if taken to procure a wife, more are taken from that house in which it is intended that the new wife shall be placed.

We will now suppose that the eldest son of the family has arrived at maturity, and is desirous of possessing a kraal of his own : but this seldom occurs until he has one or two wives, and some children, for in all cases young men marry their first, or even second, wives whilst still residing with their parents. The young man having married his first wife, who may be named Umandi, and being possessed of fifteen head of cattle, these cattle belong to the house of Umandi. He then marries Nodubu, who becomes a helpmate, and resides at first in the house of Umandi, until she has a child. The husband builds his kraal, having for his followers such of those of his father's kraal as were attached to his mother's house, or had obtained loans of milch cattle from that house. The mother of the elder son in such cases invariably leaves the husband to live with her son ; with whom she resides until her death ; and this is the final separation of the father and mother.

Returning to the second wife, Nodubu, she will have a house in her husband's kraal placed under her charge ; one, two, or more cattle are allotted to that house. This arrangement is carried on as long as the head of the family continues to marry. The cattle so allotted to each house are henceforward styled the cattle of Non-gungu, Twyapana, &c., supposing these to be the eldest male children of each house. Thus it will be seen that every male child possesses the germ of his own property from the day of his birth. In the event of a daughter being married, the cattle derived from her marriage become the property of her elder brother's house (on the mother's side). The cattle of a kraal are at the entire disposal of the father of the family during the minority of the sons ; but on their arriving at maturity, the father is supposed to consult them as to the disposal of the cattle.

Should a case occur in which one wife has no son but many daughters, and another wife may have many sons but no daughter, the daughters are distributed by the parent to the sons, which places them in precisely the same position regarding the cattle given for the girls as they would have been had they been brothers and sisters by the same mother.

It may occur that the milch cattle of one house become dry or die. In such case the father takes cattle from other houses for the support of that which is in want. This may be a permanent arrange-

ment, or merely a loan, and the family of the house from which the cattle are taken seldom or ever object to it.

On the head of a family being found guilty of a crime which is punished with death and confiscation of his property, his cattle with all his property are taken; but his wives, sisters, and daughters are not taken; they are allowed to unite themselves to their male connections as in the usual order of succession.

Owing to the wars which some years ago prevailed amongst these people, the tribes have been scattered over a wide extent of country, and numerous are the instances in which individuals have been driven to seek asylums in distant places, where they have been generally received, attached to the houses of a family, and employed in servile work.

The produce of their labour, and any cattle taken by them, when they have assisted their masters in war, become the property of those masters. In this position they may remain for many years; in most instances their masters lend them cattle to milk, and not unfrequently give them a portion of those captured in war. They are, however, permitted to retain what they may have acquired from having practised any healing art or handicraft with which they may have been acquainted. During this period of servitude they are treated in regard to food and most other things as the family.

Death has sometimes been inflicted on such persons on their attempting to release themselves from their position, but they generally are permitted to leave with the cattle which have been given to them, or if not they are allowed to leave, retaining the cattle as a loan, whose offspring may be claimed from time to time by the proprietor, as well as the original stock.

Such cases, however, are the causes of extensive litigation, and the numerous cases which exist at the present time are occasioned by so many tribes dwelling in a peaceful condition under British rule. Individual females having been thus received into families, on their arriving at years of maturity, marry with precisely the same ceremonies as those of the tribe, and are called the daughters of their guardian (and regarded as such), who offers sacrifices when they are attacked by sickness, or otherwise, as he would for his own children. Years may elapse before such a female meets with her own relations. Under such circumstances her guardian refunds the cattle received by him on her being married, retaining or claiming from her parent one head, termed "Isonhlo," for nurture, and all

such other cattle as were slaughtered at her marriage festival, or have been sacrificed on her behalf.

I have frequently known it occur that females so situated as not to know where their relatives were, rather than not have a claimant, have secretly arranged with strangers to claim a relationship. I can only account for this extraordinary proceeding from a natural feeling that a husband would have more respect for one who has a parent or relatives than for an orphan.

Instances have occurred of women deserting their husbands for no other cause than that cattle had not been paid for them; and a recent case is on record when a native girl, resident at a missionary station, as a clothed domestic servant, was married in the chapel and absconded for the same reason.

KAFIR LAWS.

Although the Kafirs have no written law, they may be said in their customs to possess laws which meet every conceivable crime that may be committed by them.

From what has been before stated on the hereditary habits of the Kafir tribes, and the great probability of their having come from the northward and eastward, the question would naturally arise, how have they in the absence of any written law for so many years preserved those ruling customs which serve them in the place of laws?

To this it may be replied: it must be borne in mind that in the predatory habits each tribe must have had recourse daily to its ruling customs for the punishment of offences and the decision of claims.

The residence of the chief of the tribe is the resort of all its principal men: generally the greater portion of these attend for the purpose of paying their respects to the chief. These visits may extend from one week to four or five months, when they return to their petty chieftainship or kraals, and others arrive. (This custom prevails at Pietermaritzburg.) Thus a continual supply of attendants is at the disposal of the chief, and his position is properly maintained.

As the native tribes are now very numerous, in explaining the government of a tribe I shall confine myself chiefly to the mode in which affairs were conducted in the Zulu nation in the time of Chaka—showing what was the practice of the most powerful Kafir

tribe ever known to have existed. It will therefore be understood that, if the same customs do not prevail among the smaller tribes, it is simply because their organization is less complete.

The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati," understood by Europeans to mean "counsellors." This is an incorrect interpretation, though it is now so understood by the frontier Kafirs. "Pakati" simply means "within"—and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle. To prove clearly that "Umpakati" does not mean "counsellor" or "adviser," every man and boy who is in the chief's circle is called an "Umpakati."

It has been shown that the chief has been generally surrounded by an important portion of his tribe. He generally occupies each day with his "Amapakati"—the topics of the times engage their attention: trials of criminals, or civil cases, occupy a portion of their time. These trials may be correctly said to be conducted in open court, for, as there are no professional lawyers, every Umpakati may freely enter into the case under investigation; and from the ridicule which would result from the interference of any Umpakati incompetent to argue on the case, it seldom happens that any display of incompetency occurs. Thus the chief's residence may be appropriately termed the school where law is taught, and its rules transmitted from one generation to another.

On examining thoroughly the nature of the punishments awarded to crimes by Kafirs in their purely native condition, it will be clearly seen that crimes are not encouraged by them, or regarded as virtues.

As a general rule Kafir crimes are punished by fine, or death, and confiscation. Death and confiscation follow the commission of what in their estimation are the greater crimes; and while they are often most wantonly inflicted on the innocent, it still stands good that what they regard as serious offences are severely punished. Fines and confiscations are awarded to two distinct kinds of offences:

1. As damages claimable by private individuals. An evil-doer is compelled to make restitution by payment of cattle, as in our civil cases.
2. Fines for public offences. This is the main source of the chief's revenue.

Cupidity, which is a strongly developed feature of the Kafir character, will not permit either the chief or those who surround him, and

between whom the fine is generally distributed, to forego the advantage to be derived from the infliction of heavy fines. So that offenders have but small chance of escape.

The crimes common with Kafirs are peculiar to them as an uncivilized people, while there are many crimes practised among civilized nations which do not occur amongst them.

The enlightened and the unenlightened regard crimes with very different feelings; and from a combination of feelings punish them in very different ways.

When a chief or a parent is murdered, death is usually the punishment; but in other cases a fine only is levied. So light a punishment for so grave an offence I cannot approve of. I am, however, of opinion that murders are not oftener committed because the punishment is light. Death was the penalty attached to the crime of a follower deserting his own chief to join a neighbouring chief. This apparent severity was necessary for the safety of the state. No chief could maintain his rank and power by resting solely on his hereditary claims. He could be secure and great only in proportion to the number of his men, or his ability to maintain his position and protect the cattle of the tribe from the inroads of his neighbours. The desertion of one or more of his followers endangered in a greater or less degree the safety of the whole tribe, not only by adding so much to the strength of his neighbour, but from the amount also of valuable information he could communicate to him.

The circumstances of the native tribes living in this district having become so materially altered by living in a state of peaceful prosperity under British protection, the punishment of such an offence among them no longer remains, as the necessity for inflicting it has passed away.

I attach a list of the principal Kafir crimes, with their respective punishments:

Murder.—Death or fine, according to circumstances.

Treason.—As contriving the death of the chief, or conveying information to the enemy: Death and confiscation.

Desertion from the tribe.—Death and confiscation.

Poisoning.—Death and confiscation.

Practices with an evil intent (termed witch-craft).—Death and confiscation.

Adultery.—Fine; sometimes death.

Rape.—Fine; sometimes death.

Using love philters.—Death or fine, according to circumstances.

Arson.—Fine.

Theft.—Restitution and fine.

Maiming.—Fine.

Injuring Cattle.—Death or fine, according to circumstances.

Causing Cattle to abort.—Heavy fine.

False witness.—Heavy fine.

In all tribes governed solely by their own laws, it is matter of surprise to Europeans that what they (the latter) consider very small offences, are regarded by the former as crimes of considerable magnitude. The severe punishments inflicted for those offences which civilized men ridicule as unworthy of notice, are in reality the foundation of that order in which they are kept, and by a strict observance of those customs greater crimes are prevented. Thus, when natives enter the service of Europeans, and begin to be understood, these very customs, which kept them in check among their own people, are ridiculed, the restraints are broken down, and they soon commit offences which cannot be overlooked.

As an instance. There is no greater crime in the estimation of the Kafir than speaking disrespectfully of the authorities. It is, however, a common failing among the Europeans, and not confined entirely to the lower classes, that upon a native declaring his intention of appealing to the authorities, he is given to understand very frequently that in the estimation of the white man the authorities are held in contempt. It leads the Kafir to cherish the same feeling. It is productive of evil to himself, and nothing but evil, present and prospective, to the European population. It should be borne in mind that the authorities are the only medium by which the white man can obtain redress for the wrong that may be done him by the native: but whatever amount of authority or influence he who administers the law may or should possess over the native, the contemptuous manner in which he has been spoken of by the European cannot fail of breaking down the only means of securing that respect for the law so necessary to be maintained in the mind of the native, and which is so essential in securing that justice sought by the European. In this connection I may mention another circumstance which I have noticed as operating upon the native population regarding the labour question. When Kafirs are governed entirely by their own laws and customs, the chief is the centre of their thoughts and actions: with him rest their prospects and even their lives; but

from the period when the young men of a tribe enter the service of colonists, those ties which heretofore bound them to their chief are weakened. Formerly they were entirely dependent on him and their parents for counsel and aid, not only in marrying, but in every emergency. By their connection with Europeans, they lose much of that respect and deference they were accustomed to pay to their chiefs and to authorities, and thus in their new position they have become greatly unwilling to submit to government of any kind.

* * * *

From time immemorial, hunting and war have been regarded as the chief pursuits of the native tribes of Africa.

As a general rule, manual labour has never been practised by the male population. It has been stated by some individuals in this colony that the male population of the Kafir tribes, according to their own laws, are required to perform works of manual labour at the will of their chiefs. This is correct so far as regards building their chief's kraal, cultivating his fields, and any work of a public nature which may demand their services. It must be borne in mind that while there are two distinct modes by which Kafirs are governed in different parts of the country, the one being patriarchal in its nature, and the other pure despotism—both systems agree in this, that the chief is obliged to consider what effect his commands will have on the minds of his followers; even Chaka, one of the greatest despots that ever governed any nation, constantly kept this consideration in view, being perfectly aware that his reign would soon terminate if he opposed the general will of the people.

Hence the manual labour which at any time has been required by the chiefs from their followers has been of very brief duration.

It is generally believed that throughout the whole of the Kafir tribes the women alone labour in the fields. This is not strictly true. Many of these tribes, dispersed as they are over a wide extent of country, have during the last two or three centuries become more or less changed from their original character.

The frontier Kafirs have become a materially altered people owing to their proximity to the Cape Colony.

Those tribes also to the northward under Chaka and Sotyangana, by whom wars of a more extensive character have been prosecuted than were known prior to their reign, have produced considerable alteration in the tribes to the northward and eastward.

Leaving those tribes in the north and the frontier tribes to the south, we find a somewhat central tribe in the Amapondo under

Faku. This people have been less affected by the violent commotions in the above directions than most others.

The chief Faku was not originally greater, nor had he a force superior to many of his neighbours, until the remnants of tribes, despoiled and scattered by Chaka, sought an asylum with him. Other tribes, dreading the great Zulu chief, although unmolested by him, attached themselves to Faku. The country occupied by the Amapondo tribe is particularly well adapted for defence. Hence, in two attacks made upon it by the Zulu army, although Faku lost many thousands of cattle, he held his territory. Hence, I find among the Amapondo and several neighbouring tribes, including the Amaswazi, the fields are cultivated by men as well as women.

When I first arrived in the Old Colony in 1819, the whole of the Hottentot people were subject to conditional labour. No Hottentot was permitted to go from one farm to another without a written passport from his master: nor was he permitted to leave one master and proceed to another without such passport. Upon this practice being abolished, much discontent prevailed throughout the whole colony as to the means by which labour could be supplied. Unforeseen circumstances produced a remedy.

A portion of the tribe under Matuwana, the father of the present Usikali, now residing in this district, had been defeated by the Colonial forces. The prisoners captured on that occasion became the first Kafir labourers who entered service in the Old Colony. Of the remnants of tribes dispersed by Chaka, many sought an asylum with the frontier Kafirs, and unitedly they were termed "Amafengu," supposed by the colonists to mean a particular tribe, instead of regarding it as a name of derision, which it really is, given to them by those to whom they fled. Many of these proceeded to the Old Colony and entered service there.

* * * *

In a former part of my evidence I have stated that on my arrival in this country in March, 1824, there were no inhabitants in the district south of the Itongati. There were neither huts, cattle, nor grain. There were, however, many natives scattered over the country, the remnants of tribes destroyed by Chaka, seeking sustenance from noxious as well as harmless roots; so that more were destroyed by this wretched fare than preserved. Seldom more than two natives were then seen together. This was occasioned not only by the great difficulty they experienced in obtaining food, but from distrusting each other. Some of these from necessity became cannibals.

The only instance in which any number of a tribe held together was in the case of the Amatuli under the regent chief, Matubana, uncle of the present chief, Umnini, who recently occupied the Bluff.

This tribe have dwelt on the "Ifenya," or Bluff-lands, through twelve generations of their chiefs; prior to which they lived in the Amehikulu country, north of this district, where they were dispossessed of their cattle, and being driven away took possession of the Ifenya. Owing to their destitute condition, they caught fish for food, an abomination to all other Kafir tribes.

In a few years they again possessed cattle, but fish and Indian corn had become their favourite and regular diet.

When the Zulu army invaded Natal, the Amatuli lost all their crops and cattle, and so great was the danger of appearing in the open country, that the remnant of the tribe seldom left the bush or the Bluff, excepting to take fish when the tide ebbed. A little straw was all they had in the bush to protect them from the rain or cold. They had no grain to cultivate, if they had dared to venture on the open land. Such was the condition of this tribe when, in 1824, I arrived at Natal. From that period, they built kraals, cultivated the soil, and became again a small tribe.

1760—1828.

1760-1828.] INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY (NOW THE COLONY OF NATAL), DURING THE TIME OF JOBE, FATHER OF DINGIZWAYO, BEFORE THE EXTERMINATION OF NATIVE TRIBES BY CHAKA.

Enclosure No. 1 in Lieutenant-Governor Scott's Despatch No. 12, February 26th, 1864.

1. THE AMACELE TRIBE.

DIBANDHLELA (Amacele) formerly resided on the Umvoti, both banks, near the sea, from the Tongati to the Nonoti River to about 12 miles inland, originally included the tribes at present under Magidigidi and Xabashe, who were heads of sections, but at enmity. Mande, the father of Xabashe, and Magaye, the father of Magidigidi, were then the heads of these sections. Magaye

was the nominated successor to his father, Dibandhlela, but Mande was the eldest; during their father's lifetime constant wars for the succession took place between these two brothers. Magaye ultimately succeeded. Tshaka, or Chaka, chief of the Zulus, sent an embassy to Mande to require his allegiance and the customary tribute of food. Mande insultingly struck a dog, and told the Zulus they might eat that. They then went on to Magaye with the same demand; he assembled his councillors and consulted them. They advised resistance, but Magaye pointed out that a chief who could in one day defeat and disperse the Amaqabe tribe under Pakatwayo, as Chaka had done, must not be trifled with; he therefore counselled submission and civility to the ambassadors. His advice was taken, and they returned to Chaka, conveying Magaye's submission. Shortly after the Zulu army was sent in that direction; Magaye met it with an offer of oxen, and was formally received as a Zulu tributary. His rival, Mande, however, was attacked, his cattle taken, and his people compelled to take refuge in the large forest on the coast between the Tongati and Umhloti Rivers, where they subsisted upon stealing cattle from Magaye's people for two years. During this time they also attempted to assassinate Magaye at night, but he was saved by his wife seizing the assassin. Mande, however, at length induced his brother, Magaye, to intercede for him with Chaka, and Mande was introduced to Chaka to make his submission. Chaka told him that he only wished to lessen his conceit, that he could not allow any chief to insult his messengers by offering them a dog to eat, that he expected greater opposition after such a boast; but that, as he had submitted, he would receive him and his people as his subjects. He then gave them a quantity of cattle, and told them to occupy their old lands. But he had offended too deeply to be really forgiven; and the following year Chaka sent and had him executed, and placed his people under the care of Magaye, his brother. The latter ruled over the Amacele tribe until the death of Chaka in 1828, when, upon the accession of Dingana, he was put to death by that chief, and his son, Umkonto, set up in his stead, to be also put to death two years afterwards by Dingana. The tribe now dispersed; a portion became incorporated with the Zulus proper, and the rest fled to the white men at Port Natal. This was after Farewell's death. It happened soon after that a Zulu army had been sent to the St. John's, inland, and returned by way of the coast. As they approached Port Natal, one of their men, who was connected with some of the residents there, went ahead and gave information

that the Zulu army had killed some Englishmen on the Umtavuna River, and that it intended to kill those near Port Natal also. Upon this the inhabitants got into the Bluff bush, and prepared to defend themselves. The army came, a portion commenced encamping, and the rest scattered among the villages, seeking food: they were in a state of starvation: the inhabitants, both native and English, then attacked and defeated them, for they were not in a condition to fight. Of course, the inhabitants of the Bluff and neighbourhood of the Natal bay were not strong enough to withstand any decided attack of the Zulus, which was sure to follow on this insult to his army becoming known to the king, and fully expecting his resentment on this account, as well as for their encouragement of refugees, all the white men, and many of the natives, including part of the Amacele tribe, removed to the Amampondo country to get out of the way of the Zulu army—that section of the Amacele under Xabashe, son of Mande, remained in the bushes and jungle, as did also Umnini's people on the Bluff. Magidigidi was still in the Zulu country, and the section of the Amacele attached to his branch of the reigning family went with Fynn, whom they acknowledged as their chief. They remained several years in the Amampondo country, and returned to Natal, where they occupied the Amahlongwa River. Magidigidi left the Zulu country and joined his tribe on the Amahlongwa (about 1835-1836). Xabashe occupied the lower part of the Umlazi River. Both these tribes were found by the Boers under their chiefs inhabiting these localities. Magidigidi has recently crossed the Umzimkulu into No-man's-land, but was followed by a portion of his tribe only. Umtungwana, his uncle, resides near the Amahlongwa with another portion, and Xabashe, his brother, is still in the colony, some of his tribe occupying the lower Umlazi under Umpangela, others on the middle Umzimkulu, all under British rule. On the arrival of the Boers, these tribes were not very numerous in any one place. Many were with the white men, and others under natives of influence and wealth. It was during, and consequent upon, the Zulu revolution of 1839-1840 that so many rejoined their old chiefs.

These tribes never fought against the Boers, but formed a part of that memorable expedition against the Zulus near the Tugela mouth, in which John Cane, Stubbs, John Biggar, Blanckenberg, and other Englishmen, with many natives, were killed. Seventy of the Natal natives, chiefly of the Amacele tribe, afterwards accompanied a Boer commando, under the senior Biggar, who also lost his life.

2. TRIBE OF AMANDELU.

Amandelu (Mangcuku, father of the present chief, Delu)—ancient residence at the Umvoti, both banks, from junction of the Hlimbiti downwards—was attacked by Chaka, before Magaye, and in the expedition that dispersed them, the following tribes were also driven and more or less scattered: the Amahlongwa, the Amanganga, the Abakwambidankono, the Amahomeni, and the Amanyamvu. These tribes lost all their cattle, and were driven from the country. The Amandelu and Amahlongwa afterwards made a joint attack on Umnini's uncle, Magela, but were defeated and retired to the Umzumbe River in Natal, which they occupied for a time unmolested. They were, however, again attacked by Chaka's army during its first Amampondo expedition. They subsequently removed to the Illovo River, and lived under Fynn.

When the Zulu army drove Fynn and his people to the Amampondo country, the Amandelu remained behind: on his return he complained to Dingana that two of the principal men of the Amandelu tribe, named Umzobotshe and Bebeni, had caused the king to send his army against Fynn, by means of secretly preferring false charges of his conduct and intentions. Upon this Dingana commissioned Fynn to put them both to death. Fynn executed this order by sending a force of his own to carry it out. It is, however, generally believed that one of the men, Umzobotshe, although severely wounded and left for dead, recovered and was conveyed away southwards. Notwithstanding this execution, the tribe remained where they still are, on the Illovo, where they were when the Boers first came to this country.

3. TRIBE OF AMAHLONGWA.

Umjulela—Amahlongwa—ancient residence the Umpisi River, a tributary of the Tugela River, below Krans Kop.

First driven by Sirayo, of the Amanyuzwa tribe, who occupied their country and reaped their crops. They then settled at the Umvoti about the junction of the Intsuze with another Amahlongwa tribe under Zwebu, related to them. They were soon after driven out by Chaka, together with their former vanquishers, and the tribe with which they had taken up their abode. Many individuals of them joined other tribes. A small party which kept together fled by degrees as far as the Umzimkulu, and returned to the Umzumbe River; they subsequently attacked Magela, Umnini's uncle, on the Bluff: they were defeated, and went back to the Umzumbe, where

they fell in with a notable man, named Lukulimba, who had been expelled by Chaka for cowardice. Under his direction they organized a system of petty attacks on their neighbours towards the south and enriched themselves with cattle. Chaka sent spies to the Amampondo, of whom Funwayo, the source of this information, was the mat-carrier. They fell in with Lukulimba on their way, and reported the circumstance to Chaka; he recalled his old subject, Lukulimba. The Amahlongwa and Amandelu accompanied him on his return. The former stopped short at the Izimbogondweni River, the latter at the Illovo, and Lukulimba went on and took up his residence on the Umhloti, about the present site of Verulam, where he was subsequently driven by Dingana. He was eventually killed by Mr. Fynn for treachery; he shot him with a pistol. The tribe was afterwards dispersed by Mr. Fynn. Part went to the Amampondo country, part remained under various white men on the coast of Natal. The portion that went to the Amampondo country returned about the time of Panda's revolt and Dingana's death. When they returned they occupied the Umzumbe, and have since been allowed to occupy their old country on the Umvoti and the Umpisi, where they now are under Joli. The descendants of No. 11 are still on the Umzumbe River.

4. TRIBE OF AMASOMI.

Unkuna—Amasomi—originally occupied the country from twelve miles inland on the Umvoti, both banks, from the Izidumbe to the sources of the Nonoti: were attacked by Chaka, driven from their country, and followed by Chaka's army to the Mona River, where they were surrounded, and nearly the whole tribe destroyed—man, woman, and child. Those who escaped of the common people joined neighbouring tribes. The chief went and submitted himself to Chaka, who gave him cattle, but put him to death the following year. There are still some families of the tribe among other tribes, but no separate population.

The Amasomi, under Maraule, now in this colony, are related to this tribe, but resided in the Tugela Valley, under Krans Kop, in Chaka's time under their chief, Moyeni. They were attacked first by Chaka in their Tugela residence, left bank, when they joined the Amasomi under Unkuna, and suffered in the destruction which overtook the latter. Before the arrival of the Boers, Kude, the surviving member of the Amasomi chief's family, got the remnants of the tribe

together, and occupied the lower part of the Illovo, and on the arrival of the Boers they resided there; at present they reside on the lower Umlasi.

5. TRIBE OF ABALUMBI.

Mamtunzini (a woman)—Abalumbi—anciently occupied from the Umhloti, above Verulam, to the upper part of the Imona River, were driven by the same Zulu army that attacked Duze, Mande, Unkuna, and others. The Abalumbi tribe were entirely dispersed; they have no longer any distinct existence; individuals form portions of such collections of people as the tribes of Vundhlasi, Dumisa, and others.

6. TRIBE OF AMANDHLOVU.

Unzala-ka-Mangcatshi—Amandhlovu—anciently occupied from the Umhloti opposite Verulam to the Tongati low down, on both sides, but not so far as "Compensation Farm," which was part of the Amacele country. This tribe was dispersed by Chaka, and became principally absorbed by the Amacele, Unzala having married a daughter of Dibandhlela. There is no longer any distinct tribe under this name; individuals of it have become incorporated with others, and the Amandhlovu, under Donisa, are an instance of such a collection made by a man, named Koffyana, during the residence of the first English settlers at Port Natal; also during and previous to the arrival of the Boers, but chiefly on the Zulu revolution on Panda's revolt.

7. TRIBE OF AMAKANYWAYO.

Unhlebende, *alias* Umwahleni — Amakanywayo — originally occupied left bank of the Umgeni up to the lower part of the Little Umhlanga and Seacow Lake. Were dispersed by Chaka's army, turned cannibals from necessity, and continued so from choice. Funwayo relates that, while he was a young man accompanying the Zulu army, the army came upon a considerable village of these people on the Umhlatuzana (Salt River) near Pinetown. Large pots were on the fire, and the smell of meat from them induced a rush among the young soldiers to be the first at the feast they expected to enjoy. On uncovering the first pot, they found it full of human bones from the knee downwards. They all rushed away in horror without looking into the others. Funwayo himself saw this. Remnants of this tribe are with Vundhlase, and other collections at

present existing of remnants of aboriginal tribes. Nombali and Sigwili, now under Vundhlase, both were cannibals.

8. TRIBE OF AMATULI.

Untaba—Amatuli—anciently occupied the country between the Umgeni and Umkomanzi, and 35 miles inland; used to wear head-rings on a hair-basket sometimes a foot high from the top of the head. This was originally a very large tribe, and successfully defended themselves against all attacks, until Chaka's army defeated them and took their cattle. They had, however, very much weakened themselves by domestic quarrels on questions of succession and rank, but the tribe never were ejected from their possessions around the bay of Natal. They were there when the English settlers first came, when the Boers came, and when the English Government came. They are at present living on a grant to their chief Umnini on the Ungababa. There is a tradition among this tribe of the early visits of Europeans to the bay of Natal, and one of Funwayo's present wives is a descendant of one of those early visitors.

9. TRIBE OF AMAZELEMU.

Umpetshu—Amazelemu—original residence from the Umgeni, above Seacow Lake, to the Umhloti, and up to the Inanda. Tribe dispersed by Chaka, and destroyed by other tribes; for the demoralization amongst the tribes caused by Chaka was so great, that none knew or had mercy upon his own brother. This tribe became so thoroughly dispersed that it has families only belonging to it, which range themselves at present under the collection of people under such chiefs as Vundhlase.

10. TRIBE OF AMANGANGA.

Sokoti—Amanganga—ancient residence on Umvoti, left bank, opposite No. 11, from (4) Unkuna to a little above the junction of the Hlimbiti. Driven by Chaka's army, and their cattle taken, they first fled southwards, but afterwards returned as subjects of the Zulu king, under the Zulu headman, Isipingo, and occupied their old country as Zulu subjects. They continued to do so until Chaka's death, when Dingana ordered all Zulu subjects to move through the Tugela, except those belonging to the head of the Hlomenhlini regiment, which was stationed and remained on the high lands at the sources of the Nonoti. Sotobe was then the head of this regi-

ment and governed all the country on the south of the Tugela. The Amanganga remained under him until Dingana ordered the regiment and the population around it to move through, and the Amanganga accompanied them. This occurred about four years after Chaka's death. Three or four years afterwards, Dingana threatened to destroy the tribe, because of the number of deserters that were constantly crossing the Tugela, whereupon the whole tribe who were living on the banks of the Tugela took fright and in one night fled into the present territory of Natal, leaving their cattle to the Zulus. They came and took up their residence on the Umgeni under John Cane. When the Boers came, they still resided there. They have since been permitted by the Natal Government to move to the Umlazi. Manzini, their present chief, was a young soldier in one of the Zulu regiments. He did not succeed in joining his tribe until Panda's revolt gave the opportunity. The tribe at present numbers 960.

11. TRIBE OF AMAHLONGWA.

Zwebu—Amahlongwa—ancient residence, the Umvoti River, left bank, from near Izidumbe to junction of Umvoti and Hlimbiti, and a little above. This is the tribe to which Unjulela (3) fled, when he was first driven by Chaka. Subsequently they were all driven towards the south together, and their history is the same. The tribes again separated on the rebellion of Panda, when Joli, the chief of No 3, son of Unjulela, came from the Zulu country and joined his people: this section of it (No. 11), after flying to the Amampondo from the domestic squabbles and jealousies of the white men at Port Natal, returned to their old residence on the Umzumbe, shortly after the first arrival of the Boers. They are still in that neighbourhood, on the Umzumbe, and number 472.

12. TRIBE OF INYAMYWINI.

Umkalipi—Inyamywini—ancient residence, the Isiketo and Kamanze, tributaries of the Umvoti. When the Amacunu chief fled from the neighbourhood of the Zulus, he passed through this country over the present site of Pietermaritzburg, fighting his way through the various tribes to the Umzimkulu. Umkalipi was one of a number of chiefs who became exposed to Chaka's attacks by this removal; but they were prevented from going south by the Amabacas. To force their way through, they formed a confederacy, and attacked the Amabaca, by whom they were at first defeated; but by the assistance of another chief, named Nocandambedu, chief of the Amagwen-

yane, they, however, succeeded. Nocandambedu returned and occupied his own country, which was the open country of the Umyoti. Umdingi, of the Amabele, Nomben, of the Inhlangwini, Baleni, of the Inhlangwini also, Boiya-ka-Mdakuda of the Amadunge (who afterwards became cannibals), Ungwana-a-Vasi, Umkani-ka-Msudulu, Amadunge, Umkalipi of Inyamvini, Maranle-ka-Nonyanda, of the Amafunze—formed the confederacy, which succeeded in getting through. Nocandu was afterwards separately attacked by Chaka's army, and defeated it; but removed soon after south, finding he was not strong enough to sustain another fight. Umkalipi afterwards returned to Sihlanhlo, who was then in the Zulu country, as a Zulu subject. Sihlanhlo was afterwards killed. Umkalipi went to the Amabaca, and returned to the Umzinto River in Natal as soon as hostilities broke out between the Boers and Zulus. The tribe is still in Natal, on the Umzambe River, near its old residence. The tribe now numbers 308.

13. TRIBE OF AMADUNGWE, OR ABAKWA MKATENI.

Boiya-ka-Mdakuda—Amadungwe or Abakwa Mkateni—ancient residence below Eland's Kop, on the high lands between the Tugela and the Umyoti. This is one of the tribes mentioned in No. 12 as forming a confederacy to force their way south. It was one of the tribes which returned from the Umkomazi, and attempted to occupy their own country. Boiya was attacked by Sihlanhlo; the tribes became so dispersed by fear of Chaka that, to protect themselves, they attacked every man his neighbour. Bands of men traversed the country in search of food. Where they found cultivation they, if strong enough, destroyed the cultivators, and were in turn destroyed by stronger parties; until, at length, to cultivate the soil was to ensure destruction. No tribe was strong enough to defend itself, and cultivation ceased; famine reigned everywhere, and destroyed thousands. First, dogs were eaten; they did not last long. At length Umdava, of the Amadunge tribe, commenced the eating of human beings, and soon collected a band of men which became a scourge to the whole country. It happened that Boiya, the chief of the Amadunge, was so undefended that he was himself attacked and captured by cannibals, and eaten by them, together with some of his tribe. Dontsela, the present chief, escaped from this state of things to the Zulu country. He afterwards fled to the Umzinto in this colony under Fynn, and when the Boers came he was with his people on the Umzinto River. Present number, 692.

14. TRIBE OF AMANCOLOSI.

Mepo — Amancolosi — ancient residence on the Amanhlalati River, which runs from the high lands above Krans Kop to the Tugela. At the commencement of Chaka's career, Mepo tendered his submission, and the tribe became Zulu subjects. When the Boers came, the Amancolosi still occupied their ancient country as Zulu tributaries and subjects. After the breaking out of hostilities between the Boers and Zulus, they were suspected of having sided with the Boers, and were attacked by Dingana as they attempted to come further into the colony. They lost their cattle and many of their people, but the survivors of the tribe fled to the Umgeni, where they took up their residence. Part of the tribe is still there, but a portion has been allowed by the Government of Natal to occupy their old country. They number 1,960.

15. TRIBE OF AMANTSHANGAZE.

Umtshiyane — Amantshangaze — ancient residence, under the Kranskop, below the Amancolosi.

Before Chaka's wars this tribe was dispersed among its neighbours by domestic quarrels, and for a time ceased to exist. The present chief occupied the Lower Umgeni, but without any people, under the early English settlers at Port Natal. On the arrival of the Boers, he was still on the Umgeni, and the tribe collected round him on the revolt of Panda. They at present number 1,360, under Umguni and Umkizwana.

16. TRIBE OF AMAKABELA.

Kopo—Amakabela—ancient residence, Tugela, right bank, next above the Amancolosi (No. 14).

Were attacked by Chaka, and their cattle taken, but they did not leave their country. Sihlanhlo again attacked them, and occupied their country, but they remained in it. Sihlanhlo was driven out of it by the Zulus, who also occupied it, but they still remained as Zulu subjects. The Zulus evacuated it, and they remained behind, and never left the country, but suffered in it every privation and misery, and they occupy it still. They number 3,376.

17. TRIBE OF AMAPEPETA.

Majiya—Amapepeta—ancient residence, next below the Upiso Mountain, on the Inadi, a tributary of the Tugela. Were attacked at the same time as the Amakabela, but left their country after trying

to defend themselves on the Upiso Mountain. Chaka bivouacked on the present site of the farm of Mr. Pinson, and saw the capture of the mountain by his troops.

Part of the tribe dispersed amongst others in the present Colony of Natal, and a part went and joined the Zulus for fear of starvation. When hostilities broke out between the Boers and Zulus, those in the Zulu country joined their friends in Natal, and occupied the Umgeni, near the Table Mountain, but were obliged by the Boers to go lower down the river because of their thieving propensities at that time. They are still there, and number 884. Amacala has a branch of this tribe on the Umlazi, numbering 1,088. He was under Ogle before the Boers came, and the portion of the Amapepetu joined him when they came out.

18. TRIBE OF INADI AMAZONDI, OR AMAMPUMUZA.

Nomagaga—Inadi Amazondi, or Amampumuza—ancient residence, the whole of the Inadi River, which is a tributary of the Tugela.

Attacked and dispersed by Chaka, cattle taken; portion of the tribe returned to the Zulu country, others went to other tribes, such as Umtsholozu, who acknowledged the Zulus at that time; but before the arrival of the Boers many of these people deserted the Zulus, and took up their residence in the present Zulu Location, where they were when the Boers came and are still. They number 2,104.

19. TRIBE OF AMANXAMALALA.

Umtsholozu—Amanxamalala—ancient residence, Tugela, right bank, at the junction of Buffalo and Tugela, to junction of Mooi River. This tribe tendered their submission and became tributaries to the Zulus, through the Amabomvu. After a time they attempted to leave the Zulus, when they were pursued, and the chief killed, near the site of the present Greytown. This was before the Boers came. When they arrived, this tribe was still occupying their old country under the Zulus; but their present chief, LugaJu, was in the Zwartkop. They separated from the Zulus on the occasion of Panda's revolt; they then joined their chief in the Zwartkop, where they still are, and number 3,676.

20. TRIBE OF ABAKWAMADHLALA.

Umyenye—Abakwamadhlala—belong to the Amampumuza—ancient residence, the lower part of the Umpanza River to the Moo

River, junction of the two rivers; this being a portion of the Amampumusa or Amazondi tribe, its history will be found in No. 18. The representatives of this particular section at present reside, some in the Zwartkop, as Nomaxele and Umgune's people, and Manyozi among Goza's people.

21. TRIBE OF INADI—AMAMPUMUSA OR AMAZONDI.

Magenge—Inadi—Amampumusa or Amazondi—ancient residence, the Umpanza River, both banks, to its junction with the Mooi River. This is a branch of No. 18, and shared its history. Jangeni, son of Magenge, lately died, resides with his people in their ancient country, as tenants of white proprietors. They number 1,072.

22. TRIBE OF AMAXASIBE.

Unjoli—Amakasibe—ancient residence, sources of the Umpanza, or the high lands about the present site of Philip Botha's farm. Driven by Chaka, they became tributary to Maraule (No. 23), who then occupied the open country of the Upper Umvoti, including Greytown; afterwards went back to their old country, whence they were again driven by Goza, of the Amatembu tribe; and a second time became tributary to Maraule, where they remained, until Maraule himself and his tribe were driven by Chaka; they then went towards the Amampondo country, where they again collected as a tribe, and have distinguished themselves for years in keeping up a kind of desultory warfare with Faku, chief of the Amampondo; the remnant of the tribe in Natal is under the petty chief Soqotsha, and resides at the back of Indaleni Mission Station; he and his people are included in the Bazwana tribe in the collection of the hut-tax. His population is not distinguished in the lists.

23. TRIBE OF AMAPUNZE.

Maraule—Amapunze—ancient residence, the open country of the Upper Umvoti, including the site of the present Greytown, from the farm of Ahrens to that of Kriel, at the Great Riet Vlei, the basin, or that part of it included within these localities. They did not extend over the mountains above Greytown, nor as low down as the wagon-drift at Bruwer's.

Driven by Chaka, who took their cattle, they took refuge in the forests under the Karkloof range, and as far as their present residence in the forests of the sources of the Umhlazi. They then got permission from Chaka to occupy their old country, as his people;

but they were constantly harassed by his armies, and driven out of it for having entered without his sanction upon a war among themselves on a question of succession; they then moved along the mountain ranges to the Imhlozane Mountain, above the Dargle, and eventually took up their residence where they are at present, at the head of the Umlazi River; they never left the present colonial limits. They number 2,976.

24. TRIBE OF AMAGWENTYANE.

Noqandambedu—Amagwenyane—ancient residence, open country between the Umgeni and the Umvoti, bounded under the Pasiwe by Amakambula, chief Pambasai. Vapi, of the Amacazu tribe, was at the back of the Pasiwe to the wagon-drift. This was the chief who helped the confederacy mentioned in No. 12. This tribe was entirely destroyed as a tribe: individuals only exist among other tribes in the colony.

25. TRIBE OF AMASANI.

Ujiji-ka-Mtala—Amasani—ancient residence, the same as No. 12, being a tributary of Umkalipi, and its history is the same, except that it never reorganized itself: individuals only of it are to be found in other tribes in the colony.

26. TRIBE OF AMABACA, AMAWUSHE.

Madikane—Amabaca, Amawushe—ancient residence, from the Town Lands of Pietermaritzburg to Otto's Bluff, called by the natives "Ukwela," to the Umgeni, left bank, down to Tredoux's farm.

First driven by the confederacy mentioned in No. 12, moved to the south, and established themselves across the Umzimkulu, where they at present reside under Tiba, Macingane being then established on the Dronk Vlei River. Madikane was to some extent under Macingane: but his rule was so exacting that they quarrelled, and the Amabaca left and went southwards, where they encountered the Tambookies, towards the frontiers of the Cape Colony, in the battle with whom Madikane was killed. The tribe returned to the upper part of the Umzimvubu River, whence for many years it made raids towards the frontier and surrounding tribes. It became tributary to Faku, and fought with him. In their wars with Faku, Capai, their chief, was killed; part of the tribe came towards and into Natal after it was a British colony, and part remained at the Umzimvubu, under

Capai's widow, Mamjucu. The portion now under Tiba occupies the country originally inhabited by the tribe after its first abandonment of its old country. The portion that remain in the colony under Hliwako, Tiba's uncle, and the petty chief Sondaba, number 1,300 in the official list.

27. TRIBE OF AMANBEDU.

Manyonyo—Amanbedu—ancient residence, from the Umtshwati, a tributary of the Umgeni, towards the Umvoti, in the open country.

This was a portion of No. 24. The history is the same, and they never became reorganized as a tribe. The remnants of this people are to be found among some of the tribes of the colony.

28. TRIBE OF ABAKWAMACIBISE.

Macibise (a woman)—Abakwamacibise—ancient residence, present site of the City of Pietermaritzburg, to the Zwartkop and sources of the Umlazi. Driven by the confederacy mentioned in No. 12; became entirely dispersed; never became reorganized. Individuals are found only here and there in the colony.

29. TRIBE OF AMANYAMVU.

Umcoseli—Amanyamvu—ancient residence, on the Umgeni, right bank, down the river from Table Mountain to junction of Sand River, running down from Cato's farm. They extended three miles from the river; did not cross it. The tribe was attacked by Chaka's army, but in consequence of the difficulties of the country all their cattle were not taken. Attacks were made upon it by other petty marauders, but the Amanyamvu still retained their position. Macingwane, chief of the Amacunn, sent and demanded their allegiance; the messengers were treated civilly—but allegiance was refused. Macingwane was then on the upper part of the Umzimkulu. Matiwana, who then resided with his tribe, the Amangwana, where his son Sikali now resides, sent a similar message, and the Amanyamvu chief, Umcoseli, consented, and removed with his tribe to join Matiwana. The women and children had not yet recovered from the effects of their journey, when Matiwana was attacked by Chaka's army in two divisions. Matiwana and most of the tribe fled over the Drakensberg; but the Amanyamvu remained behind because they were tired. Part of Matiwana's people and cattle fled towards the Bushman's River and escaped Chaka's army. The crops of corn were ripe, and the Amanyamvu lived on them after they were aban-

done by their owners. When the Amanyamvu left their country to join Matiwana, they were accompanied by another tribe, the Amanjilo, whose chief, Noqomfela, was related to the chief of the Amanyamvu. It was represented to Matiwana that these two tributary tribes of his were intending to take advantage of his being driven by Chaka, and seize not only his corn, but his cattle which had escaped Chaka. Matiwana sent back a force and attacked them; they resisted, but were beaten, and ultimately returned with their families, much reduced, to their own country near Table Mountain. By this time Chaka's proceedings had created a complete change in all the old habits and customs of the tribes towards each other. Before his wars, tribes used to fight with each other, perhaps for a day, and all would be over: prisoners were not killed, but ransomed by their friends; and women and children were not destroyed. But afterwards, as Chaka's wars extended, tribes became exterminated, not so much by his armies as by other tribes to whom they fled, and by starvation. More died from hunger than by the assagai. Some tribes, such as the Amadunge, the Amakanywayo, and others, had become cannibals, and made organized attacks upon any tribes still remaining in their own country. The Amanyamvu were twice attacked by the cannibals. On one of these occasions, all the men and many women of the tribe had gone off in search of food at the Umgeni among the old corn-fields. A cannibal tribe came in the night and carried off all the women and children that were left behind. In those days the tribe was much reduced. The fear of the cannibals, and of the wolves, which were very voracious, had caused them to get into caves in the rocks for security. They were therefore more or less together. The present chief, Nomsimekwana, was then a boy, and was captured also. They were driven by their captors up the river which now runs past the City of Pietermaritzburg. The river was full of seacows, and the site of the present city was the haunt of the buffalo, the eland, and other game. The grass was in some places higher than men's heads. The cannibals gave the young chief a broad pot to carry, which they said would do as a cover to the one in which he should be himself cooked; but the lad determined to escape such a fate by chancing any other that might present itself. The cannibals saw that he was meditating escape, and gave him in special charge to some young men. Their way led by a deep reach of water, in which many seacows were swimming: it is situated just below the residence of the Bishop of Natal. He thought death by a seacow preferable to being murdered by the cannibals, and he rushed from the

guard and threw himself into the water. His pursuers threw their assegais at him, but missed him. He dived and secreted himself under the overhanging rushes. He heard his pursuers lament that he had escaped, that he would have been tender, and that his condition was good: but they could not find him, and so they went away with his sisters and friends, and they were all eaten. The young chief wandered about until he fell in with the party who had gone in search of food. He told them of the fate of their women and children, for whom they had been foraging, and they returned to their desolate cave. Another attack was made upon the tribe by cannibals. This time the people had huts, and the narrator, Unombiba, describes that, having been for some time with another tribe on the Mooi River, he heard that the country was in peace, and went to visit his old tribe. Two companions were with him. They found the gardens all cultivated, and the crops ripe; but the cannibals had been there, had eaten the cultivators, and placed their skulls on the tops of their huts. The tribe at length determined to abandon their country and join Sihlanhlo, the chief of the Abambo tribe, which then lived tributary to Chaka, on the Intonze River, a tributary of the Tugela, opposite to Kranskop. Many of the Amanyamvu died in the expedition sent out by Chaka against some tribes north of De la Goa Bay. They were soldiers in his army, and died of fever. Other portions of the tribe were scattered among various other tribes. Dingana afterwards killed Sihlanhlo; and Nomsimekwana, the present chief, began to make his way back to his old country at Table Mountain. He cultivated two seasons under the Pansiwe (Karkloof range), one on the Umgeni, and, after he had cultivated two at Table Mountain, the Boers came. During these years, the remnants of his tribe which had been scattered began to collect, and the rest of the survivors joined him on the rebellion of Panda against his brother Dingana, which released so many people and enabled them to occupy their own country. He has resided there ever since, and his people at present number 917.

Noqomfela, of the Amanjilo tribe, was killed with Umcoseli by Matiwana. On the return of the Amanyamvu to their country, the Amanjilo tribe amalgamated with them, and underwent the same vicissitudes.

30. TRIBE OF AMALANGI OR AMADHLANYOKA.

Nomganga—Amalangi (or Amadhlanyoka)—ancient residence, left bank from below Baynes' Drift to the high lands to the sources of

the Umqeku, and down that tributary to its junction with the Umgeni.

First dispersed by Chaka's army, chief and son killed, all cattle taken, people dispersed among the Amacunu and Amangwana: a section afterwards returned to their old country, but they were dispersed, and most of their women and children eaten by cannibals who attacked Umcoseli (see No. 29). There being no chief left, the tribe never re-collected.

31. TRIBE OF AMANJILO.

Nocofela (or Noqomfela)—Amanjilo—ancient residence on the Umgeni, left bank, from Table Mountain downwards, within the semicircle made by Nomganga (see No. 30). This tribe has been mentioned in the history of No. 29. On the return of that tribe from Matiwana, the Amanjilo amalgamated with it; and its subsequent history is the same, except that it never re-constructed itself.

32. TRIBE OF AMAWUSHE.

Umqinambi (Amawushe)—ancient residence, the sources of the Karkloof, under the Karkloof range.

First driven by Goza, of the Abatembu tribe, after Madikane had been forced by the confederacy, mentioned in No. 12; they subsequently dispersed among other tribes, but chiefly the Amabaca, to whom they were related. No distinct tribe at present exists, but their chief, the descendant of Umqinambi, lives on the Umzimkulu in this colony.

33. TRIBE OF AMAWUSHE.

Unondaba—Amawushe—ancient residence, Umgeni, from the great waterfall upwards, right bank. Was driven at the same time as No. 32: also the chief Umbedu, who occupied the left bank of the Umgeni. The latter joined Goza in his fatal expedition against the Amapondo, when he was defeated and lost his life; these tribes became afterwards absorbed in Madikane's tribe. There is no distinct tribe in the colony descended from them.

34. TRIBE OF EMKULWINI.

Mambane—Emkulwini—ancient residence, Tafamazi, upper part of the Umhloti River, Inanda Location. Dispersed by Chaka. No distinct tribe left. Individuals among other tribes only.

35. TRIBE OF AMABOMBO.

Undelu—Amabombo—ancient residence, a portion of the Dhlmbiti River. Driven by Chaka: at present included in the collection under Vundhlase. No longer a separate tribe.

36. TRIBE OF AMAWUSHE.

Uhlepu-ka-Ngcwanekazi—Amawushe—ancient residence, upper part of the Umgeni, including the Dargle.

Belonging to No. 32 and No. 33—their history the same.

37. TRIBE OF UMBONJENI.

Umbonjeni-ka-Ntete—ancient residence, sources of the Umlazi. Driven by Chaka, dispersed entirely, individuals only remaining.

38. TRIBE OF AMANDHLANYAO.

Magadaza—Amandhlanyao—ancient residence, the Imputshini (Uysdoorns River) to the conical hill opposite Table Mountain. Driven by Chaka. Tribe dispersed. The descendant of the chief Umgwada resides in what was Sidoi's Location, but no tribe any longer exists.

39. TRIBE OF AMAVANGANE.

Ungoi—Amavangane—ancient residence, Umzinto, Sugar Company's lands. Dispersed by Chaka. Individuals only left. This was a tributary to the Amatuli tribe.

40. TRIBE OF AMAHLUBI.

Umtinkulu, Pangazita, Monakali, chiefs.—This is the largest tribe in South-Eastern Africa. Ancient residence of the tribe under its different heads, the Buffalo River to its sources, and all its upper tributaries, both banks. As the different sections were jealous of each other, there constantly existed wars and disputes between them, so that they were not formidable to any foreign people. The result of this was that they were successfully defeated in detail by Matiwana, who drove them from and passed through their country to the south.

This was the first tribe that fell to pieces and migrated to the south in great numbers. Portions went over the Drakensberg Mountains, and there are still several large sections of them among the Fingoes, on the frontier of the Cape Colony, under their chiefs Zibu, Umhlambiso, and Manqoba. Mehlomakulu is in the Orange Free

State with his section. A small portion persevered in remaining in their old country at the sources of the Umzinyati, and among these was the present Langalibalele, to whom most of those of the tribe who had joined the Zulus ultimately came. Some are still among the Zulus. Langalibalele lived on the site of the present Utrecht as a Zulu tributary, until in 1849 he was attacked by Panda, and driven (although he defeated the Zulus) into the colony. The tribe numbers at present 8,424. Langalibalele was removed from the upper part of the Klip River by force, and placed in his present location as a protection to farmers against the depredations of the Bushmen.

41. TRIBE OF AMABELE.

The Amabele tribe under different chiefs, such as Umdingi, Qunta, Jojo, Maliga, Shugu, and Mabungane. Ancient residence, from the junction of Sunday's River on the Tugela, below Job's Kop, to Buffalo River, up the slopes of the Biggarsberg to Klip River to its junction, down the Tugela to the mouth of Sunday's River. First driven by Matiwana on his escaping with his tribe from the attacks of Chaka. The majority of these chiefs and tribe found their way to the Cape frontier, where they were received by the frontier Kafirs as servants. They were emancipated by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor of the Cape, from this condition in the Kafir war of 1834-1835; and the sons of some of these chiefs with their tribes are now to be found among the Fingoes in the Cape Colony.

The representatives of these tribes in this colony are Umcindo, 284, and Umdomba, the son of Qunta, 3,256; but these latter people are collections from other tribes.

42. TRIBE OF AMAZIZI.

The Amazizi tribe under the chiefs Renqwa, Umkuli, Maqulusa, and Dweba. Ancient residence, from the Klip River to the sources of the Great Tugela, along the Drakensberg to the Bushman's River, to about the present wagon-road from Estcourt to Doorn-kop and Hamilton's farm.

Driven by Matiwana on his escape from Chaka, he occupied their country.

This tribe migrated towards the Cape Colony, and were received by the frontier Kafirs—the same as No. 41.

43. TRIBE OF AMAKUZE, UHLEMINI.

Gonyama—Amakuze, Uhlemini—ancient residence, from Doornkop and Bushman's River wagon-road, down the Tugela, right bank, across the Tugela below Job's Kop not quite to Buffalo River, down to near its junction; thence up Tugela, both banks of Bushman's River, excluding part of Pakade's present location, round to Mooi River, up to the road.

First driven from their country by Goza, of the Abatembu tribe, who was making his way to the south to escape from Chaka's attacks. A large portion of the people of this tribe and some of the chiefs joined Goza on his way to the Amampondo, by whom they were defeated. After this, they attempted to re-occupy their own country, but were again dispersed. In the confusion and desolation that followed, a few of them became incorporated among the Zulus, and some went south and formed part of the Fingo population on the frontier of the Cape Colony; but the rest were able to maintain themselves as a tribe, amidst the universal anarchy that followed, even in Chaka's time. After their defeat by the Amampondo, the remnant of the tribe endeavoured to occupy their own country, but were again driven by the Zulus when Dingana was chief. Fodo, the son of Nomben, chief of a considerable section of the Amakuze, with a number of people, was then in the Umkomanzi Valley, about the present wagon-road, and was there joined by other sections of the tribe under Baleni, Guza, and Mazongwe. Fodo was deposed, and his tribe punished, by the British Government in 1846. He afterwards crossed the southern boundary to his present residence. Sidoi, the son of Baleni, was also deposed and outlawed by the Government and his tribe punished in 1857.

The present representatives of this large tribe in Natal are Unqakama, 1,520 people; Zatzhuke, appointed by Government in place of Sidoi, 2,632; Umaiza, 192; Ubudaza, 576; total, 4,920.

44. TRIBE OF ABATEMBU.

Ungoza—Abatembu—ancient residence, Umzinyati, low down, both banks, but chiefly on the left bank. Their next neighbours, towards Panda's present residence, to the Babanangu, was the tribe of Butelezi, now part of the Zulu people. Goza was tributary to Butelezi, but Chaka put this chief to death, and incorporated his people without a battle. Goza, seeing this, attacked the people of the Amakuze tribe under Nomagaga, defeated and killed the chief, and occupied their country. Goza did this to clear a course for

his retreat from so dangerous a neighbour as Chaka was now showing himself to be. The ejected tribe complained of Goza's attack to Chaka; the latter sent a force to dislodge him. Goza resisted and defeated Chaka's force. Chaka himself had accompanied his army, and was directing or observing its operations from a position he had taken up on the Qudeni Mountain; he was accompanied by only a few attendants. While there he encountered one of Goza's headmen, Jobe, also accompanied by a few men. Chaka entered into conversation with Jobe as to the probable issue of the battle; and the two remained together the most of the day, Jobe not knowing who his companion was. After the Zulu forces were defeated, a messenger arrived in breathless haste, and after accosting Chaka with the royal salute, abruptly reported the loss of the day. Chaka, annoyed at the intelligence and the imprudence of the messenger in discovering his identity to the strangers by whom he was surrounded, and thereby placing his life in great danger, ordered his immediate execution, and he was accordingly put to death on the spot. Jobe and his party, confounded and alarmed, neglected to take advantage of the opportunity, and Chaka safely escaped. It is said that from this accidental meeting sprang the attachment between Chaka and Jobe, which lasted to the death of the former, but the tribes in Natal were long in the habit of reviling Jobe for his neglect of the opportunity to rid the world of its—in their idea—greatest disturber, when Chaka was in his power. Goza, although he had thus defeated Chaka's first attempt, felt too weak to stand any further attack, and immediately commenced moving south with his tribe. In his retreat he attacked and dispersed many tribes, and received great accessions to his force from the defeated populations. So strong did he become that he eventually determined to attack Faku, chief of the Amampondo, at the St. John's River, by whom he was signally defeated and killed in battle. The tribe now wandered about without a head, and became subject to constant attacks, by which they were more or less dispersed, until the desire to re-occupy their old country induced them to return to it and become Chaka's subjects.

Jobe, Goza's induna above alluded to, had refused to follow his chief on his retreat to the south, and tendered his allegiance to Chaka, who accepted him, and allowed him to live with the people who had adhered to his cause on the land formerly occupied by his chief, Goza. Thus was founded the tribe under Jobe found in Natal, or on both sides of its borders, by the Dutch emigrant farmers in

1838. Matyana, the chief of this tribe, who was expelled by the Natal Government a few years ago, was a descendant of Jobe.

The adherents to the ancient house of Goza have never altogether amalgamated with their renegade fellows, but the dispersion of the tribe under Matyana has caused the return of many to their old tribe. A large number of Goza's people became amalgamated with the Zulus, and remained so until Panda's revolt, when they espoused his cause, and entered the colony under Nodada, son of the old chief, Goza.

45. TRIBE OF ABAKWAMIYA.

Abakwamiya, under Renqwa, one of the sections of the Amabele tribe. See 41.

46, 47, 48.

Separate tribes belonging to the Amazizi family, under Umkuli, Makaluza, and Dweba. See No. 42.

49. TRIBE OF AMAKUZE.

Amakuze. Separate tribe belonging to the same family as 43. Similar history.

50. TRIBE OF AMATOLO.

Gonyama—Amatolo—ancient residence, up the right bank of the Bushman's River to the Drakensberg. Driven by the Amabele in their passage to the south. The representative of this tribe is Dinginhlela, formerly attached to Sidoi's tribe; but his section is not separately numbered, and he resides with his people across the Umkomanzi under Zatshuge.

51. TRIBE OF AMACWABE.

Umlumbi — Amacwabe — ancient residence, the Inyamvubu, tributary to the Mooi River, both banks and sources, and part of Pakade's present location. Driven by Goza on his escape from Chaka. Tribe entirely dispersed, but members of it among other tribes in the colony.

52. TRIBE OF AMAGAMEDSE.

Ugamedse—Amagamedse—ancient residence, behind Spitzkop, over Fannin's farm, to the Umkomanzi. Driven and dispersed by Chaka; only individuals left; some are among the Amabaca.

53. TRIBE OF AMANKALANE.

Unyamuzi—Amankalane—ancient residence, from Edendale Station to Upper Umlazi, below the forest country. Driven by the Amakuze (43) on their way south with or following Goza, they became completely dispersed. Individuals only are to be found among other tribes.

54. TRIBE OF AMAHLANTAO.

Undwangu—Amahlantao. The same as No. 38; a section of the same tribe; same history.

55. TRIBE OF AMANQONDO.

Ugan—Amanqondo—ancient residence, open country of the Umlazi, both banks, towards Richmond. Driven by the same tribe, the Amakuze, No. 43, or Inhlanguini, which dispersed the Amankabane. The tribe became ultimately absorbed, chiefly by the Amabaca, with whom they still reside.

56. TRIBE OF AMANJILLO.

Sibanya-ka-Sali—Amanjilo—ancient residence, Umlazi, both banks, next below the Amanqondo (55) to Umlaas Poort. Driven by the confederacy mentioned in No. 12, they were driven about from place to place until ultimately attacked and their cattle taken by one of Chaka's tributaries, Sihlanhlo. No longer exist as a tribe. Individuals only remain among other tribes.

57. TRIBE OF AMANHLOVU.

Ubelesi—Amandhlovu—ancient residence, the open country between Camperdown and the Intshanga Cutting, and from the Umgeni to the Umlazi. Driven from their country by Chaka, wandered about as other tribes did, until their chiefs, and many of their people, were caught and eaten by the cannibals under Umdava. The remnants first went to the Amangwana; but when this tribe was attacked by their old foe, Chaka, they became individual wanderers. The representatives of this tribe are amongst the people of Dumisa.

58. TRIBE OF AMANYAMVU.

Sivuku—Amanyamvu—ancient residence, on the Umgeni, next below the tribe No. 29, to whom they are related. The same history.

59. TRIBE OF WASIMACINDANENI.

Makosikazi — Wasimacindaneni — ancient residence, between Great and Little Umlazi. Dispersed by the confederacy mentioned in No. 12. Never re-assembled.

60. TRIBE OF AMANTSHELE.

Nomabunga—Amantshele—ancient residence, open country of the Illovo, just below Richmond, to the Umkomanzi, from the commencement of the thorn country of the Umlazi. The tribe never recovered their dispersion by the confederacy mentioned in No. 12.

61. TRIBE OF AMAKALALO.

Amakalalo—ancient residence, the site of Richmond, and under the neighbouring forests. Dispersed by the Amabaca in their flight from the confederacy mentioned in No. 12. Tribes never became re-constructed.

62. TRIBE OF UNGOWANIKAZI.

Amantambo—Ungowanikazi—ancient residence, from Indaleni Mission Station to the Umkomanzi. Driven by the Amacunu in their retreat from the Zulu power. Nothing but individual members of this tribe left.

63. TRIBE OF MABUTSHANA.

Amayoba—Mabutshana—ancient residence, upper part of Illovo River to beyond Boston Saw-mills and Umkomanzi. Driven by the same tribe as the last, and at the same time. No tribe of this people remains.

64. TRIBE OF AMATOLO-TUNZI.

Amatolo-Tunzi. Next to the last-named (63) to the foot of the Drakensberg. Driven by the Amazizi tribes in their flight from Matiwana, of the Amangwana, when the latter attacked them in their retreat before Chaka's forces. Small remnants of this Amatolo tribe are to be found as Fingoes, among the Amampondo and on the frontier of the Cape Colony.

65. TRIBE OF NOMABUNGA-KA-NKOWANE.

Nomabunga-ka-Nkowane — ancient residence, from Little Drakensberg to the Umkomanzi. Driven by Macingwana, of the Amacunu, at the same time as 63 and 44. Individuals only are now to be found.

66. TRIBE OF AMANTAMBO-NOMATITI.

Amantambo-Nomatiti—ancient residence, from last-named down to the Inhlavini, tributary to the Umkomanzi, right bank (of Umkomanzi). Driven by the same as 65. No distinct tribe left.

67. TRIBE OF AMACEKWANA.

Amacekwana — ancient residence, Dronk Vlei River to the Umzimkulu. Driven by the same as No. 65. None but individuals remain.

68. TRIBE OF JOJO.

Jojo—ancient residence, the lower part of the Inhlavini River; no traces of this tribe left, dispersed by the stronger ones in their separate scrambles to escape from Chaka.

69. TRIBE OF ABATSHAWU-DEI.

Abatshawu-Dei—ancient residence, from the Xobo River to the Umsimkulu, Fodo's old country. Retreated to get out of the way of Macingwana; became subject as Fingoes to Hintza, of the Cape frontier Kafirs; remained there when the other Fingoes were emancipated by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in 1836; and, when Natal became a British colony, returned to its neighbourhood in No-man's-land, where they at present reside as a tribe.

70. TRIBE OF AMAVUNDHLE.

Amavundhle—ancient residence in the neighbourhood of the Springvale Mission Station. Destroyed as a tribe by one of Chaka's expeditions. No remnant of it left, except individuals among the collections of dispersed tribes more recently formed.

71. TRIBE OF AMANDONYELA.

Amandonyela—ancient residence, the country occupied by Dumisa, which is called after this tribe, destroyed by one of Chaka's armies. Dispersed the same as No. 70.

72. TRIBE OF NOMANDHLA.

Nomandhla—ancient residence, Mount Misery, on the Umkomanzi River. Same fate as No. 70.

73. TRIBE OF TSHOBENI.

Tshobeni—ancient residence, on the Umkomanzi River, below Mount Misery. Same as No. 70.

74. TRIBE OF AMANTSHAGAZI.

Amantshagazi. From Mount Misery to the Illovo River. Driven by the confederacy mentioned in No. 12, in their retreat from the Zulu power. No longer in existence as a tribe.

75. TRIBE OF AMAMBOMVANE.

Amambomvane. Both sides of the Umkomanzi, next above the Amatuli, No. 8. Driven by one of Chaka's expeditions. No longer in existence as a tribe.

76. TRIBE OF GWAI.

Gwai. Umtwalumi River to the Umzimkulu. Driven by Chaka. No longer in existence as a tribe.

77. TRIBE OF AMAPUMULO.

Amapumulo—Dibandhlela—ancient residence, high lands between Hlimbiti and Tugela. Driven by Chaka, and incorporated by degrees by him; re-entered Natal in 1840, on the occurrence of the revolution in which Dingana lost his life: at present residing in the Umlazi Location.

78. TRIBE OF AMAQWABE.

Amaqwabe—Pakatwayo—ancient residence, both sides of the Tugela on the coast to about thirty-five miles inland.

This was the largest tribe of the present Zulu country, previous to the time of Dingizwayo. They had frequently battles with Dingizwayo, who always defeated them; but, as he did not allow the women and children to be interfered with, he did not destroy the tribe. On one occasion he captured the whole of Pakatwayo's household—wives, daughters, and other women. He ordered them to be brought before him, and directed a war-dance in their presence, in which he personally performed. He then allowed them to go to their homes, telling them "he fought with men, not women; and when men were obliged to leave their homes to their enemies, it was a sign that they were beaten." Chaka was present as a soldier in Dingizwayo's army, and witnessed these scenes, but thought them impolitic and unsafe. When Chaka had returned to his own country, he found the necessity of having a safe retreat from his enemy, Zwide, and for this purpose selected the Inkanhla Forest. To obtain possession of this forest, it was necessary to overcome the Amaqwabe, under Pakatwayo, who held it. He accordingly attacked and defeated them, but did not disperse or take their cattle from

them. Pakatwayo, the chief of the Amaqwabe, died on the field of battle from some natural cause, as he was not wounded. The tribe became tributary to Chaka under Vubukulwayo, the chief's brother. This young chief, however, soon after deserted with a large section of the tribe to Zwide, leaving those who remained with the Zulus under another brother, Qeto. When Zwide was defeated, the deserted section returned to Qeto in the Zulu country, their own chief, Vubukulwayo, being dead. On the assassination of Chaka, Qeto became dissatisfied with that event and the prospects caused by it, deserted with the whole tribe, and entered the Colony of Natal in 1828. The Zulu army followed in pursuit, but Qeto succeeded in getting off safely. This tribe subsequently played a conspicuous part among the tribes on the St. John's River. In an attack upon one of these, Qeto received a wound in the thigh from a gun. The shot was supposed to have been fired by an Englishman, but was really fired by old Loggenberg, with the remarkable result that it struck the chief, who was not in the battle, but occupying an eminence and directing the attack; the man who wounded the chief was killed. Qeto settled on the left bank of the Umzimvubu, where he treacherously murdered Lient. Farewell and his party, on their way from the Cape Colony to the Zulus. Qeto was ultimately defeated in a battle with Faku, by which the power of the tribe was completely broken. The chief himself and many of his people escaped, but they were not strong enough to maintain themselves independently, and, after various attacks and much suffering, wandered into Natal, where the chief was killed by order of Dingana, to whom his arrival had been reported by Baleni. The people became dispersed among various tribes in territory now included in Natal. Some went to the Zulus, some remained with Faku, and some were ranged under Ogle and other Englishmen, about the Bay of Natal. The tribe assembled soon after the revolt and flight of Panda, and received accessions from its neighbours and the Zulu country, where individuals of the tribe had taken refuge in times of trouble; they at present number, under their various sections in this colony, 10,336. They are sometimes classed as later aborigines; but as their ancient territory was half in Natal and half in the Zulu country, it is doubtful whether they should not be classed as early aborigines.

79. TRIBE OF AMANYUZWA.

Amanyuzwa—Mapoloba—ancient residence, right and left banks of Tugela, opposite Kranskop. In the first years of Chaka's rule,

Sirayo and Ungabi, two sons of the chief, quarrelled about the succession, and Sirayo appealed to Chaka for assistance. Chaka sent a force and dispersed Ungabi's adherents, and took their cattle; but he soon after put Sirayo to death, because of the smallness of the booty his army had taken: he said they had been quarrelling about castor-oil seeds growing round their old cattle-kraal; and this remark subsequently formed the burden of a Zulu war-song. The people wandered about in the Tugela jungle for a long time, but afterwards became Zulu subjects, and re-assembled on Panda's revolt, when he joined the Dutch in 1839-1840. They at present occupy part of the Inanda Location.

80. TRIBE OF AMAQADI.—81. TRIBE OF AMAOSIANE.

Amaqadi—Amaosiane. Branches of the large tribe No. 79. Became involved in the dispute about the succession in that tribe, and the ultimate fate of the partisans of both. They still retain their different tribal conditions in the Inanda Location.

82. TRIBE OF AMABOMBO.

Amabombo—Manyonye—Kambedu. Between the Umgeni and Umvoti. Became absorbed in the confederacy mentioned in No. 12.

83. TRIBE OF AMAHLALA.

Amahlala—ancient residence, the Impanza and the sources of the Umvoti in the forest country. They were anciently a branch of the Pumuza and Nadi families, and their history is the same as Nos. 18 and 20.

84. TRIBE OF ELANGENI.

Elangeni—ancient residence, high up the Impanbinyoni. Destroyed in Chaka's wars, but re-constructed in the Zulu revolution. At present number 1,300, on Umvoti.

85. TRIBE OF AMALANGENI.

Amalangeni—ancient residence, between the Hlimbiti and the Umvoti. Driven by Chaka. Became re-constructed only to a very small extent, and now number 312, on the Ifafa River.

86. TRIBE OF AMANGCOBO.

Amangcobo—anciently residing on the Upper Umvoti. Was the centre of a number of tribes which now are known under different

names, some of which do not appear in this list. The Amanyuzwa, the Amaqadi, the Amaosiane, the Amafunze, and others, all princes from the Gcobo tribe. The tribe was dispersed originally by domestic quarrels about succession in its different branches, in which all seem to have taken sides.

87. TRIBE OF AMABIYA.

Amabiya—ancient residence on the Mooi River. They are the remnants of one of the Amabele tribes. See No. 41.

88. TRIBE OF AMAKANYA.

Amakanya—ancient residence, right bank of the Tugela. They were dispersed and incorporated by Chaka; became re-constructed on the occasion of the Zulu revolution.

89. TRIBE OF AMAMEMELA.

Amamemela—ancient residence on the Sunday's River. They are a remnant of the Amabele tribe. See 41.

90. TRIBE OF ENHLANGWINI.

Enhlangwini—allied to No. 43. Same history.

91. TRIBE OF AMAPEMVU.

Amapemvu—anciently a branch of the Amanganga, and related to the Amapumulo, on the Umvoti River. Dispersed by Chaka, and the tribe never became re-constructed to a greater extent than it is now under Jugula. The rightful chief, Kutu, son of Kondhlo, is under Faku, of the Amampondo. Other members of the tribe have been absorbed by the general population.

92. TRIBE OF ABAMKULISE.

Ancient residence, the junction of the Bushman's and Tugela Rivers, left bank of the latter.

93. TRIBE OF AMANGONGOMA.

The Amangongoma—ancient residence, the upper parts of the Umvoti, near Greytown. This tribe originally belonged to the Amafunze, and are a section of the great Amangcobo family, which resided on the upper part of the Umvoti. In consequence of some division, this section moved across the Tugela, and occupied the Insuze River, a tributary of the Tugela, opposite to Kranskop. This

was before Chaka's time. In the wars which followed, the Amangongoma became absorbed in the collection of refugees under Dube, on both banks of the Tugela River, a little below Kranskop. Dube was chief of another section of the same tribe, the Amangcobo. When Dube was put to death by Dingana, the Amangongoma came through the Tugela into the present Colony of Natal. When the Boers came in 1838, they were in Natal, and are there still.

94. TRIBE OF AMALANGA.

Amalanga, chief Bacela, were anciently a section of the Amangcobo family, and especially of that part of it called the Amanyuzwa, and their history is similar.

The population mentioned at the end of some of the foregoing sketches is merely an approximation arrived at by striking an average of individuals per hut. The number of huts is obtained from the returns of the hut-tax collection, and for all practical purposes may be considered correct; but the estimate of inhabitants per hut may be, and is considered by many to be, above the average of actual fact. Better data, which are now being collected, will shortly decide this point.

[NOTE.—The above short sketches were written down from the lips of the narrators, and, as near as possible, in their words.]

[The Dutch East Indian ship "De Naarstigheid," having left the River of Bengal on 27th January, 1757, arrived at De la Goa Bay in a condition so unseaworthy that the crew remained on shore at that place until 5th June, 1759, when the Company's ship "Scholtenberg" entered the harbour. In this ship, and in the hooker "Hector," the crew of the "Naarstigheid" returned to Holland.

They had in the interval endeavoured to procure relief from the Cape by sending a few men, who volunteered their services, overland to the Cape; but the party did not succeed in the attempt. They reached the country of the Tembu (Abatembu), but, worn out with suffering, returned to De la Goa Bay. Of one of the number the narrative has been recorded; and the subjoined extract makes it almost certain that at that date (1757-1758) at least a generation had elapsed during which no Europeans had visited Natal.]

" They had according to their estimate travelled 180 Dutch miles " from our position southward to the Cape, and thus probably had " reached the wide river known in the Company's map as the Bay of " Natal, situate between the 28th and 31st degrees of southern lati- " tude, being the boundary between Monomotapa and the land " of the Hottentots, and that the nation north of the Bay of Natal " were also Hottentots, but much more civilized than those of the " Cape. The captain or chief of these had, amongst other things, " told them that several years before an English ship had been " wrecked there, and that two of the men had taken up their abode " with this nation; each had married a wife, and had children still " living; and that these had shown them much friendship, more " than the other Hottentots. It was easy to distinguish, both from " their fair colour and features, that they were bastards of European " race."*

* " Rampspoedige Reize van het O. I. schip 'De Naarstigheid,' in de terugreize " van Batavia over Bengale naar Holland." [Unfortunate Voyage of the East Indian Company's ship "Naarstigheid," in the return from Batavia, by Bengal, to Holland.]-*Narrative of Jacob Francken, who was the medical officer in the voyage. Haarlem: J. Bosch. 1761.*

("JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS," 29TH JANUARY, 1875.)

The opening meeting for this session was held on Friday, 22nd instant.

Dr. Mann then read the following paper by Mr. Shepstone: *

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ZULU-KAFIR RACE OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

The last eighty years' history of the Colony of Natal shows more wonderful changes than we could well imagine, if we tried to invent a probable, or even a possible, story for our own amusement.

The "ups and downs" in the fortunes, not of individuals only, but of whole communities and populations, and the revolution in the social as well as in the political condition which each change caused, are so wonderfully strange, as well as complete, that it would be difficult to find a country which could furnish a true story of itself so full of vicissitudes as Natal.

Ten, or at most twenty, years more will deprive us of the testimony of nearly all the few remaining eye-witnesses of the earlier of those exciting scenes which thus revolutionized the country. The particulars of the short sketch I propose to give have been gathered from those eye-witnesses, and I believe them to be almost as correct as in the nature of the case it is now possible to make them.

It is necessary that I should first describe as shortly as possible the different phases of condition through which the inhabitants of this country have passed since 1812, for it was about that year that the great disturbance of their ancient comfortable mode of life commenced.

I shall endeavour to trace the causes which led to that disturbance and its consequences, and in doing this I shall be obliged to take a glance at what is now called Zululand, for it was there, towards the close of the last century, that domestic events in a chief's family gave the first small impulse to the movement; and it is one of the most curious points in our wild story, that this impulse was to receive its strength and direction from such a civilization as

* Now Sir Theophilus Shepstone, for many years Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal.

then existed in the Cape Colony, before it could so rudely influence, as it afterwards did, the destiny, not of Natal only, but of the whole of South-Eastern Africa.

Up to the year 1812, then, and for how many centuries before we cannot tell, this country was thickly populated by numerous tribes under independent chiefs. These tribes lived so close together, that tribal change of residence was difficult, if not impossible. They intermarried with each other, possessed flocks and herds, lived in ease and plenty themselves, and at peace with their neighbours; until this luxury occasionally culminated in a periodical quarrel (as is the natural tendency, the natives say, in all that grows fat), and this quarrel was settled by a periodical fight, but those fights were then by no means such serious matters as they afterwards became. In those days armies never slept in the open, *i.e.*, away from their homes. The day was fixed beforehand, the men of the rival tribes met in battle on that day, and the result of the single encounter decided the quarrel. The few old men still living, who lived then, delight to tell how that in those good old times they did not fight to shed blood, or burn houses, or capture cattle, or destroy each other, but to settle a quarrel, and see which was the strongest: how that their women looked on while the men fought; that prisoners taken in battle were not killed, but kept till ransomed; and especially how that many a young warrior, when the day's strife was over, would hand his shield and assagai to a companion to take home for him, that he might accompany his late foes to renew his vows to some daughter of the rival tribe. For then, unlike later times, they will touchingly add, "The sun that saw tribes fight never set till their quarrel was ended." But although their relations with each other, as tribes, were so simple and the opposite of aggressive, there was always danger of one cause of quarrel arising, which aroused every feeling of animosity, occasionally split up tribes, and caused more bloodshed, and the exhibition of more ferocity, in one year, than all their punctilious tribal battles did in ten. I mean quarrels between relations for succession to the chieftainship, in which sections of the tribe took opposite sides. This is certainly not changed in our experience of human nature, exhibited either in clans or families; but from the accounts of these quarrels they seem to have been kept up with such persevering malevolence as to suggest an explanation of what we ourselves experienced in our contact with these people: *i.e.*, that strong attachment to individuals and families which makes them earnest partisans; and that wonderful respect for, and devo-

tion to, any person of whose duly constituted authority they are sufficiently convinced, which makes them obedient subjects.

We see, then, that with the exception of family quarrels, these people were unwarlike and harmless, and lived in happiness and contentment with each other. Then, as now, the seasons favoured the high lands one year, and the low the next, and interchange of commodities for food went on, as it still continues to do, between the inhabitants of the two different classes of country, and friendly relations between tribes were the rule.

Such was the general condition of perhaps a million souls in what is now the Colony of Natal, up to the year 1812, when the first or quiet phase of their history closes. Time will not admit of my entering into the detail of their social condition, such as their belief in witchcraft and its effects, with other matters which, although sufficiently interesting, are not necessary in so short a sketch as this of their general history.

In this year (1812) these people saw the first-fruits of a single seed of knowledge sown in the mind of a lonely fugitive, perhaps twenty years before: although sown to the westward of the Great Fish River, in the Cape Colony, it germinated to the north of the Tugela. And the fruit of this first lesson in civilization was sad enough, for it inaugurated the second or turbulent phase of their history. It inspired one among the many tribes in that region (north of the Tugela), which were then living in almost the same circumstances and condition as those in this country, with a military spirit, and caused it to introduce a military organization. This change soon developed itself still further, and became aggressive, so that the neighbouring tribes were compelled to adopt the new system also. But for some time wars, although more frequent, were carried on under more or less observance of the old rules. Tribes were not at first destroyed, although conquered. It was not until this new mode of warfare was directed by the sanguinary genius of Chaka, that extermination as far as possible followed every conquest. So great was the terror caused by this policy, that tribe after tribe gave way before him, and forced themselves through their weaker neighbours, whose feeble resistance they easily overcame. Several powerful tribes were driven in this way to force their retreat through what is now Natal. In vain did the inhabitants combine to resist: although numerous enough, they were undisciplined, and unused to earnest fighting; so they were easily defeated, and some of them carried to the south by the tribes they had attempted to oppose.

I have mentioned the year 1812 as the date when the second, or turbulent, phase of their history commenced; because it was about that year that the first of these large tribes entered this country in their retreat from Zululand through the present division of Newcastle, whose inhabitants were not only defeated, but plundered and scattered, and became, in turn, aggressors upon their weaker neighbours. This was the first experience they had of the great coming change. From the date of that event, wave after wave of desolation swept over the land, in the shape of retiring tribes, carrying all before them in the attempt to place as great a distance as possible between themselves and the universal enemy—Chaka. The alarm and demoralization caused by the passage of these foreign bodies through such a people as then inhabited Natal, can be better imagined than described. But it is difficult for us even to imagine their full effect. The instinct of self-preservation, stimulated by terror, turned friends into foes, lifted every man's hand against his neighbour, and justified even treachery and atrocity, hitherto unknown among them. But it was not by fugitive tribes only that such effects were caused: Chaka himself had to finish what they had merely begun; and, after clearing away or subjugating the population north of the Tugela, he sent his armies periodically to this side, to ravage a country whose inhabitants were already sufficiently demoralized and spiritless, but who nevertheless possessed abundantly the means of subsistence. His orders were to spare neither man, woman, nor child, to burn all houses, and destroy all food; and faithfully enough did his men execute these orders. The object, of course, was to render existence impossible within the reach of his arms, except under his rule. He aimed at universal sovereignty; and it was only during the last years of his life that he expressed his willingness to share the world with the white man. Several tribes offered themselves to Chaka as vassals, and were accepted. These afterwards contributed very much to the sufferings of the friends whom they had deserted. Their knowledge of places and persons enabled them to render much service to the armies of the great exterminator. Year by year did these armies extend the sphere of their operations, until at length they reached the tribes which had retreated through Natal, and established themselves to the south. These were for the most part either destroyed or incorporated by Chaka, or driven upon the Kafirs on the frontiers of the Cape Colony, among whom they became a sort of slave property under the name of "Fingoes." It is a strange coincidence that a late Acting Lieutenant-Governor, General Bisset, and I were both

present when Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of the Cape, with a division of the British army, emancipated these very people from their slavery, in the Kafir war of 1835-1836, and that in the course of our respective duties we have both had much to do with the measure.

But to return to our own population. Those who remained in the country—and there were many thousands who did so remain—were by this time reduced to a condition absolutely hopeless and wretched. Naturally, the means of subsistence furnished by their cattle and other smaller domestic animals had failed first, for they were eagerly sought after by Chaka's soldiers; their stores of grain held out longer, but in time they were exhausted also, and as hopelessly as the cattle, for their granaries could not be replenished by cultivation, because cultivation attracted attention, and had therefore to be abandoned. Living in their usual huts, or indeed anywhere except in rocks and bushy kloofs or glens, was out of the question. To live at all without their usual food seemed impossible. Their dogs had long been too weak to capture any, and, lean and hungry as they were, had been eaten by their masters. Wild roots were the only means of subsistence within their reach. These were scarce, required much labour to procure, and afforded but light nourishment after all. No wonder, then, that the country was filled with the dead, and that, as the natives express it, the assagai killed people, but hunger killed the country. No wonder that these victims were left unburied by their emaciated friends, to feed wild animals, and still less that these animals became as much an object of dread as Chaka's warriors. Many poor wretches, who could, crawled towards the Tugela to be "picked up," as they termed it, by Chaka's haughty vassals. There they could at least get food, whatever the government might be. Many refused to leave their country, and preferred to meet the death that stared them in the face to submitting to those who had caused them so much misery, and whom they had such small cause to trust.

It seems impossible to imagine that in a cup so brimful of sorrow there should be room for one additional drop. But there was room, and that drop was the bitterest of all. In terror of wild beasts, in still greater terror of Chaka's ruthless soldiers and vassals, maddened by hunger, and altogether demoralized by the circumstances which surrounded him, a man conceived the horrible idea of feeding upon his fellow-man, and at once put it into practice. Starving wretches, in misery equal to his own, rallied round him,

and a band of cannibals was soon formed, to be increased by two or three in other parts of the country. These bands hunted for human beings as men hunt for game. Driven first by necessity, they acquired a taste for this revolting practice, and continued it long after the necessity ceased. They had become so formidable that it was not until about the arrival of the first Dutch emigrants in Natal that the last of them were dislodged from the Biggarsberg, and driven over the Kahlamba Mountains by Dingaan. I have heard many a stirring story of escape from these cannibals from the lips of those who were captured and who had themselves listened to discussions as to whether they would eat tough or tender when they should be killed.

To such a state of things, then, was this country reduced in less than ten years after the first fugitive tribe entered the division of Newcastle; and it continued with little amelioration until Chaka's policy had absorbed, with few exceptions, the whole of the survivors, and the Zulus actually occupied one-third of what we now know as Natal.

This completes my brief description of what I have called the second, or turbulent, phase of the history of our natives. To the third belongs the revival of hope, caused by the arrival of the Dutch emigrant farmers, and the establishment of a settled government in Natal. To this I shall do no more than make an allusion presently.

I have said that all this suffering was caused by a lesson in civilization learned by a fugitive in the Cape Colony. I must now relate to you a little of the personal history of that fugitive to show how he came to be in the way to learn such a lesson, and how he applied it. To do this I must go back to the ten years that brought the last century to a close.

One of the most considerable tribes then occupying the country to the north of the Tugela was that of the Umtetwa. The Zulus were but a small collection of families tributary to their more powerful neighbour. Jobe was the name of the Umtetwa chief. Warned by the example afforded by family quarrels about the succession in other tribes, he had determined on the approach of old age to make arrangements such as he supposed would leave no opening for dispute in his family. The two sons nearest the succession were named Tana and Godongwana. The old chief formally nominated the elder son, Tana, to succeed to the chieftainship at his death, and assigned to him one of the royal kraals as his residence. Had the old man done this and died, the changes we have been considering would most

probably not have taken place: and if they had not, Natal could scarcely have become a British colony. But he lived on, to the great disappointment of his ambitious son, until, weary with waiting, the latter formed a plot to destroy his father. The younger son, Godongwana, was privy to this plot—perhaps its originator. The two brothers lived together. The conspiracy became known, however, to the old chief, and he took immediate and very strong measures to repress it. He ordered the immediate execution of both the young men, and sent a force to carry out the order. Special directions were given that the younger should not escape. He was considered the more dangerous of the two. Accordingly, the hut in which the brothers were sleeping was surrounded in the night, and nearly all found in it were put to death. Godongwana, fortunately for himself, succeeded in rushing through his assailants and leaping the outer fence. He did not escape scathless, however. He was wounded in the back by a barbed assagai, and had to carry it away in his body. Daylight showed Tana, the elder brother, to be among the dead. The younger had escaped. His only chance of life now was to conceal himself. His sister knew he was wounded; for she had heard that the man who had leaped the fence was wounded, and she knew that no one but her brother could take such a leap. She sought for him as few but a sister would seek, and found him the next evening, faint and hungry. She extracted the spear, and ministered to his wants as best she could, told him of the danger of his position, that his father was angry at his escape, and had ordered strict search to be made for him: gave him her own kaross or robe, got a few attendant: to accompany him, and bade him depart with her blessing, till better times should come. At first the young man thought he would stay as near his home as possible, and he tried to linger among neighbouring tribes; but they were all, more or less, subject to his father's influence, and, generally speaking, willing to purchase the old man's favour at the cost of his son's life. Many attempts were made to destroy him, but failed. I should weary you were I to tell the many stories of miraculous interposition in favour of this young man which are believed by the natives. In some of these the sister's robe is said to be the instrument of his safety; in others some ointment she had given him. But whatever amount of truth there may be in these stories, it is quite clear that, finding his life so much sought after, he took a dive, no one knew where, and was not heard of for years after. In the meantime, although his people believed him to be dead, his father believed to the contrary, and to the last

refused to nominate a successor other than his missing son. But, on the death of the old man, it became necessary to appoint a successor; and Godongwana's younger brother, of another house, assumed the government of the tribe.

Things went on quietly enough for a while with the Umtetwa tribe. At length strange rumours reached them. It was whispered that Godongwana was still living, and that he intended to return. In due time the fact that he was actually on his way became known. Soon after this followed descriptions of his person, and of his mode of travelling, and highly exaggerated these descriptions were. Of course he was handsome, and looked every inch a chief. But the strange animal he sat upon was the wonder of all men. When it carried him along, no one at first sight could say whether it was all man or all beast. It looked like one animal. It had, however, been ascertained, people said, that it was a man sitting upon an animal, and that man was Godongwana, the son of Jobe, chief of the Umtetwa tribe, and that the animal was an "injomane." What this meant no one could tell, as a horse was as much an object of curiosity to the natives of those days in those parts as a live unicorn would be to us. To give you an idea of the notion those people had of a horse, I will tell you an incident that occurred twenty years after the time of which I am now speaking. One of the tribes now in this colony had met an expeditionary force from the Cape frontier to the south of St. John's River. Part of the force was mounted. During an engagement that followed, one of the horsemen got separated from his horse, and it ran wildly away. The chief immediately gave orders for every exertion to be made to destroy it. He thought that letting the animal loose was one of the modes of warfare used by the enemy; that it tore men to pieces by its teeth, and stung them to death with its tail. It seemed to them so active an animal that the sooner it was despatched the better. The poor innocent victim of this calumny was, of course, easily despatched, amidst triumphant yells from the valiant warriors.

You will see, then, that a young chief returning to the tribe over which he claimed authority under such circumstances, and sitting upon a horse, would do so with no small prestige in his favour. The reigning brother offered a futile opposition, and lost his life for his pains. Godongwana soon established himself as the rightful chief of the Umtetwa tribe, for (as the natives, in allusion to the scar he had received in his leap for life, express it) "his wound was his witness." In compliment to his strange history, his

name was changed from "Godongwana" to "Dingizwayo," which means the "wanderer," or "he who was caused to wander," and I shall now speak of him by that name.

It seems that in his travels he had reached the Cape Colony, and must have lived with or entered the service of some colonist. Whether he got his living honestly or not is a question which must now, I fear, for ever remain unsolved. It was during his stay in the Cape Colony that he acquired the information, or made the observations, which were to effect the great change in his native land and the surrounding countries, of which I have given you a very imperfect idea. He learned the strength of standing armies, the value of discipline and training, as compared with the mobs, called armies, in his own country. He saw that if he could gain possession of his tribe he could gratify his ambition. He had heard of or seen bodies of civilized soldiers. He had ascertained that they were divided into regiments and companies, with regularly appointed officers, and he thought that all soldiers were bachelors. He had no sooner got possession of power than he set to work to organize his tribe in accordance with these ideas. He formed all the young men into regiments, with commanders in due subordination to each other, and very soon he had a formidable regular force at his command.

To possess such a force and to use it seems to have been a necessary consequence with such a man, and he was not long in making the trial. As might be expected, no tribe could withstand the attacks of his army, newly formed though it was. But he was neither bloodthirsty nor avaricious. He fought to conquer, and to show his superiority, caring little for capturing cattle. He forbade the destruction of women and children. The great test of victory in his mind seemed to be the power of feeding his army on the grain stores of the conquered. "Let the weak man sow, and the strong man reap," was his motto. It is said that he always halted his army until the enemy's corn was exhausted. But his opponents usually tendered their submission, and re-occupied their country, as Dingizwayo's vassals the moment he withdrew his troops; so that he never destroyed or permanently dispersed any people with whom he went to war.

But the surrounding tribes had already in self-defence adopted the new military system, and Dingizwayo, not calculating the effect of this on his neighbours, eventually himself fell a victim to the organization he had introduced. He was taken prisoner, when in advance of his main body with a small guard, and put to death by a

chief who had often been his prisoner before, and whom he had as often released, in deference to his grey hairs; "for," said Dingizwayo, "he was the companion of my father." But, it must be said, in excuse for this old chief, that it was his great wife—a lady whose head was much larger than her heart—who insisted on the execution of her husband's generous enemy.

Dingizwayo was the introducer only of the novel war system, but the man who caused it to make such an impression on the country must be now briefly spoken of to render this sketch intelligible.

Senzangakona, chief of the small tributary Zulu tribe, had an illegitimate son, named Chaka. The young man was energetic and talented, and, like many such young men, assumed airs which did not quite suit his position, and were offensive to his father's family. In consequence of their hostility, he and his mother were compelled to flee for their lives. They took refuge with Dingizwayo not long after that chief had succeeded in organising his army. Chaka entered one of Dingizwayo's regiments as a private soldier, and was present with it in all that chief's expeditions. His gallant conduct soon won for him a great reputation as a soldier. He narrowly watched his master's policy of forbearance and its consequences, and disapproved of it, because he thought it would lead to dangerous combinations against the supreme chief. In his opinion the only safe plan was to inflict such an injury as would disorganize, if not destroy. Hence, when he acquired power, he adopted the uncompromising system which raised the Zulu name to such renown in South Africa.

When Chaka had served long enough in Dingizwayo's army to understand the system it was based upon, and to mark its defects, his father, Senzagakona, died. Chaka was, of course, not entitled to the succession, for there were other sons whose claims were superior. But, in deference to their supreme chief, the tribe submitted the question to be decided by Dingizwayo, and he, being convinced not only of his young soldier-protégé's ability, but of what was of far greater consequence, his loyalty to himself, appointed Chaka chief over the Zulu tribe, at that time weak, tributary, and insignificant.

Up to the death of Dingizwayo, Chaka always faithfully co-operated with his old master, and it was the result of a combined movement by these two chiefs that drove the powerful tribe on its retreat to enter the present division of Newcastle, about 1812, as

already mentioned. And thus was caused the first shock felt by the doomed but unsuspecting inhabitants of this land.

All the troubles which followed, and which I have very imperfectly described, were caused by Chaka alone. His genius overbore all opposition, and he died within the territory, which now constitutes this colony, on 23rd of September, 1828, undisputed sovereign of all South-Eastern Africa, from the St. John's River on the south, to King George's River on the north, including a large portion of what now forms the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic, as well as the tribe and territory of his old master and patron, Dingizwayo.

This brings us to times to ascertain the history of which we have more or less of documentary evidence to refer to. I shall not, therefore, trespass upon them. I have selected the period embraced in this sketch, because it is of necessity less known than that on which books have been published, and because the tale of its occurrences, however imperfectly I have told it, may give us valuable lessons.

I wish, in conclusion, to present a kind of analysis of this history, and you must be good enough to bear in mind that it relates to a period scarcely extending back sixty years from this date. It shows three phases, representing three conditions, each as opposite to the other two, in most respects, as it is possible for any nation to be.

In the first we have simple, primitive, unalloyed barbarism, unmitigated as well as untainted by any trace of civilization. Under this condition, which probably had lasted for centuries, the people enjoyed peace, prosperity, and plenty.

In the second, we have the same barbarism, the same people, and the same country; but we have also added to these a dash of civilization—a stray, but not very incorrect, notion of one of its practices, which poisoned all enjoyment, cut off all that sustains life, turned thousands of square miles into literally a howling wilderness, shed rivers of blood, annihilated whole communities, turned the members of others into cannibals, and caused miseries and sufferings, the full extent of which can now never be known, and which, if even known, could not be told.

In the third, we see civilization not only represented by a mere notion or idea, but in its living, bodily form protecting and ameliorating the remnants of this wreck. Where a few years ago so dreadful a storm of human passion and violence raged, we now see a British

colony with its quiet farms, its representative institutions, its Christianity, its electric telegraph, and its little railroads: and we also see its inhabitants, originally unenlightened, discussing the most advanced topics of the most enlightened civilization of the age. When we realise the idea that these three great changes have all taken place in the country we live in, during the short compass of less than a man's lifetime, we shall understand and wonder at the fearful rapidity with which revolutions sometimes overwhelm a people: and we shall wonder still more when we contemplate the apparently trivial events from which such momentous consequences have sprung—events which, if calculated according to the ordinary doctrine of chances, would have stood at one hundred to one against occurring at all. But, trivial as they were in themselves, they have already influenced the destiny of thousands, and have, in my opinion, contributed in no small degree to the planting of civilization in this land for some wise and beneficent purpose, which I sincerely hope may be faithfully fulfilled.

HISTORY OF CHAKA.

[N. ISAACS.]

The family of Chaka appears to have been a remarkable one for its conquests, cruelties, and ambition, and to have emerged from a tribe who originally inhabited the neighbourhood of De la Goa Bay. As we have no records of its origin, and as tradition does not furnish any remote information respecting it, all that I can advance is that Chaka himself descended from Zulu, king of the aforesaid tribe, through a line of chiefs, all of whom appear to have inherited the vices as well as the power and possessions of their progenitor.

Chaka's father appears to have been named Senzagakona, and to have made his way from the primitive location of his ancestors to the Umfolosi Nhlopi, or White River, a branch of the river St. Lucie, and to have there settled or colonized, within about sixty miles of the sea. Here he built a kraal, to which he gave the name of Nobamba (or Gras-pat), and is said to have kept the neighbouring tribes around him in great terror and subjection. He had thirty wives, and his concubines were almost innumerable, so that his race was not likely soon to become extinct; every week producing something illustrative of his right to the proud title of being considered the parent of many generations yet to come.

By one of his wives was presented to him the afterwards formidable and cruel Chaka, whose birth was conceived by his people to have been prodigious and miraculous; he was therefore held to be something superhuman. His mother, Umnande, it has been stated, becoming suddenly indisposed, as most ladies at times are who love their lords, sought the aid of her female attendants on the occasion. The natives who had been apprised of the nature of her complaint, that she was "enceinte," could not conceive it possible, as her husband had not undergone a certain ceremony (circumcision) without which he was not thought capable of propagating his species. The preposterous idea is still prevalent among the Eastern tribes. Such being the fact, the accouchement of Umnande became a wonder, and her child was considered a prodigy; and as it was conceived in the first instance that her indisposition was the Tyeka, or dysentery, so the child was commanded to be named in allusion to their puerperal blunder. Mr. Kay, in his *Researches*, says of the family and origin of Chaka, "that his grandfather was called Zulu, which signifies 'heaven,' or figuratively, 'high.' From him the nation is now called 'Amazulu,' that is, people of heaven, or high people. They are often termed Zulus in English, which is, however, a corruption of the proper name. The son of Zulu was 'Menzi,' which signifies 'maker,' or 'worker.' Chaka was the son of Menzi, and his name, in the Sichuana language at least, means 'battle-axe.' The name also of his brother and successor is Dingaan, which is nearly equivalent to 'I of myself,' or 'I am.'"

As Chaka advanced towards manhood he gave evident symptoms of realising the opinions of the Zulus that he was more than an earthly being. His strength appeared herculean, his disposition turbulent, his heart iron, his mind a warring element, and his ambition knew no bounds. It was not long before Chaka attracted the notice, and ultimately the jealousy, of his father, who desired that he should die, and began to plot his death. This he resolved to effect the more from another motive. He well knew from the fate of his progenitors that the children when they came of age were allowed by the Zulus to dethrone their grey-headed fathers, because they conceived that a young king is more capable of commanding a nation than an old one; that while the physical powers of the one render him unfit for war, those of the other are about to ripen into all their maturity, and fit him to set an example for his subjects to imitate.

Chaka's precocity, shrewdness, and cunning soon enabled him to learn the intention of his father, and he fled, accompanied by his younger brother, Umgati, to a neighbouring tribe, called the Umtetwa. He was well received and protected by the chief, Dingizwayo, who placed him under the care of his dictator, Gomani, where he soon distinguished himself among the warriors; he was also held in great esteem amongst them as a songster and a punster, both of which are considered as accomplishments rarely inherited, and are in fact the only amusements in which they indulge, except that of dancing. At the death of his father, a younger brother took possession of the Zulu crown. Chaka at once resolved to dethrone him and place himself at the head of the nation.

After several attempts the king succeeded in driving him (Chaka) away to a distant and formidable chief, named Zwidi, who was then at war with the Umtetwas. This induced Dingizwayo to assist Chaka in obtaining possession of the Zulu kingdom.

Meeting, however, with many obstacles in the way, he formed a sure plan of destroying the young king, which was very soon carried into execution. Umgati, his younger brother and companion in exile, repaired to the residence of the young monarch with a story that Dingizwayo had murdered Chaka, that he was obliged to flee for his life, and throw himself at his brother's feet for protection. This important and wished-for information was readily believed, and Umgati was soon installed in the office of chief domestic. Being now constantly about the king's person, he took an early opportunity to effect his bloody mission.

It was his province to attend him every morning when bathing. On one occasion he sent two of his friends to conceal themselves in the long grass by the river side, and at a signal given, when the king was plunging into the water, they rushed forward and speared him to death. The news soon reached Chaka, who marched at the head of the Umtetwas and took possession of the throne.

The first act that marked his bloody reign was his putting to death all the principal persons of his brother's government; those who were suspected of being inimical to his becoming king were also speared. He then, after the death of Dingizwayo, went to war with the Umtetwas, the tribe that had protected and sheltered him while in exile; and, after destroying the major part, compelled the rest to join him. The Kwabi, another powerful tribe, were the next whom he annihilated. This African Mars ultimately depopulated the whole line of coast from the Amaputa River to the Tugela.

Equal success attended his incursions among the interior tribes, towards whom he usually exhibited the most sanguinary conduct, pursuing them without mercy, and annihilating them with a ferocity too shocking to detail, too harrowing to be related. I must therefore pass over this more than inhuman part of his savage life, lest it tend to darken rather than illumine the inscrutable justice of Providence.

This ferocious despot had now arrived at the zenith of his ambition and pride, and, having for the present sated himself with the blood of the neighbouring tribes, he directed his thoughts towards his own government. This was imperative, as from his numerous victories he felt himself at the head of an ever-growing and gigantic nation.

At the outset he began by disciplining his forces, which were numerous and elated with victory, attributable to the dauntless and irresistible spirit of their chief, who set them an example in the field by a display of his physical powers and by a bold and martial indifference for his enemies, however formidable they appeared. His intrepidity made him a terror to his opponents, and his severity kept his people in awe; when he entered on a war with a power, his mind and soul were irrevocably bent on annihilation. He had no redeeming qualities: mercy was never for a moment an inmate of his bosom; he had indulged in the sacrifice of human blood, and nothing could satiate his monstrous appetite.

His soldiers (his warriors, they were designated), without any inherent courage, were ever and anon eager for war, and shouted for battle from a love of plunder. They knew full well that their renown was enough to make their enemies crouch before them, and they gained more by the terror of their name than they achieved by their prowess in arms. They had this alternative in the field, either to return triumphant and participate in the spoils, or to be deemed cowards, and suffer an immediate and cruel death. In the troops of Chaka there was no moral courage. They fought to avoid being massacred, and triumphed more from the trepidation of their enemies than from the use of their spears. But cowards are said to be cruel, and the troops of this despot were an illustration. The war at Ingoma, in which I was engaged, convinced me that those whom we conquered were equal in capacity to the troops of Chaka, and that the latter possessed no innate courage.

The numerical force of the Zulu monarch was great at this time, and he took especial care to make his armies as effective as

possible. For this purpose they were inured to every species of unnatural abstinence. They were prohibited from marrying, and forbidden all sexual intercourse, under the idea that it deprived man of his physical strength and relish for war, and that in the field his thoughts were apt to be directed towards home rather than towards the enemy. In this, however, Chaka certainly set the example. He had no queen, although at each of his palaces he had from three hundred to five hundred girls, who were denominated "sisters." If any of these became pregnant, they were immediately taken away, and some imaginary crime alleged for putting them to death. The warring propensities of this despot, his habitual ferocity and thirst for the blood of his subjects, often induced him to single out the aged and decrepit to be put to the spear, observing with savage pleasure "that they were in the way; that they could not fight; that they only consumed the food which would make young warriors strong; and therefore it was a charitable act to put them out of the way." This order being carried into execution, he built a kraal between the Umlalazi and Umhlatus Rivers, to which he gave the name of Gibbeclack,* or "pick out the old men," in commemoration of this base and barbarous proceeding.

It has been remarked by an ancient historian that in peace children bury their parents, and in war parents bury their children. It appeared otherwise in the dominions of Chaka. There Death reigned without a rival and without control; and whether in the time of peace or war, he gloried not only in the extent of his conquests, but in the richness of the spoils.

The unexampled cruelties which he practised, and the plausible reasons urged for perpetrating them, were a sure means of governing not only the terrified and wondering Zulus, but of confirming the universal belief among them that he dealt in charms and witchcraft, and held nightly converse with the spirits of his forefathers, which appeared to him, and

"Told the secrets of the world unknown."

After having established a strong force of nearly one hundred thousand men, of whom about fifty thousand were warriors always in readiness for battle, and forming his whole force into regiments, he began to elect rulers, to abolish old laws, and enact new ones. He also thought proper to drop his primitive appellation of Checker (Tyeka) and to assume that of Chaka, by which name I have distinguished him as being that by which he was most generally known.

* More correctly, "Gibamaregu."

He finally succeeded in forming a sort of "Zulucratical" government (if I may so term it, for I do not know anything resembling it either in ancient or modern history), a form that defies both description and detail, for it cannot be comprehended or digested: such a one as gives protection to no living creature; that puts the subject at the mercy of a despotic king, whose nod may consign him to death, innocent or guilty, and compel the father to murder his innocent and unoffending child, force brother to execute brother, and the husband to impale his wife. After a form of government had been established, recognizing all these barbarities, a calm ensued, not unlike that which intervenes between the first and last shocks of an earthquake, when all are in consternation, fearing that the next moment they may be swallowed during the devastating convulsion. This pause from war and sanguinary executions was usually occupied in the superstitious ceremony of appeasing the spirits of the departed, and in endeavouring to soften the pangs of the living by the sacrifices of oxen, and by distributing the property of the murdered people among their executioners. Several months have been occupied in killing bullocks, the spoils of his successful and inhuman carnage, for the purpose of diverting and fattening his people, as well as for occupying their minds in manufacturing shields from the hides of the slaughtered animals. He would likewise try to divert them a little by amusements in which they could have no relish, but were necessitated to attend, not with the view of pleasure, but from the fear of death.

He next proceeded to introduce a new system of warfare. It had hitherto been the practice to carry several iron spears and throw them at the enemy, besides the assagai or common spear (bows and other implements of war are not known to them), which he forbade under the penalty of death.

For the purpose of proving his superiority and consummate judgment in military tactics, he determined that a sham fight between his regiments should take place in the presence of the whole nation. Reeds were accordingly substituted for spears; one regiment was to pursue the accustomed manner of throwing, and the other, who were allowed but one reed, were permitted to charge. The latter, covering themselves with their immense shields (six feet long and of an oval form) soon beat off their adversaries, and thus decided that Chaka's new regulation was the best. All the superfluous spears were then ordered to be destroyed, stout ones made in their stead, and each warrior was supplied with one. If he lost it in

battle, he was to suffer death. Thus his warriors had no alternative. Their fate was inevitable. The fear of a horrid end by impalement made them fight, when otherwise they would have saved themselves by retreating in the event of being overpowered. The poor wretches were therefore doomed to conquer or die.

The king also determined that when an army was sent to attack a distant tribe it should be supplied with barely a sufficient number of cattle to suffice for its support until its arrival at the place of action, observing "that they must either conquer or perish."

In ordering any of his subjects to be killed, Chaka never gave his reason for consigning them to death until it was too late to stay the execution. A sign given by the pointing of his finger or by the terrible declination of his head, was promptly obeyed, and as promptly executed by any one present. Thus a father did not hesitate to be the executioner of his own child. The ties of consanguinity availed nothing with the tyrant; his decrees must be carried into execution, and that unhesitatingly. And if after perpetrating the revolting deed, the feelings of nature should predominate, and manifest themselves to the inhuman savage, the party was instantly ordered to be despatched, with the atrocious remark, "Take the Umtagati away; let me see whether loving his child better than his king will do him any good. See if your clubs are not harder than his head." The executioner was then permitted to repair to the kraal of the poor dead and mutilated creature, and there destroy everyone who might be connected with it, to take the implements of war as his booty, and drive the cattle to the king, who ordered its distribution among his warriors then present.

In delineating the character of Chaka, I have introduced the horrible deeds he perpetrated (to many of which I was an eye-witness) for the purpose of allowing my readers to draw their own conclusions. For my own part, I can only say I am not aware that history, ancient or modern, can produce so horrible and detestable a savage. He has deluged his country with innocent blood, he has forgotten the sacred ties of affection, and by a double murder, as it were, compelled the agonising father to be the executioner of his own son, and the son to become an inhuman mutilator of his own mother. The recital of this monster's deeds could only be setting in array against him the passions of my readers, and might ill prepare them to encourage any favourable symptom of such a man having betrayed remorse for his sanguinary conduct.

I have spared my reader the pang which many agonising scenes would have occasioned, by not detailing their enormities,—scenes that I have personally witnessed, the recital of which would only increase the horror already sufficiently excited; but if his patience will now allow him to bear with me but for a short time, I hope I shall be able to lead him to an oasis in this moral wilderness, that shall be as refreshing to his taste as water in the Arabian desert is to the parched palate of the wandering Arab.

When a writer treads on new ground, he possesses in my opinion few advantages, but many and great difficulties meet him in his progress. The assertion of Solomon in his time, that there is nothing new under the sun, justifies me in this opinion; although I am not ignorant of the fact that many learned and modern authors have thought the contrary. Little hitherto has been known of Natal. The prolixity of my journal, therefore, perhaps may be overlooked. It was this want of information that made me think of recording my observations, and, however uninteresting the details, they are “the truth, and nothing but the truth.”

For the purpose of employing the rising generation, Chaka gave orders that a number of new kraals should be built for the residence of the cattle taken in the different wars, so as to secure them from the attacks of wild animals. Boys were allowed the privilege of milking them for their support, and occasionally a few head were given them to kill. The boys were called Umpugatis,* or warriors, and their duty was to molest and beat the Umkundas,† or those who had not joined the “etangas,” or cattle kraals. They were commanded to do so, whenever they might find them, by Chaka’s decrees, so that nearly all the boys were harassed until they joined these young tyrants. In all warlike excursions these youths were compelled to accompany the older warriors as servants; and when they arrived at an age capable of wielding the assagai, they were supplied with shields and spears and formed into regiments.

Cambyases asserted that anticipation was the greatest of all pleasures; and Chaka had been enjoying this feeling for a considerable time—that is between the cessation of one war and the commencement of another. During this repose from hostile attacks on his neighbouring tribes, he projected new movements and other predatory incursions against those unoffending tribes whose forces

* Umpakati, a councillor, not a warrior.

† More correctly, “Amagundane,” or mice, a term of contempt.

were weak, and whose stocks of cattle were extensive. He looked forward at these periods with a sort of prophetic spirit for the day to arrive when all his anticipations should be realized. The new laws which he had established, and the system of warfare so successfully introduced, led him to conclude that his warriors would be found invincible, and he issued his terrific order, "that they should turn out to conquer or to die."

The success of his operations soon verified his predictions, and the fame of his troops spread over the country. Every tribe they met with became an easy conquest; for to avoid being put to the spear, they ran to the forests, leaving their villages and cattle to the mercy and rapacity of their insatiable invaders. In this manner did Chaka lay waste and spread devastation through the whole country from the Maputa to the Umzimvubu, or St. John's River. Tribe after tribe were invaded, routed, and put to death either by firing their huts or by the spear. Numbers of the poor hunted, terrified wretches were driven to seek shelter in the forests, and there to become the victims of wild animals or the sport of the wandering Zulus in pursuit of other prey, and who showed them no mercy.

He had now subdued all the tribes within the limits of De la Goa Bay and Port Natal, the most powerful of which, Enkonyana, having been the last to fall within his grasp, and had begun to contemplate an attack on some of the frontier tribes; but he manifested an apprehension of coming into collision with the white people, whose hostility he was avowedly afraid to excite. This alone restrained him from attacking those minor tribes who had thrown themselves under the protection of the Government of the Cape. His death stopped his merciless and ambitious career; he fell, as he deserved, by the hands of those whom he had enraged by his savage propensities, and not one, it is said, mourned his death.

The late Lieut. King, in his Notes, says of Chaka: "He is a most cruel, savage, and despotic king; one who has laid waste the country some hundreds of miles, namely, from the Amapondas, about two hundred miles south-west of Natal, to the southern and most of the western ports of De la Goa; within these limits there are many kings whom he has subdued, and who are now tributary to him, submitting to the most abject of vassalage. The only powerful enemies with whom he has now to contend are the Enkonyana and Zwidi, who inhabit a district to the north-west of the Maputa; these two kings having collected their forces with the idea of disputing the palm with Chaka, and of at once putting a stop

to his predatory incursions near their territories. They have made several advances, but have been severally and jointly repulsed. He is now in his turn preparing to advance on them; and although their united forces exceed by thousands the amount of his invading army, yet such is the discipline of his men, and so well arranged are his modes of attack, that nothing in the system of his opponents can possibly make any impression."

Chaka seems to have inherited no redeeming quality. In war he was an insatiable and exterminating savage, and in peace an unrelenting and a ferocious despot, who kept his subjects in awe by his monstrous executions, and who was unrestrained in his bloody designs, because his people were ignorant, and knew not that they had power. He was also a base dissembler. He could smile in the midst of the execution of his atrocious decrees, and stand unmoved while he witnessed the spilling of the blood of his innocent subjects, and, as if nothing like an act of barbarity had been committed, he would appear mild, placid, generous, and courteous to all, assuming the expression of deep sorrow for the necessity which had called him to issue the bloody decree. The world has heard of monsters. Rome had her Nero; the Huns their Attila, and Syracuse her Dionysius; the East has likewise produced her tyrants; but for ferocity Chaka has exceeded them all; he has outstripped in sanguinary executions all who have gone before him, and in any country.

It is too evident, had not this monster fallen by the hands of his injured people, that the unfortunate Europeans who were sojourning in his country, and who had received assurances of protection from him in which they could not but confide, would have been doomed to destruction on the return of his forces from their predatory expeditions. He thus at once exhibited the dissimulation of the despot, and realized what has been often affirmed, that there is always danger when a villain smiles.

As I have before said, Chaka ruled his people by keeping them in a perpetual state of terror, and his command over them was also greatly facilitated by his continually impressing them with the power of charms, witchcraft, or necromancy, which he practised with inconceivable effect on his poor abject, deluded, and degraded subjects. This he carried to such an extent as to excite a belief in their minds that he could read and had the power of knowing all their thoughts, and of seeing all their most secret actions. He pretended that he inherited this power from the spirit of his

ancestors, who had deputed it to him. An instance of the extraordinary effect of his cunning in imposing on his people, by persuading them that he was endowed with a sort of supernatural agency, I shall relate; and as I had it from himself, I think it not improbable, because I have had ocular demonstration of his exhibitions in this way. He arose one morning unusually early, and ordered a great number of his favourite bullocks (black and white) to be killed. They were accordingly instantly slaughtered. The circumstance naturally excited the curiosity and the surprise of his warriors, who became impressed with the idea that something important was about to take place. The wonder was increased by his ordering the "inyangas" to collect roots to prevent the people fretting. He then called all his warriors together and ordered them to dance until a late hour of the night, when he told them that Umbiya* had appeared to him the preceding night, and had communicated to him that his father, Senzagakona, was very angry with the Zulus for losing their fame, and not being Schlanger-nee-pee-lie,† that is, more shrewd and cunning, and superior to their neighbours; that the nation was getting too large, and required constant employment; that there were plenty of enemies yet to conquer before they could "booser"‡ (make merry) and enjoy themselves; that Umbiya also told him that he was living very comfortably under ground, where all the people who had died were innocently employed; that they had plenty of cattle and fine girls; that there was no enemy to fight with, and they therefore enjoyed the society of their girls.

This important dream was honoured with the slaughtering of cattle at all the king's kraals. All the descendants of Umbiya were created great men, and of course dreamed something in their turn to corroborate the great dream of their cunning and wily master. This astounding dream became the topic of conversation among the people for some months, little thinking the despot's aim was deadly. Umbiya's name resounded through the whole of the kraals, to the great consternation of the ignorant and proscribed inhabitants; all the good deeds he did in his days were recounted and talked of, to the great joy of those who were cognizant of the king's imposition.

During the days of the working of this superstitious ceremony of the savage monarch, an elderly man belonging to the tribe of the

* A noted chief in the reign of Chaka's father.

† Correctly, Hlakanipile.

‡ "Puza," i.e., "drink."

Kalis (a tribe tributary to Chaka) was missing. No one could give any intelligence of him but his wife, who said that their hut had been entered in the night by an "inconyarmar,"* or lion, and that it took her husband from her side. The lion's spur or footmarks were traced to its den, but no blood could be found, nor any vestige of the man discovered. The report was made to Chaka in the presence of his warriors, created a momentary surprise, but the wily monarch appeared unconcerned about it. Several months had elapsed, and the man, together with the circumstance, was forgotten. At length he appeared amongst the warriors in the presence of Chaka. He exhibited a singular exterior: his hair was long, and worn differently from any other of the people; his dress was also dissimilar from that worn by the warriors. It consisted of a piece of bullock's hide, covering his hind part from hip to hip, and fastened in front with pieces of cord, reaching to the joints of his knees, and thickly studded with brass balls. He appeared among them something in their estimation unearthly. He was afterwards, however, discovered to be the man taken away by the lion, and an investigation took place to ascertain how he came among them, and from whence he had arrived.

The man immediately arose, and said in a stentorian voice, saluting Chaka, that he had been with the Issetuter,† with whom he had stayed three moons, and was then desired to go and tell the "Inkosi Inkulu," or great king, that they were "boosering"‡ (making merry), and would soon pick out all the Umtugarties§ (wizards) that the Zulus might also. He then observed: "I am the son of Feteulu, of the Kalis, 'Umfunda-adqua-Zooloos'¶ (tributary to the Zulus), who was taken away by the lion, dragged to his den, sunk deep into it, and swallowed up by the earth. The lion went with me, and treated me as a mother would her child, until I came to some red earth, where the lion left me, and in wandering about I walked upon earth that trembled and gave way, when I fell into a yet deeper abyss below. I became insensible from the fall, but, recovering, found myself in a fine country inhabited by 'Issetuters' (spirits). I saw all the old people who had been killed in war, and those who had died at home. They were very much smaller than we are; they have plenty of cattle, but all very small;

* Ingonyama.

† Ixitutu.

‡ Pusa, i.e., drink.

§ "Umtakati," plural "Abatakati."

¶ Umfunda wa kwa Zulu.

the girls are handsome, and live very comfortably. Umbiya was 'Inkosi Nkulu,' and 'boosered carcoola'* (he was a great king) and enjoyed himself very much, and he was also a great 'Inyanga.' In the night-time he strolled about, and no one knew whither he went, but he always said he went to see his 'Umschlobo'† (friends)."

The people were not more amazed at his address than they were at his harangue. Chaka made it appear that he was equally astounded at the audacity of the man in appearing before him, and asserting such a gross mass of falsehoods and nonsense. He said that the fellow was an Umtagati (wizard). The people knew not what to think, for they had the king's dream in their recollection. The inyangas (prophets) were, however, called upon to "nuka" (smell) if the man was really a messenger from Umbiya, or a "Tagati"; when they decided that the "Issetuter"‡ had seen that some of the Zulus did not believe the king's dreams; and had therefore sent the lion to take a man from this land that he might corroborate them. The messenger who performed this part escaped the death which Chaka intended for him; he ever after remained in the kraal about the king's person, and wore the dress described to distinguish him from the rest of the people. He had also the appellation of prophet. A considerable time after, however, this individual, who so miraculously escaped from the lion, was carried off by a leopard, and was never heard of more.

The whole of this ceremony was nothing more than an imposition to elate the people with a spirit for war. It was designed by Chaka, and the individual who did the executive part was instructed in the character. It was by these means that the monster sought to appease the pangs of the people, inspire them with something like awe, and strike terror into them (by his seeming unearthly character and hidden power) that should check any disposition to revolt among them for his inhuman massacres.

Chaka was, doubtless, ever on the "qui-vive" for some invention or some scheme for amusing his people. In the summer time dancing was resorted to, and new songs were composed, as it was considered disgraceful to sing the songs of the previous year. On these occasions the regiments sing before the king; particularly at the harvest season, when those who excel receive the applause of the monarch, and not unfrequently get cattle, which affords the warriors

* "Pusa kakulu," i.e., drink copiously.

† Imihlobo.

‡ Ixitutu.

a subject for conversation and amusement until the harvest is all gleaned. They then immediately prepare for war. A winter scarcely ever came on without Chaka sending his warriors on some marauding expedition: every season brought upon the weak and tributary tribes visits of plunder; and his own peaceable people felt the usual scourge of the monster for some pretended offence to majesty, which no one had discovered, it being an invention of his own savage and brutal mind. He always discoursed of war, and talked of conquering his enemies three months before he prepared for the attack. Previously to the time fixed on for his troops moving he generally had a muster, when all who on any previous occasion had not done what was conceived to be their duty, or were suspected of being cowards, which were held to be synonymous offences, were selected and subjected to the customary punishment of impalement. In short, everything which ferocity and barbarity could devise was usually resorted to, for the purpose of inspiring his men with a spirit for war. He used also on these occasions to promise them that when they had made themselves masters of the earth on this side of the water, they should "booser" (enjoy themselves) with their women, and marry as many wives as they might think proper.

Thus the eve of going to war was always the period of brutal and inhuman murders, in which he seemed to indulge with as much savage delight as the tiger with his prey. When he once had determined on a savage display of his power, nothing could restrain his ferocity: his eyes evinced his pleasure, his iron heart exulted; his whole frame seemed as if it felt a joyous impulse at seeing the blood of innocent creatures flowing at his feet; his hands grasped, his muscular and herculean limbs exhibiting by their motion a desire to aid in the execution of the victims of his vengeance. In short, he seemed a being in human form, with more than the physical capabilities of a man: a giant without reason; a monster created with more than ordinary power and disposition for doing mischief; and from whom we recoil as we would from the serpent's hiss or the lion's growl.

It was an invariable rule of war with him never to give his troops more cattle or provisions than would barely suffice to support them till they arrived in the country of their enemy. They had strict injunctions to fight or die, to quarter on their enemy, and not to return but as victors, bringing with them the fruits of their triumph.

He was exceedingly wary, and took great precaution in concealing even from his generals or chiefs the power or tribe with whom he designed combating; not until the eve of marching did he make known to them the object of the expedition. By this he evinced some discretion, and precluded the possibility of his enemy being apprised of his intentions. In this particular, Chaka showed a judgment not common with the native chiefs, particularly his own.

When all was ready for entering on their march, he confided to one general his design, and to him he entrusted the command, should he not lead his army in person. He, however, confided only in one man on one occasion. On no occasion whatever did he repeat such confidence. He made it an invariable rule always to address his warriors on their departure, and his language was always studied to raise their expectations and to excite them in the hour of battle. He particularly explained in detail to them the road his spies had pointed out, inducing them to believe that they were going to attack any party but the one actually designed, and known only to the general-in-chief. This was judicious, because it kept his real object from being known, and at the same time prevented any treacherous communication to his enemy, who might get early intimation of his intended attack.

Chaka always kept up a system of espionage, by which he knew at all times the condition and strength of every tribe around him, both independent and tributary; and these persons were always directed to make such observation of the passes to and from the country to which they were sent, as might be useful in leading the troops to the scene of action with the surest chance of arriving at their position, without being discovered on the one hand or surprised on the other.

At the return of his warriors from an expedition, he was usually generous to them, it must be admitted; but that only occurred in the event of their having achieved a triumph over his enemies. In that case he liberally distributed the captured spoils among them as an encouragement for future exertion and enterprise; but to return without having accomplished what he had anticipated, was a signal for a scene of woe and lamentation—a massacre of no measured description.

After an expedition, his troops were permitted to retire to their kraals for a short period to recover from their fatigue, whence in a short time the chiefs were called to collect the people, and hear the details of those operations in which the warriors had been engaged;

at which time all who had evinced cowardice were selected, brought forth, received the fiat of their ferocious master, and were led off immediately to be impaled, as an atonement for their offence, and as an example to others who should feel disposed to pursue similar conduct. Such warriors who distinguished themselves in battle were honoured with a "nom de guerre," by which they were afterwards accosted.

The king also distinguished his regiments by giving them shields differently coloured. The great warriors had white shields, with one or two black spots. The young warriors had all black shields. The middle warriors, or those that have wives, form distinct regiments, and are called "Umfandas" * (inferiors), have red shields.

All the regiments form three armies, and have a portion of each of three distinctions in each army. The first army is called "Umbalabale",† or Invincibles, the second "Umboolalio",‡ or the Slaughterers, and the third "Toogoosoo,"|| or the Hideaways. The principal chief of each regiment is a member of the "Ebarnschlo,"§ or Senate, of their own army. The king at his pleasure calls on them, or any part of them, to give their opinion on state affairs. In such cases they are exceedingly cautious not to decide against the wish of the king, who always submits the matter for their consideration, first making known to them his own opinions. Should, however, they decide against his wish, he can call another "ebarnschlo,"¶ and if their determination accord with his views the latter then become his favourites, while the former will be necessitated to "schlowoola" ** (make peace-offerings) for offending the king.

He can call secret councils, and have any member killed, not excepting even the principal chief, if he fancies him opposed to his schemes. He is generally at variance with one-half of his chiefs, who are members of this military tribunal, and prevents their meeting by having his regiments in opposite directions and at positions some distance apart. Although meetings are not publicly prohibited, it is well known they create Chaka's wrath and sus-

* "Umfana," plural "Abafana," children.

† Imbalabale, i.e., having party-coloured shields.

‡ Ababulalayo.

|| Aba kwa dukusa, after Chaka's chief kraal, Dukusa. The meaning given by Isaacs is incorrect.

§ Ibandhla.

¶ Ibandhla, a meeting.

** Hlaua.

picion, and that they terminate with death to such as assemble without his knowledge. All meetings of this military council are held at the gateway of the king's kraal, or in the cattle-pound, which is their council-room, unless the king be present, when they meet in the palace.

Chaka had an extreme aversion to anything like commercial traffic, and forbade it among his people. To the Europeans he always expressed himself decidedly opposed to any intercourse having for its object the establishment of a mercantile connection with his subjects. His whole soul was engrossed by war, and he conceived that anything like commerce would enervate his subjects, and unfit them for their military duties.

His eagerness for elephant-hunting and to collect ivory from his tributary tribes arose, not for purposes of commerce, but that he might appropriate it, in presents, and occasionally exchange it for something ornamental which the Europeans might possess.

Chaka to his savage propensities added many extraordinary caprices and singular whims. He lay on his belly to eat, and compelled his chiefs to do the same, to show their dignity. They never took a meal without washing their hands. This custom, however, is confined to the king and his chiefs.

His servants always present him with anything he may require, on the palm of his hand, having their arm extended horizontally; but this is not permitted to any other person. He used to bathe every morning at the head of his kraal. First he anointed his body with bruised beef made up into a paste with ground corn, then rubbed it off again, and threw the water over himself. After indulging in bathing a short time, when dry, he a second time anointed himself with sheep-tail fat, or native butter. When we introduced soap, he thought it a wonderful discovery, and afterwards used it in preference to his own method of cleansing himself. We presented him with a razor, and showed him how to apply it; and no sooner had he become acquainted with the mode of using it, than he threw away his own instruments for shaving, used those we presented to him, and seemed greatly delighted with them.

Chaka, when we first held a conversation with him on the subject of the existence of a Supreme Being, at once evinced he had no idea of a Deity, and that his people were equally ignorant on this subject. On one occasion, as I have before related, when we communicated to him our opinions on the existence of God who made the world, and of a future state, and told him that by a knowledge

of letters all our confidence of being immortal beings had arisen, he expressed surprise, and wished much that the doctors or missionaries would come to him, and teach him to acquire this knowledge. But he had no idea of religion, no symbol by which anything like a knowledge of a Supreme Being could be conveyed. The grossest state of ignorance on this sublime subject pervaded him. But I have ever been impressed forcibly from the desire he manifested to have among his people missionaries, whom, he said, he would protect and reward, that he might have been brought to some sense of reason on this important point, so necessary for the promoting of civilization. I am proud to say of his successor that a ray of light has been seen in him. He is greatly advancing into that state of mental improvement, which only now requires the more enlightened aid of missionaries to ripen into perfection, when the unhappy people over whom the inhuman Chaka ruled with brutal and savage sway may be enabled to enjoy those comforts which a country so congenial, and so abounding with the gifts of Nature, is capable of producing.

Chaka, take him altogether, was a savage in the truest sense of the word, though not a cannibal. He had an insatiable thirst for the blood of his subjects, and indulged in it with inhuman joy. Nothing within the power of man could restrain him from his propensities. He was a monster, a compound of vice and ferocity, without one virtue to redeem his name from that infamy to which history will consign it. I must, however, by way of conclusion, state that if Chaka ever had one redeeming quality, it was this, that the European strangers at Natal received his protection, and were shielded by him against the impositions of his chiefs.

1825.] EXTRACTS FROM LIEUTENANT KING'S DIARY.

[QUOTED FROM P. 57.]

I accompanied Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, and several seamen, with about forty natives, on a journey to King Chaka, of the Zulu nation. On the eighth day, after having travelled about 135 miles through a most picturesque country, and crossed several rivers. *

* * At about eight at night we arrived at the entrance of his kraal, and were soon admitted. Afterwards we were taken to his private residence, and gave the customary salute of the nation,

which, not being answered, was repeated. A domestic now informed us that the king was holding an "endaba," or council of war, with his warriors. We then proceeded in order, and soon discovered his majesty and his court surrounded by large fires. We stood for a few minutes, while the chief who accompanied us addressed the king relative to our mission. After this we were desired to advance, presented our presents, and seated ourselves on the ground about six paces from him. During this interview, his discourse was principally on war, owing to his enemies being at hand. However, he soon permitted us to retire to the huts which had been prepared for us, and retired to his private kraal; we then received a message requesting us to wait upon him there. Here our reception was very different from the former. He now cast off his stern look, became good-humoured, and conversed with us through our interpreters on various subjects. * * *

In the evening (of the following day) at the request of the king we joined in their amusements, and could not ourselves avoid singing. We commenced with "God save the King." On our explaining its literal meaning, Chaka was greatly pleased; in fact, there was nothing but good humour to be observed in the countenances of everyone present. The party broke up at a late hour; and, as is usual, in the morning we paid the king an early visit. We now expressed a wish to see him in his war-dress. He immediately retired, and in a short time returned attired. His dress consists of monkey-skins, in three folds from the waist to the knee, from which two white cows' tails are suspended, as well as from each arm; round his head is a neat band of fur stuffed, in front of which is placed a tall feather, and on each side a variegated plume. He advanced with his shield, an oval about four feet in length, and an umkonto, or spear, when his warriors commenced a war song, and he began his manœuvres. Chaka is about 38 years of age, upwards of six feet in height, and well proportioned; he is allowed to be the best pedestrian in the country; and, in fact, during his wonderful exercises on this day he exhibited the most astonishing activity. On this occasion he displayed a part of the handsomest beads of our present.

While sitting in our hut at a late hour, we were aroused by the shrieks of thousands of human voices. We naturally concluded it was the enemy advancing, being aware they expected them hourly; the real cause, however, was soon ascertained, which was the death of the king's grandmother, supposed to be between ninety and a

hundred years of age. The kraal in which she resided was about a mile distant. Men, women, and children having cried bitterly for several hours, there ensued a profound silence; after which thousands at the same moment commenced a most doleful song, which lasted a night, and the greater part of the following day. It is said that this is the only instance ever known of the king having grieved. To give his majesty an opportunity of seeing our respect for the deceased, we repaired to the kraal where the corpse lay, but in consequence of the excessive heat of the day, and it being surrounded by so many thousand people, with scarcely a breath of air blowing, we were obliged to retire to a more wholesome spot.

EXTRACTS FROM "ISAACS' EASTERN AFRICA," DECEMBER, 1825.

The circumference of the imperial kraal, I should think, would exceed three miles, and it includes within its space about 1,400 huts. The king's palace, which is situated at the head of the kraal, on an eminence, comprises about 100 huts, in which none but girls live, as men are not allowed to enter the palace.

* * *

Three boys came with water, carrying it over their heads, with their arms extended, which I observed was the usual way they bore everything to the king. One held a broad black dish before him, while another poured in water for his majesty to wash, and a third stood ready with a further supply in case of need, holding it in the position before described, without daring to put it down. Chaka, whilst bathing from head to foot, conversed with his people near him. After this was concluded, another attendant came, bearing a basket, which he presented to the king at arm's length. His majesty took from it a sort of red-coloured paste, with which he ornamented, or rather besmeared his body, but kept rubbing until the whole had disappeared. After this another attendant came with some greasy substance, which the king likewise applied to his body, over which he rubbed it, and this gave him a fine glossy appearance.

At this period a body of natives arrived, about three hundred in number, every one saluting as he went on: "Biet tu Barber,"* whilst some would say also, "Whenna cong caswa,"† or, "You, who are as large as the world."

* Correctly, "Bayete! Baba!"—Hail! Father!

† Correctly, "Wena conganga 'zwe."

On a sudden a profound silence ensued, when his majesty uttered one or two words, at which some of the warriors immediately arose and seized three of the people, one of whom sat near me. The poor fellows made no resistance, but were calm and resigned, waiting their fate with apparently stoical indifference. The sanguinary chief was silent, but, from some sign he gave the executioners, they took the criminals, laying one hand on the crown and the other on the chin, and by a sudden wrench appeared to dislocate the head. The victims were then dragged away, and beaten as they proceeded to the bush, about a mile from the kraal, where a stick was inhumanly forced up the fundament of each, and they were left as food for the wild beasts of the forest and those carnivorous birds that hover near the habitations of the natives.

After this savage execution of the criminals, the cause of which I could not discover, Chaka, having given orders that his warriors should disperse, retired to his palace.

* * * *

Some years before they had been informed that the natives had dug from the bowels of the earth a mineral which, when melted in their crucibles, turned to a beautiful glossy white, and was worked by them into arm-bangles. Before this, they had been accustomed to have them made of iron, with which the country abounds. The chiefs abandoned the black metal, and, as badges of distinction between them and their dependents, the former wore the white bangles, and the latter were consequently obliged to wear the black ones.

At this period a number of the chiefs died. The "inyangers," "angus,"* wisemen or soothsayers, were ordered to assemble, and immediately to discover the cause of their death. Several people were suspected of having administered poison to them, and were all killed without discrimination or without proof of guilt. The prevailing malady by which the chiefs had been carried off still continuing, and innumerable natives having been destroyed under the impression of being the cause of their death, or being, according to their designation, "Umtugartie,"† that is, "evil-disposed persons," they decided that the white metal worn by the chiefs was the cause of the death of that class of persons, which put an end to further executions of the innocent. The individuals, however, who had dis-

* Isinyanga (doctors).

† Correctly, "Abatakati."

covered the metal, and those who had fabricated it into bangles, were condemned and executed. The bangles were also commanded to be returned to the earth whence they had been taken, and orders were issued that in future no white metal should be dug up without subjecting the offender to capital punishment.

* * *

We were now about three miles from Gibbeduck,* where we stopped to bathe and refresh again. While we were here, a great number of natives passed to and from the king's residence. Most of them were crying piteously, but not one of them would notice our importunities to know the cause of their grief. We began to be apprehensive; but on meeting with an elderly man, who stopped to converse with us, he informed us that the sorrow of the people was occasioned by the death of an old chieftain who had been a great favourite among them.

Apprehending previously that the enemy advancing near might have caused all this sorrow and bustle, but finding it was not so, our fears subsided, and proceeding, we soon arrived at the gate of the kraal. Here we were for some time detained by the crowd of people, who were lamenting with hideous cries and gestures, and whose wild looks greatly discomposed us. We observed a number of people dragged away and instantly executed, for, as we were told, not shedding tears in the imperial presence on such an occasion. Poor wretches were immolated who, perhaps, inwardly felt—what they could not outwardly manifest—the want of a tear. That tear, which they could never shed, doomed them to feel the inhuman monster's wrath, and to be sanguinarily butchered to appease his savage rage.

It is a barbarous custom among the savage tribes superstitiously to contend that their chiefs cannot die naturally; that they are destined to live until they fall in battle; and that death, proceeding from age or disease, is occasioned by the power of the Umtugarties. This sanguinary superstition is carried to the fullest extent by Chaka, who, on such an occasion as the death of a chief, endeavours to find out those held to possess the charm and supposed to manifest it by not being able to shed a tear. Then follow a number of most inhuman massacres, and we had a lamentable proof that these were not confined to a few. * * * That the king

* Elsewhere written by Mr. Isaacs, "Gibbedlack." Correctly, "Gibixegu," one of Chaka's residences

himself does not feel any loss in the death of a chief, and that he never grieves, were pretty evident to us. The present is merely a usage or barbarous custom, instituted to enforce sorrow on the people for the death of a principal native, and cause them to use every means to protect him and preserve his life, or prevent their having recourse to charms to destroy him. This custom is prevalent among the tribes on the Gold Coast, who practise Obeah, which finally brings the individual on whom it is practised to a lingering end. The hideous yelling of the natives continued until a late hour, and we were not without some apprehension of being molested. Several of the people were knocked down in our presence and killed; all the huts were searched, and those found within were forced out to share the fate of those who had been previously killed for not weeping. Our lives were alone held sacred amidst this scene of sanguinary executions, for it appears that a general feeling pervaded the natives, even in the moment of terror and unrestrained massacre, of our being the king's white people, and that our presence was a most favourable omen.

* * * *

This morning, 12th April, three regiments of boys arrived to be reviewed. There appeared to be nearly 6,000, all having black shields. The respective corps were distinguished by the shape and ornament of their caps. One regiment had them in the shape of Malay hats, with a peak on the crown about six inches high, and a bunch of feathers at the top. Another wore a turban made of otter-skin, having a crane's feather on each side; and a third wore small bunches of feathers over the whole head, made fast by means of small ties. Thus accoutred and distinguished they entered the gate, ran up the kraal, halted in front of the palace, and saluted the king. One boy stepped in front and made a long harangue. When the boy had concluded, the whole of his comrades first shouted, and then commenced running over the kraal, trying to excel each other in feats of agility and gesture, regardless of order, regularity, or discipline. After this exhibition, which lasted three hours, a regiment of men arrived, with white shields, having on them one or two black spots in the centre. They saluted Chaka, then retired to put away their shields, and assembled again in one body to dance. They formed half a circle, the men in the centre, and the boys at the two extremities. The king placed himself in the middle of the space within the circle; and about 1,500 girls stood opposite to the men, three deep, in a straight line, and with great regularity. His

majesty then commenced dancing, the warriors followed, and the girls kept time by singing, clapping their hands, and raising their bodies on their toes. The strange attitudes of the men exceeded anything I had seen before. The king was remarkable for his unequalled activity, and the surprising muscular powers he exhibited. He was decorated with a profusion of green and yellow glass beads. The girls had their share of ornaments; in addition, too, they had, each of them, four brass bangles round their necks, which kept them in an erect posture, and rendered them as immovable as the neck of a statue.

This ceremony was performed with considerable regularity from the king giving, as it were, the time for every motion. Wherever he cast his eye, there was the greatest effort made, and nothing could exceed the exertion of the whole until sunset, when Chaka, accompanied by his girls, retired within the palace, and the warriors to their respective huts. Many, however, first went to the river and performed their evening ablutions.

* * * *

November 11th.—His majesty rose early this morning, and collected his warriors belonging to Umboolalio, formerly Gibbeclack. He told his people that he was going to select a spot on which to erect a kraal, but he had no such design; he sought only to carry into effect one of his usual inhuman executions or horrible butcheries. I suspected his design, and sought to learn his purpose, because, having before witnessed similar proceedings, I could distinctly perceive by his manœuvres, and judge from the arrangements, that he no more contemplated seeking a site for a building than he thought of being merciful to an unfortunately offending native. The poor wretches who were to be sacrificed that day being selected, were sent under the pretext of viewing the parts adjacent, and to report a congenial spot for building. Chaka then sat down, and, desiring his people with great earnestness and precaution to be secret, stated that he had had a dream which greatly concerned him. He dreamed that a number of his boys had had criminal intercourse with his girls in his palace, and that while he was teaching them songs last night, many of them were debauching his women, and had thus polluted his imperial establishment. This offence he declared himself determined to punish with rigour. His people applauded his resolution, and said, "Father! kill them, for they are not fit to live." The revengeful and unappeasable Chaka, seeing his subjects partake of his feelings, and hearing them say that he should execute

summary punishment on the supposed violators of the purity of the imperial seraglio, said that the spirit of an old and favourite chief, Umbeah, had visited him several times, and warned him against the designs of his people, who, when he called them out on public purposes, took advantage of his temporary absence to pollute his females. That this had been done last night he protested he had every proof, confirmed by the communications of the spirit of his forefathers. That it was so now he had no doubt, for many of his people yet remained in the kraal who ought to be present at the conference, but were indulging in amours with the girls of the palace. "Look," said he, "at the Maloonga (meaning me), you see he is a man; he knows it is improper to stop at home in my absence." The people reluctantly acquiesced in all he said, fearing the awful consequences that might befall the girls, not that they esteemed them, but because they were property. Meanwhile two or three of the men got up and went towards the kraal—not, it was thought, with any criminal design, but for the purposes of nature, when they were immediately killed.

The king now arose, and the people followed him, keeping about twenty yards in his rear, and every time he stopped they kept bending to the ground, agreeably to their custom. "Now let me see," said he, "if there be a man among you; how are we to secure the people in the kraal?" Some said by surrounding it. "Well," said he, "how will you manage it? will they not see you, and many of the guilty escape?" Here the people appeared at a loss, or were most probably willing that those in the kraal should escape. Chaka therefore conceived that the best plan would be, when his followers approached the kraal, for a few of them to run on each side, and the remainder shortly to follow them; and then, while those within stood unsuspectingly looking on, for all to unite again suddenly and surround the whole kraal.

* * *

When all the poor unoffending creatures were collected in the cattle kraal, many of them being sick, their number amounted to a hundred and seventy girls and boys, a great many of whom were his servants, and girls from his seraglio. Nothing could equal the horror and consternation which pervaded these poor miserable and devoted wretches, who, surrounded and without hope of escape, knew they were collected to sate some revengeful feeling of their tyrant, but were nevertheless ignorant of the cause, for they felt that they were innocent.

* * *

Everything being ready for the bloody scene, to complete this unexampled sanguinary massacre

of unoffending beings, he called his warriors, who had surrounded the kraal, and told them that his heart was sore, and that he had been beating his mother, Umnande, because she had not taken proper care of his girls.

He then ordered the victims intended for destruction to be brought to him, and those whom he selected his executioners immediately despatched. He began by taking out several fine lads and ordering their own brothers to twist their necks; their bodies were afterwards dragged away, and beaten with sticks until life was extinct. After this refined act of monstrous cruelty, the remainder of the victims in the kraal were indiscriminately butchered.

FROM LIEUTENANT FAREWELL TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD CHARLES
SOMERSET, GOVERNOR, &c.

MY LORD,—In consequence of your Lordship's kind wishes for the success of my present undertaking, I beg leave to intrude on your Lordship a sketch of my proceedings since arriving at Port Natal, shortly after which, in furtherance of my object already stated to your Lordship, I communicated with Chaka, the King of the Zulus, to whom belongs the whole of the country from Natal to De la Goa Bay, extending inland, according to their accounts, some hundred miles. After some difficulty I obtained permission to visit him, and proceeded with a small party about one hundred and fifty miles N.N.E. from Port Natal to his residence, and had the pleasure of being the first European ever there.

The king received us, surrounded by a large number of his chiefs and about eight or nine thousand armed men, observing a state and ceremony on our introduction that we little expected, and his subjects appeared to treat him with such submission and respect as to rank him far above any chiefs I believe at present known, in South Africa, whilst the nation he governs—in manners, customs, and mode of ornamenting themselves—are so different from any hitherto known, as at once to astonish and please us.

I had the opportunity of holding frequent conferences with the king, who seemed particularly pleased at hearing my intention in coming to Natal was that of remaining there, making me a sale and grant of part of his country in that neighbourhood (copy of which I beg to forward to your Lordship through my agent, Mr. Jno. Robt. Thomson), at the same time giving us a large supply of cattle for

our support; he likewise expressed a wish of sending two of his chiefs to the Cape for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation, which I have to request your Lordship's permission for doing. We had an opportunity of further gaining his friendship by curing him of a dangerous wound he received since we have been here, and I trust I shall, from frequent communications and a studious desire to avoid giving offence, increase his confidence and trust in us.

The territory he has made over is nearly depopulated, not containing more than three or four hundred inhabitants, who appear much pleased at the manner of its disposal, of which they have been informed by Chaka. The climate seems perfectly healthy, with a good soil for any purposes, and well wooded and watered, four rivers of magnitude running through it, besides several smaller streams.

Chaka's country appears very thinly peopled. I fancy he assembled all his disposable force on the occasion of our visit, and probably fifty thousand souls, fourteen of which might be fighting men on a push, form the whole population of the large territory he is possessed of. The portion granted me affords every prospect of being a most desirable one for settlers, a few families of which could protect themselves, if necessary, and support could be derived for any number, the rivers abounding in fish, and cattle can be had at a very low price. I therefore beg leave to suggest to your Lordship that many of that class at the Cape (particularly agriculturists), who, it appears, have been living in great distress, would here find a comfortable asylum and the means of benefiting themselves as well as the English nation, by forming a colony on a spot so well adapted for civilizing and establishing a commerce with the interior of South Africa, which, amongst other benefits to be expected, will eventually occasion a large mart for British staple manufactures, and possesses a port (the only one on the coast), where vessels drawing nine feet water can at all times enter and be as safe as in a wet dock, whilst those of a greater draft would be protected from a westerly wind by a point that projects out some distance, forming a bay, which affords good anchorage outside the Bar. The distance from the Cowie is so short that a vessel, after discharging her cargo there, could land passengers at Natal at a trifling expense.

I took possession of the country, made over according to the tenor of the document forwarded to your Lordship, on the 27th of August, and hoisted the English colours and fired a salute in pre-

sence of several of Chaka's chiefs, which proceedings, I trust, will meet with your Lordship's approbation and sanction, as well as that of the English Government.

Your Lordship is already informed that commercial pursuits and a wish to obtain a knowledge of this country was my object in coming here, and the benefit to be derived from my present grant of land, with the power of preserving some branches of the trade in my own hands, I took to as the means of reimbursing the great expense I have been at.

I trust your Lordship will see the propriety of my being vested with some authority over persons residing here, as without it it will be impossible to prevent irregularities amongst themselves as well as the natives, which could not fail but be attended with fatal consequences.

I have the honour of holding the commission of Lieutenant in His Majesty's Navy, in which I received several wounds, and at a very early age was entrusted by Sir Wm. Hoste with charge of the Island of Lipa, at that time a place of importance in the Adriatic, and I trust it will be found I shall not make an improper use of any power entrusted to me. Could your Lordship forward my views in this respect I shall ever feel grateful, and beg to

Remain, &c.,

(Signed) F. G. FAREWELL.

Port Natal, Sept. 6, 1824.

GRANT.

I, INGUOS CHAKA, King of the Zulus and of the Country of Natal, as well as the whole of the land from Natal to Delagoa Bay, which I have inherited from my father, for myself and heirs, do hereby, on the seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and twenty-four, in the presence of my Chiefs, and of my own free will, and in consideration of divers goods received,—grant, make over, and sell unto F. G. Farewell and Company, the entire and full possession in perpetuity to themselves, heirs, and executors, of the Port or Harbour of Natal, known by the native name "Bubolongo," together with the Islands therein and surrounding country, as herein described, viz.: The whole of the neck of land or peninsula in the south-west entrance, and all the country ten miles to the southern side of Port Natal, as pointed out,

and extending along the sea coast to the northward and eastward as far as the river known by the native name "Gumgelote," and now called "Farewell's River," being about twenty-five miles of sea coast to the north-east of Port Natal, together with all the country inland as far as the nation called by the Zulus "Gowagnewkos," extending about one hundred miles backward from the sea shore, with all rights to the rivers, woods, mines, and articles of all denominations contained therein, the said land and appurtenances to be from this date for the sole use of said Farewell and Company, their heirs and executors, and to be by them disposed of in any manner they think best calculated for their interests, free from any molestation or hindrance from myself or subjects. In witness whereof, I have placed my hand, being fully aware that the so doing is intended to bind me to all the articles and conditions that I, of my own free will and consent, do hereby, in the presence of the undermentioned witnesses, acknowledge to have fully consented and agreed to on behalf of F. G. Farewell as aforesaid, and perfectly understand all the purport of this document, the same having been carefully explained to me by my interpreter, Clambamaruze, and in the presence of two interpreters, Coliat and Frederick, before the said F. G. Farewell, whom I hereby acknowledge as the Chief of the said country, with full power and authority over such natives that like to remain there after this public grant, promising to supply him with cattle and corn, when required, sufficient for his consumption, as a reward for his kind attention to me in my illness from a wound.

CHAKA, his + mark,
King of the Zulus.

Native Witnesses :

UMBEQUARU (Chaka's Uncle), his + mark.

UMSEGA, his + mark.

CUNTLOPE, his + mark.

CLAMBAMARUZE (King's Interpreter), his + mark.

We, the undersigned, were present when the aforesaid King Chaka made the above grant or sale of land to F. G. Farewell, which was done of his own free will and consent, in presence of a number of his Chiefs and people, when he appeared fully to comprehend the purport of the said document and the reason of his being required to place his mark or signature thereto by means of his own interpreter, Clambamaruze, a native of the country, who speaks good Dutch as

well as English, and two other interpreters who understand both languages. The conversation was carried on in our presence, and the above marks and signatures of the King and Chiefs affixed. In witness whereof, we hereunto affix our hands and seals, as well as to our full belief and knowledge that the aforementioned Chaka has full power to make the said grant, being acknowledged by all the country which we have passed from Natal as their true and lawful King, and possessed of the land hereby granted, and in consideration of which Mr. F. G. Farewell has to our knowledge given sundry goods, consisting of beads, brass, cloth, &c.

Interpreters:

(Signed) COLIAT FIVE, his + mark.

FREDERICK DASTER, his + mark.

(Signed) W. H. DAVIS, Master, Sloop "Julia."

H. F. FYNN, Supercargo.

CARL AEGUST ZINKE.

HENRY OGLE.

JOSEPH POWELL, his + mark.

Chaka's Kraal, August 8, 1824.

We, the undersigned, Interpreters, hereby declare that we have fully explained the true intent and meaning of the annexed document to Inguos Chaka, King of the Zulus, and that he clearly understood the reason of his being required to sign it, and of his own free will and consent granted and sold the said land to Mr. F. G. Farewell, as stated, in the manner described and mentioned therein.

(Signed) CLAMBAMARUZE, his + mark.

COLIAT FIVE, his + mark.

FREDERICK DASTER, his + mark.

Witnesses:

(Signed) W. H. DAVIS.

H. F. FYNN.

FROM SIR LOWRY COLE, GOVERNOR, TO R. W. HAY, Esq.

Cape of Good Hope,

January 11th, 1831.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose copies and extracts of letters addressed to Colonel Bell by the Civil Commissioner for Albany and

Somerset, containing particulars of information which he has received from several individuals who have been lately trading with the inhabitants of Port Natal and the surrounding country, and which appear to me deserving of consideration.

I am not disposed to give much credence to reports of this nature: but from the opinion which Captain Campbell (in whose judgment I have much confidence) has given of the two individuals—Collis and Biddulph, with whom he is well acquainted—I am disposed to place more reliance on their statement than I have hitherto given of reports received of Port Natal; and I should wish (with the sanction of the Secretary of State) to send some person in whose judgment I can place full confidence, and one who can have no interested motive for deceiving the Government, to ascertain the real wishes of Dingaan, the Zulu Chief, as well as the nature and capabilities of his country.

With reference to the information received from Cane of the arrival of an American schooner at Natal, and the possibility of the United States forming a settlement at that place, it is hardly necessary to remark how embarrassing such neighbours might eventually prove to this colony.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. LOWRY COLE.

R. W. HAY, Esq., Colonial Office,
Downing-street.

FROM THE CIVIL COMMISSIONER OF ALBANY AND SOMERSET TO THE
HON. LIEUT.-COL. JOHN BELL, SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

Civil Commissioner's Office, Grahamstown,
26th November, 1830.

SIR,—I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, with the arrival, on the 21st inst., of John Cane from Natal, bringing four elephant's teeth as a present from the Zulu Chief Dingaan to the Colonial Government, and for which he expects a present in return.

John Cane states that he is deputed by Dingaan to make known to His Excellency the Governor that that chief is disposed to live in peace and amity with the neighbouring nations; that he wishes to encourage a traffic between his people and the colony, with which

view he will cause all traders who may enter his country to be protected; and that he is especially desirous a missionary should be sent to Natal for the instruction of his subjects.

John Cane is accompanied by seven persons of the Zulu tribe, and an English youth, named Thomas Halstead, who has been for some years at Natal, for all of whom I directed rations to be issued, until the pleasure of His Excellency should be known on this head. Cane has this day stated to me his desire of returning immediately to Natal, as the rainy season is about to commence; and if he should delay his journey he will be unable to proceed thence for several months. He proposes to dispose of the ivory, and to procure with the proceeds thereof a sufficient present for the chief, as well as provision for his journey, by which he will be enabled to set out in the course of a few days. I have deemed it expedient to acquiesce in his proposal; not only from the nature of the arguments he urged, but also as I could not see any benefit likely to result by prolonging his stay, which I trust will be approved of by His Excellency the Governor.

I have learned from John Cane that an American schooner named "St. Michael," 150 tons burthen, entered Port Natal, where she remained five or six weeks, and landed a quantity of muskets, cutlasses, gunpowder, and salt, which have been left under charge of one of the crew named Nathaniel Isaaks, a native of St. Helena, who was formerly at Natal, in the service of the late Mr. King, and who probably brought the American schooner into the port. This person is stated to be instructing the natives in the use of firearms, and the master of the vessel intimated his intention of proceeding direct to the United States for the purpose of bringing out men and supplies with the design of forming a settlement at Natal.

I have also received from Cane the extraordinary information that Mr. Griffiths, the master of the "Frances," who sailed from Port Frances some years back, and was supposed to have been lost, is at Sofala,—a Portuguese settlement opposite Mozambique. I shall send some further details on this subject next week; and in the meantime I beg to state that I have not the slightest doubt on my mind of the accuracy of this information.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) D. CAMPBELL,

Civil Commissioner for Albany and Somerset.

FROM THE "MISSIONARY HERALD."—[AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.]

MISSION TO SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

January, 1835.—(Vol. 31, p. 5.)

The Commission have made arrangements for commencing a Mission among the Zulus of South-Eastern Africa, and for commencing simultaneously in the two separate communities into which that people is at present divided. The part which is destined for the maritime community, situated between Port Natal and De la Goa Bay, will probably be landed at Port Natal. The other, destined for the interior, must go by the way of Cape Town. The Zulus all speak the same language, and till recently were under the same head.

Rev. Daniel Lindley, Missionary; Rev. Alex. E. Wilson, Missionary and Physician; Rev. Hy. L. Venable, Missionary (with their wives), who are to occupy one of the posts named above.

And the Rev. Alden Grout, Missionary; Rev. G. Champion, Missionary; and Doctor Newton Adams, Physician (with their wives), who are to occupy the other.

Embarked at Boston, Dec. 3, 1834.

MARITIME MISSION AMONG THE ZOOLAHS.

(Vol. 33, p. 5.)

Alden Grout and George Champion, Missionaries; Newton Adams, M.D., Physician; Mrs. Champion and Mrs. Adams.

* * * * *

In December (1835), having an opportunity to go to Port Natal in the "Dove," a vessel which plies between Algoa Bay and that port, Messrs. Grout, Champion, and Adams determined on a visit to the country of Dingaan. * * * They reached Port Natal on the 20th, after a tedious struggle with currents and headwinds, and remained in the country till 5th February. Their arrival was at the close of the rainy season; and the month of January, which they spent in travelling, is esteemed the hottest in the year. The country appears to be blessed with a salubrious climate. A

fortnight brought them to Dingaan, who gave them a hospitable reception, and treated them with much attention and respect. The chief consented to their coming into his country; but being influenced by that jealousy and apprehension of white men which, with too much reason, is prevalent in South Africa, he proposed that at first they should build their house and make their home at Port Natal, until he had time to see the effect of a school they were at liberty to open at his place of residence.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF MR. CHAMPION.

(Vol. 33, p. 116.)

Dec. 20, 1835.—By the good hand of our God upon us, we are at length quietly anchored in the roads of Natal. We sailed on 7th inst. from Algoa Bay in the brig "Dove," of London, W. I. Haddon, master.

Dec. 22.—To-day we have been introduced to the land and country which we hope it will please God to make the scene of our future labours.

Dec. 25.—Have had to-day a good view of the majority of the people of Natal. The whites assembled to witness, and the blacks to perform a dance, at the slaughter of two oxen by our friend. *
* * * Troops of Zulus, with assagai or kerie (a club with a knob at the end), smeared with fat and some of them artistically decorated with beads, were hastening onwards towards the dancing place. * * Arrived at the place, many were sitting without the scenes * * in groups here and there, arranging their heads, and preparing for the merriment. The first part of the dance began with an assault on the whites, spear and shield in hand, as if to destroy us all. A good-hearted sailor took up a stick, and was about to give battle, supposing them in earnest. The dance consisted of stamping on the ground, with various motions of their hands and spears, but with very little grace of movement or position. They were quite precise in keeping time, but were scattered here and there, without much order or regularity. It was accompanied by a jargon of sounds, now the repetition of a word or sentence, and then by a violent clapping of hands. Each one was decked out with his best beads strung across

the forehead, breast, neck, and hips. Around the loins the women wear a small skin kaross, while with the men the bits of leather, goatskin, monkey's tails, as the case may be, hang in abundance behind, but before are not sufficient for what Nature herself might teach them. Feathers of different colours were tastefully arranged in the ring upon the heads of the men. Probably five hundred natives were present. The scene wound up by the murder of the two oxen. And then, what hacking, and scrambling, and debate, each for his piece of meat. The whole ox—skin, flesh, blood, and entrails—fell a prey to their hungry appetites. They then came in a body to present a loud huzza and thanks to their benefactor, and returned home to eat their meat in silence.

Dec. 27.—This morning our walk led us to a spot selected as the site of a town to be called "D'Urban," in honour of His Excellency the Governor of the Colony. We enquired of a native for the spot, and he, from mere good-will, came to show us. We followed a path which led us through grass much above our heads, and into a thick wood at the side of a hill, not far distant from the west extreme of the bay. One peculiar kind of tree we noticed. Its trunk seemed composed of the trunks and roots of small trees. Here and there roots were dangling, as if expecting soon to reach the ground. The trunk was eighteen feet in circumference, and under its wide shade a thousand might stand. The leaf is of a deep green, and oval-shaped. On making an incision a milky substance exudes from the bark. Flowers were abundant. A creeper, the "morning glory," perhaps, in many places threw its vines and flowers over the bushes in such order that they seemed trained by hands. Some large acacias were around us. Ants' nests as large as a hat-crown we observed on the branches of trees, very high from the ground. Thus interested, we wandered from our path, and had well-nigh lost ourselves, but our Zulu found us and set us right.

Only a small space is yet cleared in the bush for the streets of the proposed village.

Returning, we noticed an elephant's track, recently made; but the animals do not show themselves very often now about Natal.

* * * *

Dec. 28.—Went to see the mission church of Capt. Gardiner.
* * * The only modes of travelling here are by bullocks or on foot. It is remarkable that, out of thirty or forty horses lately possessed by the people, only two have escaped a sickness which has prevailed. Our path led us into a large field of corn—a sure sign

of habitations near. The corn is not planted in hills, but sown on the ground among the grass and sod, before it is dug over with their hoes. The Kafir hoe is rather like a pick, and with it only the top of the ground is loosened; yet with this sort of cultivation large crops of "millice" (the name for the Indian corn) in favourable seasons are gathered. We came at length to a dense jungle, with tall trees interspersed. The kraal was surrounded by an "abattis" of brush for the sake of defence. For this reason all the villages in Natal are in the bush. Through one gate we followed the fence a short distance, and another gate led us upon the huts. They were eight or ten, quite large, and arranged around the pen or "kraal" for the cattle. The huts were superior to any we had seen. We left, and followed a path in the wood, in some places completely arched over by the climbing plants and limbs of trees, forming a most refreshing walk in the warm day. A boy followed voluntarily to show us the path. He pointed very significantly to the high hill before us, put us in the right path, and left us. We were half-an-hour in following the winding path through the fields of corn in all its stages, some just sown, and some bearing fruit, when we reached the spot selected by Capt. Gardiner for a station, and called by him, in reference to his repulse by Dingaan and reception at Natal, "Berea."

* * * *

APPROACH TO DINGAAN'S CAPITAL.—DESCRIPTION OF DINGAAN.

(Page 177.)

Jan. 14, 1836.—This evening our messenger arrived from the king. * * * He told the king that we were three men, all equal; * * * that we were teachers from a country three moons over the great sea. The king asked what was in our wagon, and sent him to bring us on our way. Our messenger and guide are evidently superior men, and respect is shown us on their account. In these we see some evidences of a sort of superstition: one will eat no bread because baked on the coals; no milk because he is away from home; and nothing that is cooked with hog's fat, because he is one of the king's men. * *

Jan. 18.—At Gungunhlovu, Dingaan's capital, we arrived on Saturday, the 16th. * * * From the rising ground on which we were we could overlook the extensive valley in which the king resides. But its perfectly dry and parched appearance did not correspond with our ideas of the wisdom of so great a king in selecting

this for his place of abode. But doubtless it is his policy for leading those who are with him to think of nothing but war. With the exception of our being greatly importuned at a large kraal by the king's sisters, as they styled themselves (several lusty women heavily laden with brass and beads, who paraded themselves before our wagon, and hindered our proceeding until they had obtained something), nothing special occurred until we reached the lower part of the town. Here we outspanned at some sacred trees covering the grave of the king's grandfather, and sent our messenger to inform the chief of our arrival. He was busy distributing blankets to his men, and the air was constantly filled with his praises, so that we did not see him, as we very much wished, on that day. However, he sent us a calabash containing, perhaps, a gallon of sour milk, one or two of sweet milk, and a quantity of flour made from the seed of a plant called "poko"—rations which were continued daily during our stay. The calabash was a curious piece of workmanship, cut out with an assagai from a single block, perfectly round, with two rims or handles passing around it at top and bottom. The milk possessed a richness of cream beyond anything we had tasted. The poko meal, when boiled with milk, is a very pleasant dish. The plant is about the size and shape of buckwheat, and bears on its head thousands of seeds, which are ground into very fine meal by the women, with their rude mill-stones.

The youth began to crowd around us, but were kept at a distance by the captains, here a numerous body of brass-collared men, it being unlawful for any to have intercourse with strangers till they have first seen the king.

Gungunhlovu is situate on a slightly descending ground, by the side of a rocky streamlet, a branch of the great "Umvolosi," and to the eye of an African traveller presents a very grand appearance. The place is in shape an oval, and the outward fence, made of straight bushes crossing one another in the shape of an X, must surround quite a number of acres. The houses are large and admirably constructed, in some places six or eight deep, on the inside of this fence and around the inclosed oval space. According to another's account there are a thousand huts in the whole village. Inside of the huts a certain place is devoted to cattle-kraals. These are also oval in shape, and occupy much ground; but still a large green is left in the centre, for the parading of troops, dances, &c. In the circle of houses, at different distances, stand houses erected on a basement level with the tops of others, for the sake of preserving

the shields from ants and other insects. These shields are all the king's property, and are delivered to each soldier on going out to war. The king's houses are larger and more perfect than any of the others, stand on an eminence, and overlook the whole town. These are separate from the rest and form quite a village. We were struck with the beauty and regularity of this, the chief's residence, as we came in full view of it from a neighbouring hill, and were glad to have reached the abode of him to whom our wishes and prayers, for at least twenty-four months, had had regard. * * *

17th.—Sunday. * * * The king sent for us early; of course our present must go with us as an introduction. Providence had highly favoured us, in that we had been able to secure the services of the only white man in the country who can speak Dingaan's language well, and with whom the chief is well acquainted. Of course we were informed of all the minutiae of introduction and formality, on which often so much depends. Dingaan was sitting just outside of his cattle-kraal, in a large old-fashioned arm-chair, just brought him by Mr. N. He wore a cloak of red plush with two rows of buttons extending from head to foot in front. A strip of the same was tied round his forehead. This is the place where he sits every morning for the purpose of attending to business. Some fifty or eighty men were sitting in a semicircle on either side of him on the ground. During some minutes after we had approached near him all was silence. At length the chief sent his compliments to us, and wished to converse. He examined minutely the articles brought: the razor, the umbrella, the pictures, and the lock of a tin trunk given him. A few beads also, a knife, a tea-canister, and some handkerchiefs were among them. He appeared much pleased, and said he should like to see our wagon. This he inspected narrowly. He found a piece of green baize which he fancied, and we gave it him. We mentioned to him that it was the Sabbath, and that we rested from all secular business. He seemed satisfied, and excused us till to-morrow. In the afternoon he sent a goat for slaughter, and through his means probably the people were kept away from our wagon, so that our day of rest has not been so much interrupted as we feared. A shower of rain also gave us a season of quiet. * * * We had brought with us a small turning-lathe, supposing that it would give the chief a better idea of some things than any explanation of ours. Some rosewood upon the wagon attracted his attention yesterday, and an enquiry brought the lathe on the carpet. He must have it with us in his palace to-day, and

see its operation in the turning of a snuff-box. He sent for us early, to what may be called his hall of audience. This is an apartment somewhat in the shape of a triangle, with curved sides, surrounded by a fence of whittled sticks woven very ingeniously together, and seven or eight feet high. It has three or four gates, each one being surmounted by the sticks passing over the gateway, parallel to each other, in the shape of a semicircle, and continued down its side to the ground. The king's house stands in the centre, well constructed and very large, perhaps twenty feet high—but, after all, only a Kafir hut. The king's great chair or throne stands in this room. Beside it there is nothing but a mound of clay, on which the king often stands to survey his town and land, no doubt with some of the pride of the Babylonian monarch. The king took us to different parts of his abode. It consists of apartments resembling the first, but usually containing three houses. He led us from one place to another till we were absolutely tired, and thought that if left to ourselves we should find it difficult to escape out of the labyrinth. In one apartment sixty or seventy of his girls were dancing and singing; and that not without some harmony and precision. And it must be added that we saw in his palace some three hundred girls, of whom a few, apparently, were in the position of servants, but the others evidently filled a different sphere. Corpulent beyond all description, their hips and necks loaded with beads of various sorts, and with no clothing on most, except a short coat round the loins, they present "in toto," as they drag their load over the ground, and in this warm weather, an appearance which excites in a stranger both ridicule and disgust.

We crept into one of the houses at the king's request. The dark earthen floor bore a fine polish, and was as smooth as marble. It is smeared every morning, I am informed, with fat. The fireplace in the centre was constructed with much neat taste, and the roof was so wattled on the inside as to appear like some well-braided basket.

Returning to the lathe, we found it surrounded by a whole host of the royal family, greatly admiring every part and parcel of the instrument. At length the box was finished, greatly to the satisfaction of the owner. But he must try his hand; and, to his credit it must be said, he succeeded very well for a beginner. He has an inquisitive mind, and often starts questions which show him to be superior to the generality of his people. Every part of the lathe underwent the strictest scrutiny, and nothing was left unexplained.

But he is very proud and excessively fond of flattery. His subjects approach him in a bending posture or on the ground. No man comes into his palace without an express permit. His smith, however, was admitted to-day to view the curious machine. This man is of great service in fastening the rings and bangles upon his captains, and appears to be on very familiar terms with his chief. His language to the king is nothing but submissive adulation, as that of all his subjects, "Yes, father: O father! mighty chief," being appended to every sentence. He received a present of a file or two from Mr. Grout, whereat his eyes almost started out of his head for joy.

19th.—This afternoon the king sent again for the lathe. Another box was made, and again he tried his skill. But he was dressed out in royal style, i.e. beads of various colours and sizes, depending from all his limbs and various parts of his body; the colours arranged in good taste, and the monkey-tails dangling about his loins. His dress shaking about the machine was some impediment to his success.

This evening, in the rain and darkness, he sent for our interpreter. The lantern which he took we saw no more. The king sent us word that he wished to keep it, as he found it so much superior to the rush-lights which they use. He sent us word also that he could not give us an answer until he had consulted his two chief "amadunas," or counsellors, who were now absent. This message gave us some trouble, but the event was good.

20th.—This morning early, the king sent for us. He was sitting in the presence of his people. The doctor's skill was for some time the topic. He asked him if he could heal all diseases; if he went by any spirit in his art, and whether he could cure a man who was affected by paralysis in an arm or leg. When told that the man could be cured, he told us his own complaint, but said he would wait and see if the paralytic were cured. He wished to see some money; asked us what we thought of his dress yesterday; informed us now and then that the people were praising him; and as we were leaving him, asked if we could perform feats of leaping, such as some white men had once done. He asked us if we could get a bead-maker to live with him. When God's name happened to be mentioned, he asked us how we knew of Him, and then childishly turned to something else.

Took a walk round the town. It would occupy half an hour's constant walking. On the upper side we found the smith's shop.

His work is wholly in brass. A very hot fire is made from the dried leaves of the aloe. Here the small brass wire is melted down into plates, which again are fluted by sharp hammers on rude anvils of stone, and bent so as to form the broad covering for the forearm, given by Dingaan to none but the greatest of his captains. The principal work now going forward here is the making of shields. These are made of large ox-hides, oval in shape, and are given, the black to the boys, the red to the men. In fact, Gungunhlovu seems to be little else than a camp of soldiers. The chief is always talking of some warlike expedition, and inspiring them with a desire for plunder and blood. They live, as it were, at the king's table, and not on the fruits of their own labour. No ground is cultivated in the vicinity. The twyala, or common beer of the country, made from Kafir corn, or Indian corn, fermented in water, is brought to the king daily by twenty or thirty (perhaps more) beerwagons, as the servants are called, who always pass our wagon with their large calabashes on their heads, singing ever one song. This is both food and drink, and is divided among the people. Sometimes we also have a share in this bounty. The king's beer is too near the strong beer of other countries for any man to drink much of it. The king has three or four very large dogs, to which he has a great partiality. Some snakes also are great favourites, who live unmolested within the fence of the palace. Two very large dead ones, boa-constrictors, ten or fifteen feet long, hang on the fence outside, proving that those in the field share a different fate.

21st.—Again at the king's this morning. He improves in his skill at the lathe, and his fondness for it led him to ask it of us. This we had to refuse. The girls were at work. Some of them were receiving their calabashes of morning's milk, some engaged in fastening the brass about another's neck. The person to be operated upon was lying down with her neck across a block, while the rings were made to meet by pounding with a hammer. Ever after, the victim finds it difficult to bend her neck any way.

The king sat in a chair, very like an European one, but carved with an assagai out of a single block of wood. He wished us to write an order for some brass dancing-rods. The subject of our visit was mentioned, and he said that this afternoon he would see about it.

22nd.—The king had appointed yesterday for our conference; but a true African shower prevented. The thunder was very loud, with lightning exceedingly vivid, and hailstones as large as bullets, and

in such profusion as to whiten the ground, pelted our cloth habitation roundly.

Early this morning the king's messenger came for us. He was sitting in his usual morning seat, with his "amabutu," or young soldiers, in a half-moon in front of him, at thirty or forty yards' distance. He invited us near him, and also the three captains left in the place of two indunas in their absence. Our business came at once on the carpet, without form or ceremony. Some short account of God's word was given, and our object briefly stated. A Testament was shown as a part of God's word. He wished to know how many leaves it contained, and was surprised to hear us tell without counting them. He asked to hear some of it read. He then enquired about the Creation. A short account of the Saviour was given. They all seemed interested. One asked if God was not displeased with their treatment of His Son, and what He did to the people. We were asked if men knew anything about God before Christ came. One query was, if God was so powerful, why not pray to Him to take away all disease and misery?

Dingaan wished to know our relation to the Government of our country, and then said: "Here, now, are my three counsellors, in place of the two great men; they must decide for you; I am favourable." The result was—for the counsellors echoed but the voice of their chief—that they fear evils from the introduction of white men into their country, and wish the line of the whites to be beyond the Umtugela; that they can hardly believe we can teach the people what we profess, to read and write; but that they wish the experiment to be tried in their country when we return with our wives. For this purpose we may begin in the district of Hlomenhline, containing several thousands. "And then," said the king, "if you succeed, I will bring the school right into the heart of my dominions. I will learn myself, and set an example to my people!"

We were mutually pleased. In present circumstances we can ask no more. Such is the gross darkness that reigns here, even in the mind of Dingaan, that the work must be gradual. In speaking of God to any of these people, they have usually stared about the heavens in wonder, or listened to our words as an unmeaning story; and, perhaps, have interrupted us by asking for something that caught their eye. Soon we called upon the king for the last time. He was eating, and it was given us in very strict charge not to cough, or hem, or spit in his presence. He was in his hut. We were obliged absolutely to crawl in on our hands and knees. The

chief was reclining on a mat, his head on a wooden bolster. Strung around the hut, behind his wives, were their bead dresses. The hut was not high within, but very wide, and supported by nine posts. In the centre the dogs were sleeping. We now saw the monarch reclining at his ease in our presence. Very little ceremony was required. He appeared to be our friend more than at any time previous. While in the house, we heard the loud song of his subjects previous to partaking of the king's meat. Several oxen are slaughtered daily by the chief. After a loud song, they all shout "God save the King," or its equivalent—and enter on the work of mastication.

Dingaan was as inquisitive as usual. He took much notice of a letter written for him to Mr. N. He asked us how we learned to read. He said it ran in his head that he should learn, and should ere long have one of us to teach him. Our interpreter received quite a rebuke for being a white man and not able to read and write. He then wished the names of all his girls, who were sitting around the sides of the house, and of the dogs which were sleeping in the centre, to be written, and to be read by one who had been absent during the writing. He asked when we should return, and gave us beads, as specimens of those which he wished us to bring. We must then make for him some candle-wicks, that he might supply his lantern and candlestick during our absence; and then he went out, leaving us the sport of his childish girls, till the heat and confinement of the house obliged us also to leave it. We found him outside, near some tallow, which probably his royal skill would soon manufacture into some sort of candles. Here he gave orders for five cattle, in addition to the two we had already received, to be brought to us for meat on our journey, and charging the doctor not to forget his medicine, he wished us a good journey, saying that he regarded us as his friends, and wished soon to see us.

* * * *

23rd.—Yesterday we set our faces towards Port Natal.

March 3rd.— * * * At our kraal the men are now busy weaving baskets, as the time of harvesting the corn approaches. They are woven very ingeniously together with grass and a species of reed, and so tight as to hold liquids. The business of planting, hoeing, and harvesting devolves on the women. The men clear the ground, construct the baskets and the corn receptacles, and watch at night in the gardens to keep away the wild hogs and other animals. The birds are often so destructive by day, that a lodge or eminence

is constructed at some spot which overlooks the whole field, and a boy kept there continually to frighten them away. * * *

25th.—I was witness to a curious scene of Zulu joy this evening. The bride had just been brought to her new abode, having been bought with a cow for several months. She sat on her knees near the house of a white man, loaded with all her beads, her head hanging down, as if in grief. She was waiting to see if she would be welcome to the kraal: if not, she would say they had thrown ashes on her head, and go away. Soon there came three women, brandishing reeds, striding over the ground, shouting and running around the new comer. Then others—one with a white smear on her face; next, a man with a spear and shield, vociferating very loudly. And now the customary bullock was brought and driven around the damsel. Then all the men, women, and children assembled and began their dances, at first rather pleasant, with soft voices, but concluding with the greatest noise and violence. It seemed as if the women were vying together in high jumping and loud clapping of hands, and the men in their awkward evolutions and the deafening sound of their voices.

JOINT LETTER FROM MESSRS. CHAMPION, GROUT, AND ADAMS.

(Vol. 33, p. 121.)

The letter given below bears date August, 1836, and was written at Port Natal. The brethren of the mission made their first visit to Dingaan in January, 1836, immediately after the last date in the journal which precedes this article. They then returned to Bethelsdorp and Port Elizabeth for their wives and effects; and, after taking them to Port Natal, they visited Dingaan's country the second time, which is the visit referred to at the commencement of the following letter. Finding the king still disposed to receive them kindly, and having come to an understanding with him that two stations should be commenced simultaneously, one at his capital and one at Port Natal, they returned to the latter place to make the necessary arrangements. In a postscript it is added, under date of August 29th, that Mr. Champion, designated to the station in Dingaan's country, was expected to start for his new field on the next day.

Since our last we have visited Dingaan at his capital. It was a time truly unfavourable; but he had heard of our arrival, and, hav-

ing sent for us, of course we must proceed. All the strength of the country, leaving only a few women and children in the kraals, was drawn out to fight against Sopusa, a powerful captain living on the borders of the Zulu country, in the direction of De la Goa Bay. The king was indeed interested in the success of his expedition, but not so much as to forget our business or the word spoken to us on our former visit. On our ascending an eminence, which commands a view of Ungunganhlovu, he saw us doubtless, and, immediately on our arriving, without waiting for the usual ceremony of a messenger to announce our coming, he sent for us with our wagon to his place of audience. He was seated in his old-fashioned chair, clad with several shawls not separated from each other. The wagon was drawn before him several times for his amusement. He treated us very kindly during our whole stay, which was five days in length. In some respects he paid a deference to our feelings which we had hardly expected. For instance, the Sabbath was at hand. He so arranged circumstances that we were not disturbed by his own business, and very little by the importunities of his people. He repeated his determination to learn to read, and expressed himself strongly with reference to a station among his people. He said that as soon as his chiefs and people should return, we should have a name and place in the land. We might come prepared to settle and begin our labours. His mind is evidently in a waiting posture. He is but partially enlightened with regard to the nature of our work; but, judging from the confidence he reposes in us, and the character of his mind, we should think that if tolerable success attended our incipient efforts, it will not be long before the whole country, with its thousands, is thrown open to the efforts of Christ's servants. * * * The chief, no doubt, has erroneous views in regard to our work, but we believe him to be a reasonable man in many respects. We believe that if flourishing schools were formed in his country, they would give us at once access to his confidence, and access to the whole country with the words of salvation. Without the approval of the king, nothing can be done: with his word, everything, according to Zulu notions. Thus you see that much, perhaps all, of our future success may depend upon a right beginning. The king is aware that ours is a work of time, but still he will be looking for immediate fruit.

FROM THE "MISSIONARY HERALD."—[AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.]

GENERAL LETTER FROM THE MISSIONARIES, DATED APRIL 2, 1838.

(Vol 34, p. 307.)

"The intelligence contained in the following letter might at first lead one to think that the mission among the Zulus has been permanently broken up. The emigration of the Dutch Boers or farmers from the colony, and their conflict with the independent native tribes of South Africa, are certainly inauspicious in their bearing on the ultimate destinies of the aboriginal race; and probably Dingaan may lose his power, if not his life, before his conflict with these people is over. But it is not to be supposed that the Zulus will be utterly destroyed; and it is possible that they may, through the overruling providence of God, by these movements be rendered even more accessible to the word of God. Nothing is yet known to have occurred which is to be regarded as indicating the will of God that we should retire from that salubrious and interesting part of the African continent. Mr. Grout is expected to return to South Africa by the first opportunity, and the mission will be renewed as soon as the way for so doing shall be opened. If the pagan tribes in Africa and North America cannot be made Christian and civilized communities, but must gradually melt away before the colonizing propensities of the white race, we must at least make the zealous and persevering endeavour to bring home the salvation of the Gospel to as many individuals among them as possible.

"The letter is dated at Port Elizabeth, which is within the limits of the colony. The causes which brought the brethren to that spot are detailed in the narrative below. The object of the mission of the Boers was to obtain permission of Dingaan to settle at Natal."

LETTER OF THE MISSIONARIES.

VISITS OF THE DUTCH DEPUTATION TO DINGAAN.

About the time at which the Dutch deputation visited Natal, Sikanyeli,* Chief of the Mantatis, came from the west of the mountains on a plundering expedition into the territory of Dingaan. The

* Correctly, "Sikonyela."

party were mounted and armed. Having seized some three hundred head of cattle, Sikanyeli retreated. While taking the cattle, he called to some of Dingaan's people who were in the distance, saying the party were Boers, and that others had gone to Natal, and that Dingaan might expect to be treated by them as Moselikatze had been.

When the deputation had reached the Umtugela, a message was sent to Dingaan to inform him of the object of their visit. It was then that Sikuebona (one of the chiefs) says he was ordered to cut the deputation off. That such an order was issued, seems now rather probable, as from Sikanyeli's threat, Dingaan would be likely to be jealous of the emigrants. He had but little knowledge of them, and Sikanyeli's people being mounted, would likely enough be taken for white men. If Sikuebona did remonstrate against the order to destroy the deputation, as he states, it may have caused Dingaan to change his plan for the time. He, however, allowed the deputation to visit him at his capital.

When their business was explained to Dingaan, he stated that Sikanyeli had stolen some of his cattle, and declared himself to be connected with some of the emigrants. As an evidence that no such connection did exist, Dingaan required the deputation to engage to return the stolen cattle before he would treat with them further. This was assented to, as Sikanyeli had implicated the emigrants.

The business with the emigrants seemed to absorb Dingaan's attention. Previous to their visit he had taken a fancy to learn to read, and had Mr. Owen to teach him daily, but afterwards dropped his books. Mr. Retief was governor of the emigrants, and head of the deputation.*

Thomas Halstead, of Natal, was interpreter to the deputation. Being acquainted with him, Dingaan requested him to go along with the deputation to see that they fulfilled their engagement. He also sent some of his officers.

On returning to his encampment, Mr. Retief found that a considerable number of the farmers were absent on an expedition against Moselikatze. The encampment was then on the high land

* Mr. Lindley, under date of December 1, 1837, thus speaks of this individual:—
"The governor, Myaheer Retief, was with us several days. He is, I feel sure, a worthy man. I even hope he is pious. In the colony he sustains a good character. He has, unasked, taken pains to impress Dingaan favourably towards the missionaries. He wrote the Zulu chief a letter, and as he writes in the Dutch language, found it necessary to have it translated into English. This service I performed at his request, and was much pleased with the entire spirit of the communication."

between the sources of the Umtugela and Vaal Rivers, and north of Sikanyeli. The party found the country between their rendezvous and Natal elevated, and broken by detached mountains, presenting no serious difficulty to travelling with wagons. There was no continuous chain of mountains.

The expedition against Moselikatze had about the same success as the one in January, 1837. It would appear that the farmers fell in with some of Moselikatze's people about two days' journey north of Mosika.

As soon as Mr. Retief could make his arrangements, he made a visit to Sikanyeli, and contrived to take him prisoner without the shedding of blood. When informed of the cause of his imprisonment, Sikanyeli confessed having stolen the cattle, and gave them up with all of his own, and his horses and guns.

After the return of the cattle, Dingaan's officers returned to bring him word, and Mr. Retief, accompanied by sixty men, besides some boys and servants, followed with the cattle; the main body of the emigrants being left near the head of the Umtogela, five or six days' journey from Dingaan's capital.

Several messages passed between Mr. Retief and Dingaan before the former reached the residence of the latter. When Dingaan first learned that Sikanyeli had been released, instead of being brought to him, he was rather displeased. However, before the arrival of Mr. Retief, he declared himself highly gratified with his conduct, and, in order to show him a marked respect, ordered his forces to assemble, without shields or weapons, to have a great dance.

On the morning of Saturday, February 3rd, Mr. Retief and party approached the capital, and exhibited a sham-fight on horse-back. At this Dingaan expressed great gratification, and requested one hundred rounds to be fired, which, however, was not complied with. The dance was held on that and the two following days. Monday afternoon all the regiments, except that consisting of the youngest recruits, were dismissed. Dingaan consented to allow the emigrants to settle in the country from the Umtugela to the Umzimvubu Rivers, an extent of four hundred miles, which was laid waste by Chaka. The papers were to be signed on Tuesday, and Mr. Retief was to leave on his return.

On Tuesday morning three of the farmers took breakfast with Mr. Owen (an English missionary), who seemed to have all confidence in Dingaan.

Mr. Retief and men lodged outside the town. About 8 o'clock in the morning the whole party were invited into the town to see Dingaan, and to conclude their business, and to take leave. Their firearms were left outside the town, where they slept. Dingaan received the party in one of the cattle folds, at the upper part of the town. He presented them with a quantity of boiled flesh, which they declined, having already breakfasted. He then asked if they would have milk, to which they assented. While they were partaking of the milk, Dingaan issued the fatal order to his young soldiers, who were in readiness and at hand. The emigrants were, to a man, instantly seized, overpowered by numbers, and borne off to the hill where criminals are executed, there to be devoured by vultures and hyenas. The particular mode of their execution is not certainly known. According to one statement, the victims of this treacherous and cruel act were instantly put to death by twisting their necks. Another statement says they were killed with sticks, just outside the gate, as they were carried towards the usual place of execution.

While the soldiers were executing the murderous order, a messenger was despatched to tell Mr. Owen not to fear because the king was killing the Boers; and that he was doing so because he had ascertained that they intended to wage war upon him and take his life.

Fear of having so powerful a neighbour, as the emigrant community were likely to become, in his vicinity, seems to have moved Dingaan to this desperate step. He had an erroneous view of its present power, thinking it less than it is, from the statements of his indunas, who had been to Mr. Retief's encampment. Regarding the emigrants as a mere handful, he resolved to crush in its bud a power which might one day give him trouble.

As soon as the dreadful deed was done, the soldiers at the capital moved off at full speed in the direction of the encampment at the Umtogela; and orders were issued in every quarter to assemble a large force to fall upon the emigrants.

Mr. Retief had left a large encampment about five days' journey from Dingaan's capital. Another large body of emigrants were still behind a few days.

The Zulu army having collected, made a nightly attack upon the emigrants. In the vicinity of the main camp, a number of families in small parties were scattered. The attack was made by the Zulus almost simultaneously on the small parties and the main camp. Being surprised in the night, the former were for the most

part cut off. The Zulus were repulsed from the main camp, but took away the cattle and sheep. Next day a detachment of the emigrants followed the Zulus, killed a considerable number, and recovered the sheep, but not the cattle. The loss of the emigrants, including Mr. Retief's party, and the families who were out of the encampment, is stated to be about two hundred.

The latest information from the emigrants before we left Natal stated that the advanced party had been joined by that which was behind, and that the whole body had advanced three days towards Natal, from which they were then distant four or five days' journey.

About ten days before we sailed, the Natal people, consisting of fifty whites and Hottentots, and, it is said, fifteen hundred natives, marched to invade Dingaan's territory, designing to co-operate with the emigrants. The difficulties with Dingaan have not abated the spirit of emigration from the colony. News of Mr. Retief's death was soon communicated, and recruits are going on horseback from the colony to assist in avenging the death of their friends. The latest accounts we had before leaving Natal stated the effective force of the emigrants at from 1,000 to 1,300 men. What the final issue of the contest is to be, of course we cannot predict with certainty. The firearms and the prowess of the emigrants are, however, likely to make them masters of the country. What will then be the condition of native tribes is a doubtful matter. The emigrants are a community but partially organised.

At the commencement of the station at Umhlatusi, there was for a time an encouraging attendance on the Sabbath. The men, however, soon began to drop off. As the women are in a degraded state, it seemed to be a matter of no consequence whether they should attend or not; but for the men to attend the worship of God appeared to imply disloyalty to Dingaan. When we asked the men why they should not come to preaching, they would offer various excuses. One would say the induna had not told them to come. Another would say, why does not the induna himself attend? They were repeatedly informed of the message which Dingaan sent by his servant on our first visit, but some method of evading it was always resorted to. For some time the women gave a pretty fair attendance, but even that began to decline after a while. A few days before the death of Mr. Retief and party, Mungo, induna of Kongela, issued an order forbidding the people, men or women, to attend our instructions. Mungo was high in authority. This order made it necessary for one

of us to visit Dingaan, with the view of telling him plainly that we had no other end in view than to do good to his people by giving them instruction, and to ascertain, if possible, his pleasure on the subject.

On Monday morning, the 5th February, while Mr. Venable and James Brownlee were getting ready to set off to visit Dingaan, four messengers from him came to Umhlatusi, saying they had been sent to call James Brownlee, as Dingaan could not understand the Boers. To our enquiries where Thomas Halstead, the interpreter who had accompanied Mr. Retief, and Mr. Halley, Mr. Owen's interpreter, were, it was replied they were absent. The messengers stated they had travelled all night, and that James must not sleep on the way, but reach the capital the following night—a distance of fifty miles. It was now 10 a.m.

As soon as they were ready, Mr. Venable started on foot, and James on horseback. They reached the capital on Tuesday, at 1 p.m., having travelled Monday night by moonlight until 10 p.m. Coming to the public gates, they found under a tree outside the town some forty or fifty indunas and men, and the guns and baggage of the Boers under several other trees at hand, but there was no white man present. They enquired for the Boers, and were told they were beyond a small stream below the town; but no one could be seen in that direction. A servant was sent to inform Dingaan of Mr. Venable's arrival. Before his return, it was again asked where the Boers were, and it was said they had gone hunting. Things began to look suspicious. After delaying full as long as the usual time, the servant returned, but went to Umhlela instead of delivering his message as usual. Umhlela, however, soon called Mr. Venable, and told him that Dingaan had that morning killed the Boers, because he had found out that they intended to make war upon him. It was a trying moment. Here lay the firearms and baggage of those who, a few hours since, had fallen victims to the treachery of one who was giving assurances of safety. In full view, the vultures were hovering over their lifeless bodies. Mr. Owen's house was in sight, but no human being was there seen to move, when the anxious eye was directed thither to learn, if possible, the fate of him and his family.

The day being hot, and Mr. Venable being hungry and fatigued, he observed to Umhlela, he would like to go to Mr. Owen's to get something to eat. The request was granted. As he advanced towards the residence of our friend and brother, it was not without

doubts as to the fate of its inmates. Nor was this suspense relieved until Mr. Venable had approached within a short distance, when he found that all had been spared. Thus had God restrained the heart of a bloody despot, and preserved His servants.

On the following morning, Dingaan sent an induna to Mr. Owen, with renewed assurances of his good intentions towards all the teachers, specifying those of Hlangezoa and Hlomenhleen.

In the afternoon Mr. Venable had a long conversation with Dingaan, who was in a communicative mood. He endeavoured to throw the blame on the Boers, saying he did not wish for war, but having ascertained their intention to attack him, he had taken them beforehand. The evidence of such intention he did not adduce. The fact of his sending for James Brownlee in the manner he did, implies that something might have been said which excited his jealousy; and from his own statement that Halstead lied, which he gave as his reason for sending for James, he appears to have thought that everything said by the Boers had not been fully communicated to him.

As an assurance of his good-will towards the teachers, Dingaan said they had never done him any wrong, and why should he injure them? He would never drive them out of his country, but if they should desire to return to their own country, and would come and bid him a friendly farewell, they could go at any time. This voluntary declaration appeared to open the way for an application to leave the country. Mr. Owen's interpreter, who was the only person he had to drive his wagon, had gone to Natal, and was detained by the rise of the Umtugela River. To propose that any of us should leave before Mr. Owen was in a situation to do so appeared improper. Nor did Mr. Venable think he ought to undertake the responsibility of deciding to leave before Dr. Wilson and Mr. Champion had been consulted. Mr. Owen was resolved to make an application as soon as Mr. Halley should return from Natal. His hands were already tied, not being permitted to preach; and the prospect of a protracted war was before him. His leaving would make the way open for us to act as might be expedient. When Mr. Venable informed Dingaan that his visit had been caused by Mungo's prohibition of the people's attending our instructions, he expressed surprise that such an order should have been issued. He asked how Mungo dare do so. He added that he would send a messenger and reprimand Mungo. No doubt Mungo acted on his own responsibility—but, doing it with full knowledge of his master's feelings in reference to the religious

instructions of the people, it was not likely that the order would be revoked.

On Thursday Mr. Venable left Umgunghlovu, and the day following Mr. Halley returned. Mr. Owen immediately applied to Dingaan for permission to leave his country. He asked the reasons for making the request. Was Mr. Owen fretting about the Boers, or was he afraid for his own safety? However, he might go. Mr. Owen gave his reasons, and Dingaan was civil enough; but when the interview closed, said he would see him next morning.

Next morning, on going to the town, Mr. Owen found Dingaan sitting, with some of his izinduna by him. Dingaan commenced by telling the izinduna that Mr. Owen wished to leave the country, but why he knew not. He then began with a history of Capt. Gardiner's first visit, stating that he never wished to have teachers in his country, and he had consented only through shame, when his refusal would not be taken. To foreigners visiting him, or wishing to trade in his country, he had no objection; but to their building houses and becoming residents he did object; and that he was determined to allow it no longer. As to Mr. Owen's leaving, he said, had the application not been made, he would have sent him out of the country; because, instead of trusting in his word, he learned from the girls in his family that Mr. Owen was ever speaking of him as a liar and a murderer, and was praying to God for deliverance. To substantiate this charge the girls were sent for, and testified accordingly.

Dingaan asked of Mr. Owen one of his two wagons, and took a considerable amount of other property, but on his departure bade him a most friendly farewell.

Dingaan's remarks with reference to teachers coming into his country were general. Although he did not particularly mention any of us, he seemed to expect, as a matter of course, that we would all leave the country. So soon as Mr. Owen left, he sent to Mr. Champion to know if he was going to leave, as Mr. Owen had done, and we of Hlangezoa were going to do; and if so, he would go with his permission and "hamba kohle"—friendly adieu.

On the 16th February, Mr. Owen, on his way out of the country, reached Umhlatusi. The brethren there thought it expedient to make immediate application to leave also. Dingaan's treatment of Mr. Owen, the evident expectation that we would all go, the disturbed state of the country, and the prospect that intercourse with Natal was likely to be closed, combined to forbid delay.

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Accordingly, the next morning Doctor Wilson set off to see Dingaan, to obtain permission to leave. He was received by Dingaan in a most friendly manner. When he stated his business, the king told him that Mr. Champion had sent him word that he intended to remain until Dingaan should drive him away. This was not Mr. Champion's message. He only sent word that he was still remaining in the country, and as Dingaan had not ordered him away, he did not see cause for leaving. For some reason, perhaps to keep on terms with the people at Natal, Dingaan, at the time of Dr. Wilson's visit, seemed desirous to have those of us who were in his country remain. He asked if Mr. Champion continued in the country, would we of Hlangezoa go away? Doctor Wilson, seeing he was disposed to have us remain, thought it a favourable opportunity to press the subject of instructing the people. Dingaan blamed Mungo and Mahlebe, induna of Hlangezoa, for prohibiting the attendance of the people. He said, however, that the country now being disturbed, the men could not attend to our instructions. Being asked if the women and children could not, he said they should, and sent an order to that effect. Doctor Wilson then consented to our remaining, believing that Mr. Champion was not disposed to go; and having a promise of the removal of the prohibitions on the people, with reference to receiving our instructions, Doctor Wilson returned to Umhlatusi on the 22nd February, and Mr. Owen, who had been waiting there, proceeded on his journey. With the prospect of a protracted war in the country, and believing that all communication with Natal must soon cease, Mr. Venable did not see that it was his duty to keep his family longer, where they were the subjects of constant suspicion, and exposed to the violence of a cruel and treacherous despot. As the most prudent course, he resolved to visit Ginani, and consult with Mr. Champion, with the view of visiting Dingaan together, and again requesting permission to retire. After Mr. Owen left the capital no communication had passed between Ginani and Umhlatusi.

Leaving Mr. Owen's party on the afternoon of the 24th, accompanied by Joseph Kirkman, an interpreter, Mr. Venable proceeded to Ginani, which he reached at ten o'clock at night. The houses were all shut up, and to repeated calls no answer was given from within. Mr. Venable and his companions, wearied by a walk of thirty miles, threw themselves on some bundles of thatch lying under the verandah of the house to find rest, and await what disclosures the morning light might make.

Entering the house early, a few lines addressed to Mr. Owen, showed that Mr. Champion, having an opportunity afforded to get away, some persons from Natal having brought a boat to the Umtugela, he had gone. Some persons gave information that Mr. Champion started the day before, and was probably yet at the river. Mr. Venable went to the river, and finding Mr. Champion gone, and the boat on the Natal side, returned to where Mr. Owen was spending the Sabbath, and next day reached Umhlatusi. The day following Doctor Wilson set off to see Dingaan, Mr. Venable being lame and worn out by the trip to Ginani. Doctor Wilson was again received by Dingaan with great civility, and our request to leave the country was readily granted. A servant was sent to accompany us to the Umtugela. Dingaan dictated a letter to the king across the waters, which he requested Doctor Wilson to write. In this he gave reasons for killing the Boers, and expressed a desire for continuing friendly relations with the English.

The brethren from Umhlatusi reached the Umtugela on 5th March, where they found waiting for them Mr. Owen, who had got his wagon across a few days before, and Klaas Prince, who had assisted Mr. Champion and then returned to help them. The river was full, and the current strong. The boat being small, it was necessary to unload the wagons, and take them through by swimming the oxen. In attempting this, Mr. Venable's wagon was carried down the stream, until some of the oxen were drowned, and it was necessary to cut the others loose and leave the wagon in the stream. Doctor Wilson's wagon was saved; and the contents of both were brought over in the boat.

At the river we learned that the people of Natal were preparing to invade Dingaan's country.

On the evening of the 9th the brethren from Umhlatusi reached the Umlazi, and next day Mr. Lindley and family arrived from Illovo. Thus through the unfailing mercies of God we were brought to see each other again on earth. Others had fallen by the hand of violence, but we were safe.

By a kind providence, the schooner "Mary" was lying in Natal Bay, and would be ready to sail in a few days. The state of the country appeared to require us to avail ourselves of the opportunity to go by sea to the colony, to remove our families beyond the reach of disturbances which might continue—we could not foresee how long. Before the vessel sailed, we deemed it important that one of our number should remain on the ground to watch the course of events.

Mr. Lindley remained for this purpose, his family accompanying us. We hope to hear from him soon, and may then be able to say something more about our prospects of future usefulness in this country.

When we left Natal, the natives of that quarter seemed to be moved by that mania for plundering so characteristic of the natives of South Africa, and which makes the most dastardly think themselves brave, while only plunder is kept in view. The same mania is likely to pervade all the tribes in the reach of Dingaan's cattle. There are now likely to be wars, and rumours of wars, for many days to come.

(Vol. 34, p. 423.)

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"The parties of Boers or farmers, originally from the colony, which have come into contact with these native princes, and are likely utterly to destroy their power, are really amenable to no human government." Alluding to this fact, Mr. Lindley, writing from Port Natal, 1st December, 1837, remarks:—

But suppose the British Government shall say that the boundaries shall not be enlarged from now forward to the end of time? What will follow such a decree? I answer: Just what went before it; except that emigrants will go forth without the sanction and protection of Government. All England's power on land and water will not prevent the emigration of her subjects from her territories. What can prevent the emigration of Americans to the West? A strong barrier raised skyhigh would be pulled down so low, that every little child that should come to it would step over it, and not stumble. The boundaries of the Cape Colony may remain as they are now fixed: what will the English subjects care? These boundaries are not impassable, and it is not in the power of any Government to make them so. What has been said about the danger of natives destroying the colony, is not worthy of much regard. It is just as probable that the abused Southern and Western Indians will destroy the United States. I now beg that you will not for a moment suppose that I defend any system of encroachment made by civilized on savage nations. I only think they cannot be stopped, whilst others seem to think they may. Savages must be Christianized. There is no other hope for them. In the work of making the savages around us Christians, we must expect much hindrance

from nominal disciples of our Lord. This must not discourage, but should lead to the use of much more abundant means and efforts—and that immediately. The natives of this region are sinking for the last time. A speedy destruction awaits them, unless the means employed for their salvation shall be soon tenfold multiplied.

* * * *

On 9th April, 1838, Mr. Champion writes from Port Elizabeth, a station of the London Missionary Society, giving some account of the prospects of Dingaan's people, and his own views of the missionary work in that quarter :—

I look upon the state of the Zulu country as for a long time unsettled. The Boers have not the flat country of Moselikatze, nor his small number of people, to contend with; and as long as Dingaan can command a hundred men, he will send them against the farmers. Now, when the farmers settle in the Natal country, woe to the natives under their control. The history of the Hottentots will be their history; only there, at Natal, will be no protection from Government. That the people will be scattered by the guns of the farmers there is no doubt: and there may be, after the rage for plunder is over, tribes or parts of tribes accessible among the mountains interior and towards De la Goa Bay. Now, should this be the case, I am willing to spend my brief day of life in seeking them out, and endeavouring to lay the foundation for others to build on. I love Africa and her sons; and, until I see the work absolutely done, I am willing to labour. There is no hope of good under such despotisms as Dingaan's. They must be broken up first; and the course of events has shown this opinion to be not without foundation.

* * * *

As to the Boers, I am not yet prepared to say what I think about them as a field of labour. God is making use of them as scourges of the natives; and, perhaps, when they shall have accomplished this, they will be the mutual scourges of each other. Their ignorance, their parties, their ungodliness, make it improbable that they can unite in any good form of government. Far less are they prepared for independence than the worst of the South American States.

[From a copy in the possession of Mr. G. C. Cato, and by him obligingly supplied for the Compilation of Annals.]

REV. G. CHAMPION TO REV. ALDEN GROUT (AMERICAN MISSION).

Umlazi, March 8, 1838.

Dearly beloved Brother,—

The Lord has sadly afflicted our little mission. In a letter which I found here on my arrival, I stated in a postscript that the fifty Boers who arrived at the king's with Sikingelli's* cattle were suddenly massacred. And the result is that we are obliged to leave the Zulu country, and perhaps Natal, on account of the disturbances that are likely to arise. The Boers were taken most unexpectedly. The king had shown great friendliness: had given them a dance; had declared theirs all the country from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu; and then, just as they were about to bid him good-bye (they went into the town unarmed), they were taken, carried out, and executed at Matiwana's Hill. Retief was among them. The king had sent for James to come up and interpret. It seems he suspected Halstead of lying. Halstead also fell among them, though the king says he is very sorry, and had given orders to save him. Brother Venable was about starting, on account of Mungo's order that the people should not come to hear preaching at Temba.

When he arrived he found the saddles and guns at the gate, but saw no white man. On enquiry, he was told that they had gone to hunt, &c. At last, Umhlela came and said they had killed the Boers because they designed to make war on the king. But he assured him that they intended no harm against us. On his telling Umhlela that he came up to see about teaching the "Book," he made an indescribable face, and asked if he could teach to shoot or to ride. And the king asked how Mungo dared issue such an order, and said he would send a messenger to him.

An impi was immediately sent out to cut off the remainder of the unsuspecting farmers.

Since I arrived here I have learnt that they came on the farmers at break of day, and as the wagons were scattered, a good many of the Boers were slaughtered; but, as soon as they could rally, they repulsed the Zulus, and again following them, cut off a number at the Tugela. The last news that we heard was that they were making

* Sikoniyela's.

a sort of fort with their wagons and thorn-bushes, and preparing to enter the country.

But you will wish to know some of the circumstances under which I left my post.

With the news about the massacre from Brother Venable, came also a letter from Brother Owen, inclining to the point that we ought at once to go, as the Boers would very soon invade the country. Brother Wilson was then at Ginani, called on account of little G., who has had several fits since you left.

We both thought that before we saw how matters would turn, and till we heard further, there was no need of moving. However, Hopkins and Klaas left at once, and Joseph went the next day to drive Brother V. to Temba. The river was also high, and we must have a boat. Mr. Owen, it seems, very soon asked the king's permission and left. The king sent sixty men to bring a part of his goods to our place, while he himself went round by Hlangezoa.

We waited and waited long after the expected time for Brother Owen, but he came not, nor could we hear a word from him or Brothers V. or W. Joseph, who was to be back in four days (and we had already waited twelve), came not, and we being there alone, you may naturally suppose, began to be suspicious.

We heard nothing either from Natalwards, though Klaas promised to be back in six days, and under such circumstances that we thought, if any would induce fidelity, these would. However, we heard nothing from any quarter but the king, and he sent no message to Natal, or respecting it. Meanwhile S. grew almost deranged with her sleepless nights, and loss of appetite, and shattered nervous system. The people too often added to her fears by their strange moves, always coming with spear and shield, and staying about us, as if spies on our actions. We saw many strange faces, and the spell that had bound them to consider the white man as a sort of sacred property seemed to be broken, now that Dingaan at a blow had killed fifty white men.

We had from the king also such messages that, from his recent conduct, we were puzzled to know how to interpret. They were full of flattery, full of praise, and full of begging. They bore on the face of them that the king expected I would leave the country, and told me to "Hamba gahli,"* but still he would praise me, if I chose to stay. He said nothing about opening the door for me to teach,

* "Go in peace."

though he well knew that that was my work, but by every messenger sent a begging request, as if that was all he now expected of me.

Gambuje came down, and was about me these four days, as if to ferret out my inmost thoughts. In these circumstances, and hearing from no quarter, and withal having no means, and nobody to help me across the river with my family, I kept on with my work as usual, as far as I could, with Badubadu, and sent word that I thanked the king for his permission to go, that as yet I saw no reason to improve it, though I did wish it on Mrs. C.'s account; that I was yet staying, and if he gave me liberty to teach the people I wanted to stay. Soon after this, came up Hopkins with the boat and Klaas to drive my wagon. Klaas came over at dark; Hopkins was afraid to come. I now got letters, advising me to leave at once, from my brethren and Capt. G.; and expecting the Natal commando in a very few days, and from the probability that if I did not improve this opportunity I should not have another, I considered it very seriously whether I ought not to leave. Klaas would hardly stay till morning. I had no time to send to the king and obtain his answer. And even had I done this I had no reason to believe, from his extortionary way of begging, that I should have come off better than I have. But this was not my greatest fear at such a time, when Dingaan had thrown off the mask, and showed the hollowness of all his former pretences about wishing us to teach, &c., &c.; I saw pretty clearly that we were to be nothing but the "king's dogs," as some said. You may well conceive how suspicion must be afloat; and after circumstances have not proved ours wholly unfounded. I was given to understand that the others were going, Brothers V. and W., and the king has now sent to me, giving me permission to go without my being consulted about it, and even before Brothers V. and W. had asked him. I confess I feared some plot to confine us there, and make us hewers of wood and drawers of water to his majesty; to say no more. And so I answered his message according to Zulu custom, by saying "Yebo, baba,"* so far as I could, and still leave me the privilege of going when I chose. But it seems the "schelms"† of messengers went to him and carelessly told him I should stay till he drove me away. Now I never said such a thing, and they who came to me had their message thrice repeated, and then repeated it to me. At least he told Brother Wilson so, when he went up to see him about their leaving. I rather think Dingaan was the "schelm" after all. This Brother

* Yes, Father.

† Rogues.

Wilson told me since his arrival here. Such was the state of things when Klaas arrived. What was left for me I saw not, but to leave as well as I could. I still hoped for the best, and sent word to the king that I was leaving, but not ultimately, as I hoped and wished to return, and therefore left many of my things. The king had spoken of goods, and as we expected the ship soon, I could get his goods when it arrived. Mrs. C. was also sick, and I wanted to see the doctor. I thought then if there was any sincerity in his professions of confidence in me, and was so full of begging, and apparently wished to keep me for that, I might as well leave and test them as stay and wait for a more formal permission, which perhaps he would not grant, or if he did it might be at as much expense of property as would now result. Besides, I could not leave S., either to go to the king or for her to go to Natal alone. It was absolutely inexpedient; and had I done it, I should have expected to have returned and found her distracted. So I left as well as I could, fastening up the houses, sending a small present to his majesty, and taking a few articles in your ox-wagon and my horse-wagon.

The people did not seem much surprised that I was leaving, but rather anticipated it; they began begging with all their might, and some of them acted rather strangely.

We arrived at the Tugela. Lo! the boat was on the opposite side, and Hopkins and Wood had left, having been frightened away by some hostile appearances, as they thought. It was near dark before Klaas had swum over and got the boat. I could not abide it to sleep east of the river, and so we decamped, and slept in the bush on this side. A heavy rain came on, and we were thoroughly soaked long before morning. This added to her and her boy's illness, and we can trace some of its effects to this hour.

On the next day, Klaas and self succeeded in getting across our wagons and trek-oxen, but the other oxen and cows which I had brought thus far with me, intending to get them over, I was obliged to leave behind on account of the height of the river, and the fact that I had no one to drive them, the king having taken away my boy and all Mrs. C.'s girls.

Thus we escaped, and were glad that it was no worse. We were wonderfully prospered on our journey, and arrived at Natal just in time to contradict the report that had reached there that we had all been murdered. [You will perceive that I am doing this letter at a

different place from that where I began it. We arrived here (Port Elizabeth) four days ago, after a pleasant passage of four days.]

Soon after my arrival at Natal, Brother Lindley wrote, proposing that we retire to Bunting with our families, in view of the impending storm. The people of Natal had fixed the day for starting on commando, and he thought it best to be away, as, if the Boers kept quiet, the movements of these people would be likely to call down Dingaan's vengeance.

Soon, however, the "Mary" arrived, and we thought it was a providence to deliver us from the dangers to which we might be exposed. And, I think, the very same day we heard from Brothers Venable, Wilson, and Owen that they were all safe at the Tugela. Brother Venable also wrote saying that he was going to the colony. This cheered our hearts. They arrived, and the next day arrangements were made for taking passage by the "Mary." We got on board with most of our remaining effects, and waited nearly a fortnight for a fair wind. Meanwhile the Natal commando, nearly 1,500 strong, went out to plunder in the Zulu country. They were going to concert with the Boers, if possible, but the last news we heard was that their Zulus could not wait, but were about to enter the country. We also heard that the Zulus had retired from the Tugela to the northward. Brother Venable left his wagon standing in the Tugela, it having been carried down stream. They lost some oxen there, the river was so high. Their loose oxen also were left; some sixteen of your oxen, I believe, reached Natal, a span of Brother Wilson's, ten of mine. Thus, you see, we have lost our property; but I believe no one judges that in our circumstances we could have done better. What I brought out was chiefly wearing apparel; a little box you once spoke of to Mrs. C. she brought, and not knowing what selection to make of your things, we brought nothing more. Hopkins took it into his head to remain and see if we could not get out our goods. He was going to start the day after we left. But I think his fears will not let him effect much. None of us advised him to the measure, deeming it unsafe.

At first, Brother Adams and myself were reluctant to leave, specially to leave all together, and finally, as seemed to be the determination of the others, Brothers Venable and Adams came to the conclusion to stay. Then Mrs. Venable would not consent, and so that plan fell through. Then there was a plan for Brother Venable to go overland, and take the loose cattle. But this did not succeed. We had got all ready to start, but Klaas, who was to drive, wanted

to take his wife, and Brother Venable refused. Then, while remaining on board, we began to think of the Boers as a field of labour. We urged it especially on Brother L., as he had given up the natives. And finally, the day before we started, he concluded to remain. He did not feel that the field was open to labour among them, but would wait to see. I think it not improbable we may see him in the "Ligonier," a vessel we left at Natal, which carried up a Dutchman and his chattels.

Brother Wilson is discouraged, and has asked and obtained leave of the Mission to go home. Brother Venable is half inclined to do so too. For myself, I would not be obstinate and unwilling to be convinced. But, really, the prospect looks dark. I have no hope of labouring for the natives who will be among the Boers. And as to others, time must determine if they will be in circumstances to be benefited. The Boers will make an interesting field for persons qualified.

Captain Gardiner came down with us, and has the quixotic plan of going back by land, and bringing down his people through the tribes to settle on the borders of the colony. Brother Owen and family, and an assistant who came in the "Mary," remain. They were going to live on the island for protection. But in what a state they will be, learn from this. Halley and family had gone there. Brother Owen, Capt. Gardiner, &c., were at the Point. We were on board the vessel. In the night, some drunken fellows at the camp, near Cane, fired several rounds. It alarmed us. We thought perhaps the Zulus had come. All at the Point fled on board—women in their night-dresses—Brother Owen with scarce anything on. Halley was alarmed, and wandered round, with wife and children, by Ogle's, waded the water breast-deep, and at daylight had reached the opposite side of the bay, when a boat was sent for them. If it were not for the arrival of Mr. H. (his assistant), Brother Owen would also have come away. He (Brother O.) has offered himself to the Boers, but no one believes they will accept him.

Thus you have the state of our affairs. Of course, your steps will not be bent towards us at present. Perhaps the next you hear or see *will be us all in person*. But we need much the counsel of the board in our trying situation. Their pecuniary situation affects us not a little in these circumstances. However, the Lord will direct. If any of your goods should be saved, which is not very likely, what is your wish?

Mrs. C.'s health is much the worse for the voyage. She was very sea-sick, and her nervous system is now sadly deranged. I hope, however, by quiet and rest, she will recover. We shall probably, for the present, stop at Uitenhage. The Boers will not be daunted. They have sent for their friends to come on, and it is rumoured that all the Dutch will leave the colony. Hence we look upon the natives in the region whence we came as being in a very unsettled state for years to come. Now whether, in the present state of the finances of the board, and the disrupted state of our mission, with its probable prospects, the board will think best to prosecute their work here, we think very doubtful. That good will come out of these events we believe. Providence is probably preparing the way for the more speedy evangelizing of those natives by this new course of things. Let us still labour and pray for Africa's welfare, while we look and see God's salvation.

That this may reach you as soon as possible, I hope to send it by the "Courier," soon to sail for England. The articles we sent for by you please not purchase; or, if purchased, please not send. We often speak of you, and trust that to you, and us, and all who love the heathen, God will sanctify this dispensation of His holy providence.

In haste, but truly your brother,

(Signed) G. CHAMPION.

Port Elizabeth, April 3rd, 1838.

SECTION II.

1834—1843.

NARRATIVE OF WILLEM JURGEN PRETORIUS.

[1834—1839.]

I WAS born in the Cape Colony. In 1834, I was 25 years of age. I had married whilst a minor, and had several children at that time. My parents were rich, and I had a good fortune. I was still young, but was regarded by influential colonists as one to whom the management of important matters might be entrusted. This will be evident as I proceed with my narrative.

The project of an extensive emigration had suggested itself to many of the colonists before the year 1834, but until that date no organization existed for giving effect to their desire of withdrawing themselves from the control of the English Government. The chief incentive to the emigration was the dissatisfaction felt at the emancipation of the slaves, upon whose labour the colonists were dependent in their agricultural and other pursuits, and for whom the compensation made to their masters and owners was ruinously insufficient. Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz were the leading men in the movement. They sent three parties (called "commissions") of their countrymen to explore the country beyond the Great (Orange) River. The proceedings for stimulating and organizing the emigration were kept very secret; there was a necessity for this at that time, though no reason for it existed when the exodus actually occurred. Secrecy was easily attained, because for many years numbers of colonial Boers had sought a change of pasture beyond the Orange River. They had never gone to any great distance from the boundary. It was known to the Civil Commissioners of the neighbouring districts in the colony that the change of pasture was an advantage, and it was permitted on the understanding that there was to be no permanent occupation of the new fields. Once a year an order was sent out for

the Boers to return within the frontier line, and they always obeyed the order. The explorers, therefore, were not looked on with suspicion when they crossed the Great River.

One of the exploring parties went through Kafirland to the harbour of Natal. Amongst these, the men of principal note were Stephanus Maritz, Jacobus Uys, Karl Landman, Johannes de Lange, and Jacobus Moolman. The "commission" under Scholtz went towards Zoutpansberg. There they found the family of Buys, who had fled from the Cape after the occurrences at Slagter's Nek. I was one of the third party, under Johannes Andries Pretorius, which went north-west to the "Dorse-land" (the parched country—Damara-land).

Towards the end of 1834, and early in 1835, the explorers returned and made their reports.

A consultation was then held. Maritz rode round the country to induce, and make arrangements for, emigration. In 1836 many emigrated, but waited on this (the northern) side of the Orange River till others should have joined them.* This took some time. Triegaart and Rensenburg became impatient, and set off with their families and friends, passing through an unoccupied country, of which the inhabitants had been killed or driven away by Umsilikazi, the brother of the Zulu king Dingaan. After a while, Rensenburg and Triegaart separated. The first and all his followers were murdered by the "Knob-nosed" Kafirs. Triegaart turned towards De la Goë Bay, and arrived; but he and those with him all died of fever, excepting about thirty, who, after the Boers had settled themselves in Natal, were brought away by a sailing ship sent for the purpose.

Meanwhile, when all who were bent on emigration had assembled, the whole number moved northward. The advanced parties of these were attacked by Umsilikazi, and nearly all put to death.† A remnant retired, and hastily formed a fortified encampment ("laager")—wagons drawn up in square, thorn bushes (*mimosa*) being placed under and between the wagons, and interlaced between the spokes of

* The rendezvous was in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nohu, the great city of Maroko, who had been driven out of the Mariko country by Moselikatse. The first emigrants crossed the Orange River, partly at Aliwal North, partly at a ford nearer to Colesberg, and went on towards Thaba Nohu.

† They had followed a course leaving the site of Bloemfontein away to the left, that of Winburg a little to the right, and travelled towards Vaal River, passing nearly over the ground on which Cronstadt now stands. It was beyond Cronstadt, but still south of the Vaal, and not far from Rhenoster River, that they were set upon by Moselikatse.

the wheels. The Matabele, Umsilikazi's people, attacked them, but were driven back, after great but ineffectual attempts to storm the encampment, which was defended with the courage of despair by the men, and even by the women, within it. The natives had no firearms, and every shot fired by the Boers took effect, often killing more than one, for their guns were in many instances loaded with slugs. The Matabele rushed on the wagons, and tried to penetrate the thorny boughs that filled the interstices of the enclosure. Some succeeded in creeping through, but before they could rise to their feet they were killed by the women with hatchets and knives. The handful of men in the camp could not venture to pursue the retreating enemy, or to leave their hastily-formed place of safety, until others had come to their rescue, and they were enabled to rejoin the general muster of the emigrants, who then moved gradually upwards along the Vaal River to "Zuikerbosch Rand." There a numerous force was sent against Umsilikazi, who was completely defeated. Many of the cattle taken from the murdered emigrants were recovered, and thousands more were taken. All the emigrant Boers then descended from the higher country into Natal,* some by the pass of the Drakensberg at Olivier's Hoek, others by that at Nelson's Kop. They first occupied the country between the Tugela and Bushman's River. A commission, of whom I was one, was sent to the harbour of Natal. We found a few Englishmen there, with whom we spent New Year's Day, in boats on the bay, amusing ourselves with hunting the "seacow" (hippopotamus), which frequented the waters in and near the streams that run into the harbour. Pieter Retief had gone in advance of us to the port, and thence had made his way to Dingaan's city, travelling along the coast. His object was to bargain with the king for a cession of the territory of Natal. Dingaan agreed to treat with him, upon condition that he should first recover a number of cattle stolen from the Zulus by some of the people of the chief Sikonyela. Retief returned to the emigrants near the Tugela, where some of Dingaan's captains came to us, and accompanied the "commando" sent to make the demand on Sikonyela. The stolen cattle were recaptured and sent to the king. Retief then went, accompanied by sixty Boers and a number of Hottentot servants, to Dingaan.

* Two missionaries—the Revds. Messrs. Adams and Lindley—had been for some time living with Moselikatze; but not trusting him, and fearing for their lives, they took refuge with the Boers. Adams went back to the Cape Colony, and some time after came by sea to Natal. Lindley stayed with the emigrants, and learned their language so well that he was able to preach in it, and be well understood by his hearers. He was appointed "teacher," and held the office for three years.

A treaty was concluded; the document setting forth the terms of agreement was written and signed; and the Boers were on the point of departing, when they were set upon by hundreds of Kafirs and treacherously put to death. The emigrants were at this time in parties or divisions at Doornkop, at Blaauwkrantz, at Moordspruit, Bushman's River, and Malan's-spruit. They knew nothing of the butchery that had taken place at the king's town, and had not secured themselves in laagers. A week passed, and they were then attacked in the dead of the night by overwhelming numbers of Dingaan's forces. At Blaauwkrantz, Moordspruit, and Malan's-spruit, none of the whites escaped: all perished miserably. Doornkop lay at some distance on one side of the line of advance of the Zulu army, and was not attacked. At Bushman's River, the intelligence of the atrocities perpetrated in the neighbourhood was received just in time to admit of a hasty preparation for defence. There, too, many perished; but the rest made a resolute resistance, and, being joined by their fellows from Doornkop, drove back the Kafirs, shooting down great numbers. The pursuit of the flying natives was continued for two days and part of a third. The little village, the site of which was soon after chosen in the neighbourhood, was named "Weenen," or "mourning," and not only on account of the sorrow for the many murdered families, but also, I believe, by reason of the lamentation of the natives in their hopeless retreat along the course of the Bushman's River.

There had not up to this time been any recognised Volksraad (or "council of the people"), but there was a council of war (*Krijgsraad*), and soon after the repulse of the Zulus it was resolved, as a measure of retaliation, to send two hundred mounted men to assail Dingaan. Pieter Uys was appointed to the command, but after they had set out a disagreement arose between him and Hendrik Potgieter, who refused to act under him, and was sustained in his insubordination by a number of adherents. They met the Kafir forces at Ulundi. But, owing to the dissension between the two commanders, no joint attack was made on the Zulus—Potgieter charging them in one direction, Uys in another. The latter drove back the natives and pursued them. They decoyed him into broken ground and then turned upon him. I was present when he fell into this ambuscade. He was killed, and eleven of his men fell in the same place. Potgieter also drove the enemy back, but did not follow them. He drew back, and in his retreat was pursued by the Kafirs, who, however, could not come up with the mounted men, who stopped at

intervals and shot down many of their pursuers. The same course was adopted by Uys' men, who had extricated themselves from the position of danger. All the Boer force returned by degrees to the main body of emigrants, who were then collected in three strong fortified encampments (*laagers*) near each other. Gerrit Maritz was the president of the council of war, and any resolutions adopted were always noted by him, or by others under him. Three deputies were now sent by Maritz to the Cape Colony, to stimulate emigration, and to solicit help for those who were in danger here. I was one of the three, and went to Beaufort (West), F. Hatting proceeded to Graaff-Reinet, Charl Cilliers to the old Hantam. A day or two after my departure for the Cape Colony, Dingaen again sent an army to attack the emigrants. This force came up along the Bushman's River, and advanced upon a laager at the place since known as the *Veeht-laager* (or encampment of the fight), about five miles above Estcourt; but their cunning was known in time: they were repulsed with great loss, and pursued for some distance. There was no casualty among the Boers.

About 150 volunteers came at once to assist their countrymen, but did not eventually remain in Natal. Subsequently, very many followed from the Cape districts, intending to settle permanently. As soon as the volunteers arrived, a force of 600 mounted men was despatched to punish Dingaen. I was one of the "commando." We crossed the Buffalo by the ford on the road, still in use, from Helpmakaar. Dingaen came with his army to meet us. A battle was fought at Blood River on Sunday, 16th December, 1838. We were attacked in our encampment at 5 a.m., and fought from within till 10.30. Then the Kafirs fled, and we pursued them till sunset. Commandant Pretorius was wounded in the hand. The number of Kafirs killed was counted; 3,600 had fallen. None of the Boers were killed, and not more than two were wounded. On the Wednesday following we took possession of the king's great kraal, or city. We found the bodies of the men who had been murdered with Retief on the 3rd February. Superstition had probably withheld the natives from meddling with anything on the persons of those whom they had murdered. Their clothes—even their money—had not been touched. We buried the bodies. That of my brother, Johannes Cornelius Pretorius, was amongst the number, and also that of the brother of my present wife, Pieter van den Berg. The plain silver studs that I have now on my shirt sleeves were found on my brother's body. On a flat stone we engraved with a chisel the fact and date

of our victory, and of our having taken possession of the country within defined limits. This stone we buried, not far from where the bodies lay. The dead were buried in sadness, and with as much solemnity as was in our power.

After the battle of the 16th December, we remained on the heights, in the neighbourhood of Dingaan's city, more than a week. Dingaan burned the huts of his own household, but the remainder of the city was not burned at that time. On Monday, 24th December, we resolved to follow up our successes with a body of 260 mounted men. Two of Dingaan's spies had fallen into our hands, and they used the opportunity to mislead us. They told us that after the battle on the Sunday, the Zulus had never rallied. They were utterly disheartened, and could not be mustered again; but that countless cattle were in the ravines below. We believed them, and were led into an ambuscade. Looking down from the heights, we saw countless objects moving in the low ground, which we mistook for cattle. These were Kafirs. They used the stratagem of creeping on hands and feet through open spaces between the thickets, having their shields of ox-hide on their backs! This at a great distance, and from above, gave them the appearance of cattle. We moved down the heights, and had come near the Kafirs before the error was discovered. The alarm was given, and Landman and others ordered a retreat; but we found ourselves surrounded by thousands of Kafirs, and had to fight our way through them. We effected this without losing a man. But when we had regained the heights, a throng of Kafirs was still between us and our encampment, their object being to intercept us. A river lay in our route; and in the narrow bed of the stream, and among the crags on either side, the Kafirs were at an advantage in attacking us. Six or seven of our number fell here, and with them an Englishman named Biggar, and the greater number of a band of sixty or seventy Kafirs whom he had induced to follow him.* We made our way to our encampment with the small loss here stated; and after a day or two rejoined our headquarters at Blood River. There we waited two days, and then 250 men were again directed to take the field, with the object of further retaliation,

* Biggar was one of the few English resident near the harbour. One of his sons, with Ogle and others, had come to trade with the emigrants in February, just before the great massacre, and young Biggar was killed. The father sought to avenge his son's death, and had asked our permission to join the expedition that set out in the beginning of December. The Kafirs who accompanied him had no horses, and had, therefore, been more subject to disaster. Biggar did not like to leave his men. This was a right feeling, but it cost him his life.

and the capture of cattle. We went as far as the White Umvolosi, and there came upon numerous herds of cattle. Each of these had a guard of armed natives, in parties varying from twenty to 100 men. These endeavoured to protect the cattle, but in vain. We dispersed them, shooting many, and not losing a man ourselves. We captured 6,000 or 7,000 head of cattle. The whole force then returned to the country occupied by the emigrants between the Little Tugela and Bushman's River. The pasture was very rich and abundant, and the cattle had more than a sufficiency of food. The rich growth of the herbage was due to two causes: the country had been for many years unoccupied, and the pasture had neither been consumed nor trodden down; and the rainfall was much more copious at that time than it has been in recent years.

Shortly after our return, Panda, who either distrusted the stability of his brother's power or suspected machinations against himself, placed himself in communication with the Boers, and asked them to protect and uphold him. He was informed that he would first have to show that there was no treachery in his overtures; and that when an attack on the Zulu people should be renewed, as was then contemplated, he must accompany our forces with his army, and prove that he was trustworthy. This was at the end of February or beginning of March, 1839. It was just at that time that the Boers resolved to occupy the country more generally. Some preferred to remain where they were. The remainder, in two sections, moved down to Pietermaritzburg or to the coast. Pietermaritzburg began to be occupied. There was for the first time a general election of a council of the people (Volksraad). Stephanus Maritz was, I think, the first president in 1839, and Jacobus Burgers the secretary. One of the first public measures resolved upon was that of once more sending a force against Dingaan. Six hundred (600) mounted men mustered at the Tugela, of which a due proportion came from Pietermaritzburg and D'Urban. I did not accompany this expedition, but remained in Pietermaritzburg, intending soon to visit the Cape Colony on matters of family interest. I was absent six months, returning in the beginning of October. I know from the statements of the leading men that Panda joined our forces beyond the Buffalo River. They advanced to the White Umvolosi, about 35 or 40 miles from the Buffalo. Dingaan was with his army on the Pongola heights, beyond the Umvolosi. Great precautions were taken to prevent any attempt at surprise or treachery on the part of Panda. When the forces met, Panda and his army were

ordered to commence the attack. He led his men on, and they fought in good earnest, but they began to waver. Then the Boers moved forward. Dingaan was defeated and fled. The Boers and Panda pursued the flying Kafirs. Very many of them were slain—none of the white men. Dingaan retired to the mountain fastnesses and recesses of the Pongola. Two days were spent by the Boers in scouring the country, and they brought back 40,000 head of cattle. In the low grounds beyond the Pongola, the greater number of Dingaan's soldiers became ill from fever, and in that plight they were assailed by the Amaswazi, who killed many of them, the king himself being among the slain. Panda was then proclaimed king by Andries Pretorius, the Commandant of the Republic. Panda was recognized as King of the Zulus, but only in the sense of being subject to the Boer government, and bound to accept their commands.

Thus ended the contest with the Zulus. There was an end of war. Peace and quiet were durably established between the Boers and Kafirs.

During 1839, 1840, and 1841, I had no share at all in public affairs. After my absence from April to the end of October, 1839, there was a wish that I should be a member of the Volksraad, but I declined to become one. The emigrants were beginning to spread themselves over the face of the country, and to select the lands of which they wished to become the owners, and I thought it advisable to settle down and attend to my private interests.

There were about twenty or twenty-five Englishmen at D'Urban, with some of whom I had an acquaintance—Cato, Dick King, Ogle, and others whose names I scarcely remember. I never noticed nor heard that they had any unfriendly disposition towards the Boers or their government. They seemed to be content to conform to our regulations. At the end of 1838, or beginning of 1839, a detachment of English troops arrived at the harbour, and were encamped not far from the site of the present market-house at D'Urban. They did not interfere in any way. The purpose of their being there was probably well known to the members of the Volksraad, but was not distinctly understood by others, though of course it was suspected that they were watching the events that were taking place between the Boers and natives. No sort of ill-will was shown to the Boers by the officers or men, or by the Boers to the soldiers.

These troops were withdrawn about the end of December, 1839.

JOURNAL OF THE LATE CHARL CELLIERS,

ELDER OF THE DUTCH REFORMED COMMUNITY OF KROONSTADT,
ORANGE FREE STATE.

It is my desire that by a higher Hand I may be placed in the position to write the truth, for our God loves the truth.

I shall therefore give a brief account of the three encounters that we, emigrants, had with our great enemies, the Kafirs—at first with Moselikatze,* afterwards with Dingaan.

We first came in contact with Moselikatze at Vaal River. I had gone on a "commission"† to Zoutpansberg, when a bitter massacre and robbery took place. And when, after the lapse of three months, I returned to our "laager,"‡ I found it in a deplorable state. Many of our people had been murdered, and of our cattle a great number had been carried off by the enemy. With deep feeling I saw before my eyes those, still suffering, who had been wounded by the enemy. I felt heartbroken; and we returned to Rhenoster River. Then a number of us retreated to Valsch River, and we journeyed on to Vechtkop, above Rhenoster River. There we received intelligence from two Kafirs that the forces of Moselikatze were again coming towards us, and were then at Vaal River. We sent word of this to those of our people who were at Valsch River, with the request that they would speedily come to our assistance; but when they received the report they retired in haste, and fled as far as Moroko. We sent out two scouts to ascertain the truth, and one of them discovered the terrible "commando."§ From the time that we had heard of this commando, we had drawn our laager together, and protected it with branches of thorns§ as much as we were able. In the morning early we drew out from our encampment, with thirty-three men, to meet the Kafirs, and we found them at a distance of an hour-and-a-half's ride from our "laager." When they saw us, they gathered together in great haste, and sat down in a line, side by side, close together. We rode up to them till within a distance of fifty paces. I had a Hottentot servant who could speak the language well. I desired him

* Umsailigazi.

† This word among the Dutch-Africans denotes a number of persons selected for any special purpose—an exploring party—an embassy, &c., &c.

‡ Camp—encampment.

§ A levy raised by "command." The word came eventually to be used in speaking of any armed expedition.

§ The thorny "mimosa."

to speak to them loudly and distinctly, and ask what evil we had done them, and why they had come to murder us and rob us of our property. When they heard this, they all rose to their feet and exclaimed, "Moselikatze!" No other word. We jumped from our horses and opened as heavy a fire as we could on our enemies. There was a confusion amongst them until I had fired my third shot. Then they arranged themselves in line, and from this extended themselves in another direction, with the view of surrounding us and cutting off our retreat; and on account of the great force that we had against us we were under the necessity of retreating, and fighting as we retired, till we reached our laager. Many natives had been killed before we arrived there. I had fired sixteen shots at the enemy before we came back to the laager, seldom missing, and often hitting as many as two or three at a shot. When we got back, we found that our wives had moulded a great quantity of bullets for our use. The Kafirs divided themselves into three sections at some distance from our camp. We estimated their numbers at 2,000 in each division. They gave us time to wash our guns, and also to secure our camp still more, and to make every arrangement that I considered necessary. Then I called all together, and addressed a few words to them, to the effect that we had a holy God, invested with Almighty power in heaven and on earth; and that we must unite in humbling ourselves before Him, and in praying to Him in His heaven, and that all must pray in heart with me. And we all knelt down, our wives and children too, and I prayed to God, that, in His boundless mercy, He would have regard to us in our great need, and, if it were consistent with His counsels, would not forsake us, but would strengthen us to resist our enemy; and so forth. When all this was over, I gave directions what further should be done; and I directed this because I saw that there had been a want of foresight on the part of those men who, on our account, had come to an evil end. I also gave an injunction that not a voice of woman or child should be heard. I had seven wagons drawn into the middle of the camp, in which the women and children were to be placed, when the fighting should begin. It was also my order that when the Kafirs advanced towards us, all should wait till I had fired the first shot. This was acted upon. Some one then proposed that we should attach a white sheet to a whip-stick and hoist it. I approved of this, and it was done. There was then a great commotion among the divisions of the native force: messages were exchanged between them; and they came immediately and surrounded us in our little encampment, leaving no opening for a

passage through: and then they came marching on. I had two guns, one loaded with slugs, the other with ball. When they were about thirty yards off, I fired with the slugs, and then took the other gun. Fearful violence was used by the enemy in their efforts to wrench away the thorn-boughs, but these had been well secured in the nicks of the drag-chains.* The wagons were wrenched more than six inches beyond the outer line. The wagon in which I was had seventy-two stabs in the sail.† When the fight was over, two men had been killed on our side, and fourteen wounded, of whom I was one. Round the camp, 430 of the enemy lay dead. 1,172 assagais‡ had been thrown into the camp. Two horses were killed, and one wounded. The enemy then carried off all our means of sustenance. I had a wife and seven children, and was without corn or millet, besides being incapacitated for hunting. I had to taste the cup of bitterness. My children cried from hunger, and I did the same, and had nothing to give them. Fifteen days passed by, and we had to remain in the encampment. Then we received some oxen from Mr. Andswill, and from our brethren who had gone to Moroko, when they had received the report from us. Then by God's mercy we were delivered. I have omitted to say that when the attack was made at Vechtkop, the number of children and of all capable of firing a shot was forty. Arriving at Moroko and at the abode of the Rev. Mr. Archbell, he and his lady provided us in our great need with corn and millet. We were then very desirous that a commando should go against our enemy, and we sought to procure help from our fellow-burghers on this side of the Great River;|| but the British Government forbade it wholly, and threatened that if any gave us help they would be heavily punished. It was a bitter experience, and necessity obliged us to advance against our powerful foe with only 107 men; and our God delivered him into our hands, so that we gave him a severe defeat, and took 6,000 head of cattle from him, without the loss of a man of our number. After that we again took the field against him, and again the Lord our God gave him into our hands, so that we overcame him. More than 3,000 of his people were slain, and they abandoned the territory; and that which had been his became ours. We were then hesitating in our thoughts whether we should proceed to Natal or to Zoutpansberg; but Mr. Retief, who had been with a commission to Natal for

* Breaks for wagon-wheels.

‡ Spears or javelins.

† Tilt, or canvas cover of the wagon.

|| Orange River.

the purpose of ascertaining whether it was under Her Majesty's dominion, returned and assured us that Natal was still free, and also that he had been to influence Dingaan, and that they* had ceded the country from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu River, on condition that if (Sikonyela having taken 900 head of cattle from Dingaan) Mr. Retief should recover these, then the territory, as I have described it, was to be given over to us. We accordingly directed our course to Natal. But one woe had passed away, another was approaching. When we were in the country about the Tugela, Blaauwkrantz, and Bushman's River, Retief (with 100 men) repaired to Sikonyela's country, and without firing a shot took 1,100 head of cattle, and drove them, having sixty-five men with him, according to agreement, to Dingaan as the price of the district ceded to us, as before said. But, alas! how dark a cloud was impending over us! As we have since been informed, a missionary had, in Retief's absence, been with Dingaan. The king enquired of him who the emigrants were, and the answer was that "we were deserters from our king." He then asked the missionary how, in his opinion, he, Dingaan, should act in our regard, and was told that he ought to know without being told what should be done with such vagrants. So far as we have learned, Dingaan was very friendly to Retief when he arrived, and complied with his desire very fully as to the recognition of their previous negotiation regarding the territory. He signed the agreement, and then invited Retief and his companions to come and eat and drink with him. Then his treachery manifested itself in the death of martyrdom which all our friends were doomed to undergo. But our God, too, saw it, and from His holy throne directed His counsels. We were waiting for the return of our chosen ruler from Dingaan's country. But the first intelligence we received was a formidable "commando" sent by Dingaan, which perpetrated cruel and bloodthirsty murder amongst us; so that 500 of our number were slain. But our God did not wholly forsake us. We acknowledge that our God, from His heaven, looked down on us in His mercy, and He strengthened with His might those of us who remained alive, to take up our weapons again, and I can affirm that I strove, and that I, like Jephthah, had my life in my hand. With five men I rescued the camp of Gert Barends, which was on the point of being overpowered by the great force of the enemy. This laager was open on one side, the wagons being drawn in a half-moon. When we were at some distance, and I saw the great danger of the

* i.e., the Zulus.

disaster about to occur, I said to my brothers, "Have God before your eyes; let not a hair of your head show fear, and follow me." We gave the rein to our horses, and I shouted as loudly as I could, for I saw that the Kafirs were running swiftly round the "laager" to rush in at the opening by storm. Yes! had we come five minutes later, the whole laager would have been a bath of blood; but our great God prevented it, and said to our enemy, "Thus far, and no farther." Our enemies were terrified, and their hands were weakened. Five men liberated the camp, with God's assistance. The Bushman's River was rapid. Five men drove the Kafirs into the stream, and more were drowned than we had shot. I had fired so many shots that the barrel of my gun became heated, and to such a degree that I feared in loading lest the powder should ignite. After that we rode at full speed past the camp, in the direction of another body of Kafirs still on the same side of the river. We drove them over the mountain with great loss of their numbers. Our force, too, had been added to by about twelve more of our men, and when we got to the other side of the mountain we found the horses that had been taken from the camp by the enemy. These were sent back at once, and a message was carried to our fellows at the same time, urging as many as possible to come to reinforce our party. I then saw cattle that had been driven off, and I wished, as the mountain was level on its summit, to ride hard, and turn and recapture the cattle; but when we had got to the top, I saw another party of our men (if I am not mistaken there were six), who were also in pursuit of the enemy, and fired at them from a distance. Very soon we were actively engaged, as we came in contact with them. Eleven lay dead on the spot, and we attacked our opponents so vigorously that numbers fell, till we had driven them into a fastness. We then rode in a direction that would enable us to rescue the cattle. In doing so we reached a place where the Rensburgers,* with a number of our people, were hemmed in by the enemy on the summit of a small hill. A great multitude were collected round it, and here another battle had to be fought. The Kafirs were still full of courage. As we fired our first shots, they rushed with great violence (*geweld*) to storm down on us. We were unable to dismount, and fired on horseback. My order was that we should load as fast as we could, retiring. Then each time we turned round and came within a short distance of the enemy. This was done

* The family, or party, of Rensburg.

repeatedly, and we were constantly reinforced by others of our men who came up, whilst the strength of the Kafirs was more and more reduced, until they turned and fled before our faces. By God's mercy, we had another victory. Then everything gave way to rage. There was no further resistance. We drove the Kafirs into a confused heap and overwhelmed them, until they were driven by us into the fastnesses of the mountains. I now directed that pursuit should be made for the recovery of the cattle. We came upon the spot where many of our people had been murdered, who, whilst flying to others for help, were overtaken by the Kafirs. I was an eye-witness to the fact that little infants, still in clouts, lay in their blood, murdered in the arms of their dead mothers! I called on the Lord, and said: "O, my God, shall the blood of the sucklings be unavenged?" The cattle were on a mountain, of which the ascent was difficult. Our horses were greatly fatigued. The hearts of many of our men sank at the dreadful sight I have described. I said, however, that that was not a time for mourning; for the Lord had delivered the enemy into our hands, and we must pursue them and recover the cattle. I spurred on in advance; but ten men followed me. I reached the foot of the mountain; there was a numerous commando (of the enemy) at the top. I thought it unadvisable to ascend the mountain with ten men. Our foes, therefore, remained in possession of large numbers of cattle.

Another commando was then sent against Dingaan; but, alas! on this occasion, Pieter Uys, a gallant commander, fell with ten men. Again a bitter woe had to be endured. Commandant Potgieter, with more than half of our people, left the country—retiring over the mountains.* We were thus greatly weakened. At that time we were in two encampments—the one at Bushman's River, the other at the Tugela; and Dingaan again sent a force to attack the camp at Bushman's River; but on this occasion none of our men were killed, whilst very many of the enemy were shot down. The greater number of the emigrants were then inclined to quit the country. I made a proposal that three of us should go and make an effort to procure assistance: if we failed, then on our return the territory should be forsaken. Three were deputed to go—myself, Frans Hatting, and Willem Pretorius. We obtained assistance from Andries Pretorius. He came with many followers, as did also Pieter Jacobs. We were thus enabled to muster a force of 400 men. With these we went

* The Drakensberg.

forth, under the great disadvantage of so small a number against the powerful nation under Dingaan. We saw this, and that if the good God was not with us, there was little hope of victory. I saw, to the extent of the light granted to me, that we must become suppliants to the Lord to entreat that He would be with us at our standard, as He was with Moses and Joshua. I made the people sensible that if the Lord were not with us we must be overwhelmed. Mr. Andries Pretorius was our chosen general in that expedition. He and I spoke to each other on the subject of the promises made holy by the Bible, and how we, too, were bound to make a promise to the Lord, that if He gave us the victory over our enemy, we should consecrate that day, and keep it holy as a Sabbath in each year. But I recalled the words of David: "Make promise, but pay the promised thing, saith the Lord;"—for it was better that we should not promise, than that we should promise and not fulfil. It was the desire of Pretorius that we should make the promise collectively. There were still a number of our people and a commandant who had not yet joined us. I said we must delay till Jacobus Uys should be present. He joined us at the Tugela. We spoke to him on the subject of the vow, and it was his desire also that it should be made. The fieldcornets concurred in this. We then came to the determination that we should make a solemn promise to the Lord our God, that if He were with us, and gave the enemy into our hands, we should consecrate to the Lord the day in each year, and keep it holy as a Sabbath-day. We moved on to "Dancekraal." We determined that at that place the pledge should be given, and it was the general feeling that I should give it in the name of all. The general issued an order that no man should be absent on the occasion. It was on 7th December. I complied to the best of my weak capacity with the wish of all the officers, and I knew that the majority of the burghers concurred in the wish. I took my place on a gun-carriage. The 407 men of the force were assembled round me. I made the promise in a simple manner, as solemnly as the Lord enabled me to do. As nearly as I can remember, my words were these:—"My brethren and fellow-countrymen, at this moment we stand before the holy God of heaven and earth, to make a promise, if He will be with us and protect us, and deliver the enemy into our hands so that we may triumph over him, that we shall observe the day and the date as an anniversary in each year, and a day of thanksgiving like the Sabbath, in His honour; and that we shall enjoin our children that they must take part with us in this, for a remembrance even for our posterity; and if anyone sees a

difficulty in this, let him retire from the place. For the honour of His name will be joyfully exalted, and to Him the fame and the honour of the victory must be given." I said, further, that we must join in prayer to be raised up to the throne of His grace; and so forth. And I raised my hands towards the heavens in the name of us all. Moreover, we confirmed this in our prayers each evening, as well as on the next Sabbath. Every evening, at three places, there was an evening service. The Lord was with us. On the 15th we formed our encampment at Blood River—so named after the battle. A patrol had been sent out, and we received a report that Dingaan's army had been discovered. We advanced at once with our commando. The Zulu army was on a mountain, and at one extremity allowed itself to be seen. In that direction there was a pathway leading up; but as one approaches, it is seen that the mountain is encircled by crags, and there were two rugged ravines near the pathway. There was an armed force in each ravine. If we had gone up the mountain, we should have been hemmed in by the force in the ravines. I wished to commence an engagement at once, but the general said it was too late in the day, and we must delay our advance till the next morning. I proposed to go with fifty men to decoy them from the mountain on to level ground, and that the rest should come to meet me; but my suggestion was not approved of. I was inclined to be dissatisfied, but I found afterwards that it was well that we had not then gone into action. For the Lord said: "My counsel shall prevail; I shall please My will." We returned in the evening to our encampment. I cannot omit to bring to the notice of all how the Lord in His holy providence had appointed a place for us, in which He had determined that the fight should occur. On the west there is a ravine which discharged itself into Blood River, and the bank close to the edge of the camp was fourteen feet high, and could not be scaled. Then there was the Blood River, which had a "seacow-hole"* at least 1,400 yards long, on the eastern side. I am under the impression that the seacow-hole was at right angles to the watercourse. So that the camp, by God's mercy, was protected on two sides. On other sides the encampment was on open ground. I think, then, that had God not forbidden it, it might have been taken by the Kafirs, for their power was great, and the Kafirs are brave. They had, however, open ground on two sides, on which they could make a rush and storm the camp. It pleased God that we "should

* Deep river-reach.

see the sights of our guns."* On the 16th they came down on the camp with great courage, and, if I am not mistaken, endeavoured four times to take it by storm. Each time they were driven back. We could both hear and see their commander, who wished to repeat the attack, but the men refused to do so. When the attack was wholly discontinued, there were a considerable number at the edge of the "seacow-hole," who, being unable to cross the water, lay down under their shields; and we, clearing the edge of the encampment near the water, and reaching the spot by a direct course, fired on and killed them. And when the other Kafirs saw that they would all be killed, they fled, but with great loss. There were still some of them in the ravine; I called for volunteers to clear the ravine, and we went with eighty men. The ravine was broad, and the Kafirs were huddled together, so that they could not use their arms to hurl their assegais. One, however, did so, and wounded a man in the thigh. We fired on them. There was no steep bank on the other side of the ravine, and they were easily able to make their way out of it. And whilst we were preparing to attack the Kafirs near the bank, a great number of our men had come to that side of the encampment, and, as the Kafirs went off at the other side, a severe fire was opened on them. More than 400 fell (the dead were counted) in the attack on the ravine. The general then ordered the gates to be opened. Every horse had already been saddled by his direction. We sallied from the camp. Then the word of our Lord was fulfilled: "By one way shall your enemies come, but by the blessing of the Lord they shall fly before your face." There was a dense mass of Kafirs, I think the half of their whole number, who had not fought. The general directed that they should be fired on by the artillery. When this was done, they came forward, as if to reinforce the assailants and renew the attack on the camp. About 150 of our men rode towards this force in two divisions, and then a number, estimated by me at 2,000, separated themselves from the rest. Against this section of the enemy I was engaged. We were in an open country. They now offered no further resistance. We were on their right and left, and they were huddled together. We were animated by great courage, and when we had got in front of them, the Kafirs lay† on the ground like pumpkins on a rich soil that had borne a large crop. When they saw that there would be no escape,

* Could aim well, shoot straight.

† i.e., had been shot so numerously that they lay.

as we were driving them towards the "seacow-hole," they jumped into the water and were among the rushes at the river's edge. I believe that all were killed, that not one escaped. I was witness to the fact that the water looked like a pool of blood: whence came the name of Blood River. I have said what we* did; but what did others do? It is calculated that not fewer than 3,000 of the enemy perished on that day.

Will not every one who reads this be deeply affected, and convinced that our great God gives ear to prayer? Shall we not redeem the promise made to God? That evening we had a thanksgiving for the great help and deliverance granted to us. But now, my mind was again greatly disturbed, for their self-laudation amongst many, and such boasting as caused me great fear. I upbraided them with this, and said that I feared more now than when we committed our concerns to the Lord, under the promise made in our prayer. The Lord had said to us: "Call on Me in the time of anxiety, and I shall help you." Let us not say that our hands and our courage have secured the victory.

After this we advanced upon Dingaan's city; and when we were on this side of it, a patrol was sent to the summit of a hill which commanded a view of the city. Commandant Jacobus Uys somewhat thoughtlessly fired a shot at a crow, and in less than ten minutes after the king set fire to the palace of his city. There were, besides, in his neighbourhood two large "kraals," inhabited by two of his chief captains. From these, also, a dense smoke arose; they, too, had set fire to their habitations. On the following day we marched on to the city, and arriving there we found no living thing. All had fled. In searching the place, we saw the fearful spectacle of the inhuman martyrdom inflicted on our governor and sixty-four of our fellow-burghers who had accompanied him to Dingaan with the cattle brought from Sikon-yela. We found the corpses about 1,200 yards from Dingaan's dwelling. They had been dragged in one direction. Their hands and feet were still bound with thongs of untanned hide, and in nearly all the corpses a spike as thick as one's arm had been forced into the anus, so that the point of the spike was in the chest! They lay with their clothes still on their bodies. No beast of prey or bird had disturbed them. Those who had known him recognized Mr. Retief. A glossy waistcoat was part of his apparel; and he had a leather bag on his shoulder containing his papers, amongst them the treaty concluded by him with Dingaan, and the description of the territory. It was

* i.e., the division of our forces with which I was.

matter of wonder to us all that the bodies had lain there so long, and that the papers had remained free from corruption, and were as little soiled as if they had been kept in a close box. I leave each one to imagine how we, the beholders, were affected at the sight. One recognized the corpse of a father, another of a son, a third of a brother, &c. The general gave directions that a grave of great dimensions should be excavated. This was done, and all the bodies were placed in it and buried. We traced the tragical occurrences of the murder all the way from the spot where the bodies lay to Dingaan's dwelling. They appeared to me to have been all dragged from the dwelling to the place where we found them, and along the whole distance knobkerries* were strewed about. Had they been collected, they would, I think, have filled a wagon. The general also directed a stone to be sought, to serve as a beacon. On this the date of the month and year were chiselled, and it was buried where our encampment then was. Our force next marched to the summit of a small hill on the south-east side of Dingaan's kraal. 317 men of our commando advanced to the eastern side. The ground there was very uneven and hilly. There, again, we found a numerous detachment of the enemy, about (at a guess) 600 Kafirs. This force was a decoy. We attacked them at once, and they fled, and led on the three divisions of our men. The stratagem had not been noticed by us, and all at once we found ourselves surrounded. A severe engagement took place, which lasted half an hour. Commandant De Lange then ordered us to jump on our horses and clear an opening by a charge. He also directed us to extend our line in charging. This was carried into effect. Our God blessed our violent effort, so that we got through without loss on our side, and heavy loss on theirs. From that spot, the enemy gained heart, and we were constantly retiring and fighting. As the level ground was to the north, they were driving us quite away from our camp. The fight lasted seven consecutive hours, and at last, when we had to take a direction towards the camp, we had to pass a river, which was in itself an ambush. The Kafirs were there in advance of us, and as we shaped our course towards it, the main body of the enemy closed on us with violence. At the ford five of our men fell, and "Bikers,"* who was with us, and who had a number of Natal Kafirs as his followers, was killed, with seventy of his people. It was supposed that a thousand of the enemy fell that day. We stayed over the next day

* Short clubs.

† Biggar.

and burned the three great kraals ; and on the 3rd day we returned a little distance, and then as far as Nieuwejaars Spruit,* so called because we reached it on 1st January. On the 2nd we travelled by night and turned towards the east. * * * † Seventy-two Kafir fell, and we took a considerable booty from the enemy. We then went back to our encampments, where we were greatly excited by a proclamation which the British Government sent us, in which we were threatened that, if we ventured to enter Dingaan's territory with our forces, they would help Dingaan against us. But we thanked God that the war had then already been waged.

There was still another woe. Napaay, during the war with Dingaan, stole our cattle. He availed himself of an opportunity when the weather was rainy and the rivers at flood. It was not known to us who the robbers were, and we sent an expedition in the direction of the Umzimvubu River, thinking that Napaay was the guilty one, but wishing first to find by inquiry from Faku whether he could not enlighten us as to the actual perpetrators of the robbery. We went to the west, passing by Napaay. The general sent to Faku the men best qualified, and we moved forward to the Umtowobe. ‡ There we awaited the return of our delegates. When there were important matters, it was the general's wish that I should have a place in the Krijgsraad,|| and such was his desire on this occasion. He asked of the delegates if they had ascertained anything from Faku. Their answer was that five days before their arrival, Faku had fought a battle with Napaay, and had taken from him a number of cattle, and amongst Napaay's cattle there were seven oxen that had been stolen from us. The delegates even knew to whom they belonged. The general then asked of the members of the Krijgsraad what we thought of the matter ; whether he (Napaay) was guilty, and whether we should inflict a chastisement on him. I was the first to answer that he was guilty, and must be punished ; for there was the evidence of the seven oxen sent by the delegates themselves, and we even knew who the owners were. Then all the members of the council answered in similar terms. We advanced against him and chastised him, and took such a number of his cattle from him that those who had suffered by his thefts were compensated for their losses. On the day of our fight with him, two of the women of his tribe were made

* New-year's Brook.

† There is an omission here in the original. A brief mention must have been made of another—but very minor—encounter with natives.

‡ Sic.

|| Council of war.

prisoners. They were questioned as to their knowledge of the fact that Napaay had robbed us. One of them appeared to me to be willing to disclose the truth, but the other denied it persistently. I proposed to the general and the other members that, if they saw no objection, I should undertake the examination of the women. They approved of my doing so. I caused the women to be separated. I desired that the one who declared the truth should be first brought before me. I asked her if she knew that a holy God dwelt in heaven, who knows and sees what we do? She said she had no such knowledge of a living God. I represented that it is the Lord who gives the clouds, and the rain, and the thunder; and that he had given to us (the white men) a great Book, in which he enjoins that we are not to speak a lie, and says that if we lie He will be wrathful against us, and destroy us by His lightning;* and I asked her if she had ever heard that the lightning had struck to death Kafirs and cattle. She said "Yes, she had." I then said I should put questions to her; and if she lied, the great God would strike her dead by His lightning. I then asked her if she knew anything of Napaay having robbed us of our cattle; and I warned her, if she did not know, to beware of charging him with the theft, and she swore by the sun "that he had robbed us, and that she knew this because he had at his kraal a span of red oxen with white bellies." This span of oxen was the property of a man named Uys. From myself seventeen head of cattle had been stolen. Amongst the cattle taken from him (Napaay) I found one of my milch cows, to which the name of "Bruijndonker" had been given, as well as several more taken from various individuals.

Then came another great woe. Sabus† had come at first to disarm us. But we had renounced too much of the pleasure of existence to comply with this.‡ He went away again. Then the accusation was renewed against us that we had shed innocent blood in the case of Napaay. Captain Smith came as one having power, and gave orders in a commanding tone. I submit it to the consideration of anyone how much we were grieved at heart. Believe me, everything arose before my mind new and afresh; and I thought how I had regarded us all as born "burghers"; as Paul says how he had obtained a privilege for a sum of money, and had himself been born a citizen. So did I think that when I, a burgher, left my native

* The word in the original is "weer" (weder), the Dutch word for weather; but used by the African-Dutch most frequently to signify thunder, lightning, storms.

† This must either be a nickname or a misconception of the name of Major Charters.

‡ i.e., "We had suffered so much that we could not swerve from our purpose."

land, and, owing nothing there, went to another country, a civilized government neither could nor would make claim on such an one. Things went so far that we had to go to war with Captain Smith. In truth, it seemed to me that I was in the position of a son who, by reason of his having arrived at majority, is forsaken by his father, and is then held by his father to be greatly in the wrong because he is driven by necessity to be in opposition to him. During our dealings with Captain Smith, two ships with troops came to his rescue. The Kafirs, too, murdered a man at the Umlazi, so that we saw no further chance of resistance. We were under the necessity of negotiating. Then came Commissioner Cloete to investigate the affair of Napaay, as to the shedding of innocent blood of which we were accused; and our general was regarded as the principal instrument in the shedding of Napaay's blood. I came to hear of this, and then wrote a letter to H.M.'s Commissioner Cloete, setting forth the whole matter of the robberies committed whilst we were at war with Dingaan, and did not know who was carrying off our cattle, and how intolerable this was, explaining how our march had been directed so as, in the first instance, to inquire who was the robber, and how, through three delegates sent to Faku, we had ascertained, after they had made their report, that it was Napaay; that then the general had put to the members of the Krijgsraad the question whether Napaay was guilty, and ought to be punished or excused; that I had been the first to answer that he was guilty, and we must chastise him. I named all who had sat in the Krijgsraad, and also wrote the evidence of the woman; and, furthermore, the particulars as to my milch-cow and of the other stolen cattle. I also said in my letter to the commissioner that, if the general were to be pronounced guilty in this matter, even if he had to be hanged for it, then I first, and after me all the members of the Krijgsraad, ought to be sentenced, and last of all the general. The commissioner, after having read the letter addressed to him by me, declared that the general was acquitted, and that we were not guilty of the matters imputed to us.

There was yet another woe which came upon us, namely, the battle fought by Governor Smith at Boomplaats; when all who had taken up arms and fought against the Governor were subjected to a heavy fine.

It is no longer possible for me to reduce to writing all that influenced me in leaving my mother-country; how—

1st. I felt dissatisfied as to the country of the Bastards, which we had acquired by dealing with the Bushmen; and, afterwards, the

Bastards came, shot the Bushmen, and took possession of our property, which was lost to us.

2ndly. We had sent an exploring party of ten men to Vet River, Sand River, and Valsch River, and found the country to be lying waste, and without any inhabitants. We sent a petition to the Governor of the Cape, signed with the names of seventy-two householders who possessed no land. Our petition was refused.

3rdly. The emancipation of the slaves. We had the promise of the Government that two appraisers should be sent, and that we should be paid after the valuation. I had property in slaves valued at Rds. 2,888, the price paid by myself. I received Rds. 500 in goods.

There were other matters, of which I shall be silent. As to what I have written, He who knows all things, knows that I have not wittingly written an untruth.

(Signed) S. A. CELLIER, Elder,

By God's enduring mercy and grace, 69 years old.

Copy (verbatim):

(Signed) W. S. VAN RIJNEVELD.

DESPATCH

FROM GOVERNOR SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE
E. G. STANLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape Town,
17th June, 1834.

I transmit herewith a petition to the King in Council from the merchants and inhabitants of this colony who have subscribed it, praying His Majesty that a settlement may be made at Port Natal.

The enclosures Nos. 2 and 3, but especially the former of them, will fully elucidate the different points dwelt on in the petition, and I would further request that reference may be had upon the subject to the correspondence between Lord Bathurst and Lord Charles Somerset in 1824, to that between Mr. Hay and Sir Lowry Cole in 1831, and to a letter of Mr. Bannister (formerly Attorney-General at New South Wales) to the Secretary of State, dated Cape Town, 12th May, 1829. Such a settlement doubtless might be found advantageous hereafter.

• • • • •

Meanwhile I would observe that, considering the neighbourhood of the Zulus (a very warlike and restless tribe of Africans), now under the dominion of Dingaan, a brother of Chaka, such a settlement would in its infancy require probably a force of not less than 100 men (two companies, perhaps) of His Majesty's troops for its protection; a detachment which could not conveniently be taken from the force now in this colony, which certainly is not more than adequate (if, indeed, it be so) to the necessary demands upon it here.

PETITION

OF MERCHANTS AND OTHERS FOR A SETTLEMENT AT PORT NATAL.

To His Majesty the King in Council, the Memorial of the undersigned
Merchants and others, inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope,
Humbly sheweth:—

1. That in consequence of the country in the vicinity of Port Natal having been purchased in 1689, by order of the Dutch East India Company, for the sum of twenty thousand guilders, they directed the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, M. P. de Chavonnes, by letter dated Amsterdam, 23rd December, 1719, to form an establishment at Port Natal, and to hold it with the purchased territory in its vicinity as a dependency of this colony.

In 1814, the Cape of Good Hope "and its dependencies" were formally ceded by the Dutch to Great Britain.

2. That since the year 1824, Port Natal has been almost constantly occupied by British subjects, who resided there with the express permission of the Government of this colony.

3. That these persons had succeeded in opening a trade with the natives, which has gradually increased in extent from the encouragement afforded by the Zulus, who have evinced a desire that the Europeans should continue to reside in their neighbourhood; but that their residence without a Government establishment on the spot is attended with very great risk. It is, therefore, essential that some such establishment be formed for the protection of the traders, and likewise for the regulation of the trade.

4. That such an establishment interposed between the Zulu and the Kafir tribes would be of great importance, as a protection to the latter, who reside immediately on the eastern frontier of the Cape,

and who are at all times liable to hostile incursions by the Zulus, the mere apprehension of which, in 1828, entailed very heavy expense on this colony in despatching a commando 200 miles beyond our frontier to repel them.

5. The features of the country between these tribes are of a character highly favourable. It is well wooded with large timber, and watered with upwards of 100 large rivers and running streams, some of which are larger than the chief rivers of this colony. The soil is fertile, and has produced three crops of Kafir and Indian corn in the year. The rains are periodical, and the climate is cooler than that of the Cape, and highly salubrious. The Bay of Natal is an exceedingly fine harbour, but the entrance is narrow, and has a bar of shifting sand. There are six feet of water on the bar, with a rise of six feet, and at spring tides the depth is 14 feet.

6. There are a considerable number of natives, a laborious and well-conducted people, who are the remains of the tribes who formerly occupied the country purchased and ceded by the Dutch, and who, having attached themselves to the white inhabitants, are living in its vicinity under their auspices, unmolested by the Zulus.

7. The facts herein set forth have been obtained from information afforded by various individuals who have visited or resided at Port Natal, and are confirmed by Dr. Andrew Smith, of the medical staff of this garrison, who is intimately acquainted with the country, and but recently returned from Port Natal. And in corroboration of this testimony, your memorialists respectfully refer to Sir G. Lowry Cole, the late Governor of this colony, and to the various documents on this subject transmitted to England by the Colonial Government, particularly to that which has been received from Mr. N. Isaacs.

8. A Government establishment at Port Natal would be the means of guarding against the injurious consequences which may ultimately result, even to this colony, from the irregular trade with foreign vessels, which is occasionally carried on at that place, a trade which it becomes the more necessary to prevent, as Dingaan, the Zulu chief, is now in possession of a number of muskets and a quantity of gunpowder, which had been obtained in barter from American vessels visiting that port.

9. Looking, therefore, to the features of the country itself, its capabilities of maintaining a large population, and extensive trade, which would for many years be carried on, probably through the medium of this colony; the influence which would thus be brought

to operate in advancing the civilization and moral improvement of the vast tribes bordering on that country; and to the protection which would thereby be ensured to our immediate neighbours, the Kafirs:

Your memorialists are induced humbly to pray that Your Majesty will be pleased to take measures for the occupation of Port Natal and the depopulated country in its vicinity, which extends about 200 miles along the coast to the westward, reaching to the country of the Amapondos, and inland about 100 miles, and for the formation of a Government establishment at Port Natal, with an adequate military force for the protection of the trade with that place.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

(Signed) [190 Signatures.]

HISTORICAL PRECIS BY DR. ANDREW SMITH,

CAPE TOWN, 6TH MAY, 1834.

Paragraph 1:—"That, in consequence of the country having been purchased," &c.

Minutes of Council, Cape of Good Hope, 24th December, 1688.

"His Honour the Commander, having stated that for three years past he had endeavoured to become acquainted with the Inquakas Hottentots, situated about one month's journey off, it was resolved to send an expedition thither to enquire whether a road could be opened to Port Natal, and to obtain information concerning the survivors as yet remaining from the wrecked crew of the 'Stavenisse,' and then to explore the whole country as far as De la Goa Bay."

"Cape of Good Hope, 22nd October, 1689.

"It was resolved to send the galliot 'The Noord' to Natal, for the people of the 'Stavenisse,' and to buy the Bay and some adjacent land for the Honourable Company."

INSTRUCTIONS.

The Commander of the expedition, in the fourth article of his instructions, was "directed to buy from Ingozi, the chief, the Bay of Natal and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, cutlery, or what might please the natives, to the value of 29,000 guilders."

1690.

EXTRACT FROM A DESPATCH

FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF POLICY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO THE DIRECTORS, EAST INDIA COMPANY, AT AMSTERDAM, DATED CASTLE DE GOEDE HOOP, THE 24TH MAY, 1690.

"The galliot 'Noord' left Table Bay on the 28th of October last, for the purpose of being cleared and fitted out in False Bay, and to proceed, in pursuance of written and verbal instructions, to Port Natal without delay. But owing to contrary winds from the S.E., and a strong current, was compelled to put into Saldanha Bay; and, having been refitted there, proceeded thence on 12th November, and arrived off the Bay of Natal on 4th December, where she safely anchored on the following day. Here the remainder of the crew of the wrecked vessel 'Star' was landed; and having, in proper form, purchased the Bay, and some surrounding land, from the king and chiefs of that country, on behalf of the Company, for a quantity of merchandise, consisting in beads, copper, arm and ear rings, and other articles, troops were stationed at different places; and after having made the necessary arrangements and observations thereon, the vessel left the place on the 11th January, and four days after that entered the Bay De la Goa without anchoring (the ground being found good), but continued under sail, as it is no bay, but merely an inlet, exposed to the open sea, in which there are three or four rocks, and as many in the entrance."

1719.

EXTRACT OF A DESPATCH

FROM THE DIRECTORS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY TO GOVERNOR
M. P. DE CHAVONNES AND THE COUNCIL OF POLICY AT THE CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE, DATED AMSTERDAM, 23RD DECEMBER, 1719.

* * * "Should it become apparent that trade might be carried on here, it will be necessary to ascertain the nature thereof, and what could be obtained. It is a country situated at the mouth of a river, in latitude 30°, where, according to a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, of the 25th May, 1690, land was purchased from the king on both sides of the river, for the Company, for an amount of 20,000 guilders, in merchandise, and the Company's arms established there, owing to the Chamber of XVII. having been informed, both prior and subsequent to that purchase, of the good situation and fertility of the land, fine trees growing there for every description of timber; and there being not only a variety of cattle, but likewise ivory, amber, wax, and gold, for trading in; so that, according to these reports, great benefits may be derived there.

"If this be found correct, a station and a few officers must be established at Port Natal, to be subject to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, and under the control of the High Indian Government, in like manner as all other Indian governments and departments are."

1806.

EXTRACT FROM THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

Article 1. As soon as the capitulation is signed, the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with its dependencies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian Government, will be considered as surrendered by the Governor (Lieutenant-General Janssens) to His Britannic Majesty.

(Signed) J. W. JANSSENS,
W. C. BERESFORD, Brig.-Gen.

Castle, Cape of Good Hope,
This 19th day of January, 1806.

1721.

In compliance with the instructions contained in the letter from Holland, dated 23rd December, 1719, the ships with the persons and materials destined for the forming of establishments upon the South-East Coast of Africa, left Cape Town on 14th February, 1721, and reached De la Goa Bay on 29th March following, where, finding the natives friendly disposed, a post was immediately established and a traffic commenced and carried on with moderate success. From the various official reports, which were forwarded to the Governor at the Cape, it would appear that the exertions of the Commander had for several years been principally directed to the interior behind De la Goa Bay, and that Natal had in a measure been entirely overlooked, as it is not till 22nd October, 1729, that any mention is made of the latter. In a letter of that date, it is stated that Lieut. Moera had returned to the bay, after having been absent three months without being able to reach Natal; yet it is to be inferred that it was their intention to make another attempt, as application was made for a hundred soldiers to proceed on an inland expedition.

Previous, however, to the receipt of that communication, the Governor at the Cape had received instructions from Holland to withdraw the party from De la Goa Bay (which was effected on 24th December, 1730), and no subsequent attempts were made by the Dutch to form an establishment at Natal.

Paragraph 2:— "That since the year 1824, Port Natal has been almost constantly occupied by British subjects," &c.

In 1823, Messrs Farewell and Thomson chartered the brig "Salisbury," commanded by Mr. King, for the purpose of trading on the South-East Coast of Africa, and they discovered, when off Fumos, that the Portuguese at De la Goa Bay carried on a considerable trade with the Zulus. Upon that they determined upon visiting the Bay of Natal, and during their stay in harbour they made such enquiries (as satisfied) Mr. Farewell of the importance of the situation.

On his return to Cape Town, he commenced making arrangements to form an establishment at Natal; and on the 1st May, 1824, he addressed a letter (1824) to the then Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, on the subject. In that he briefly stated his views of the advantages which might result from establishing a trade with the natives between the Cape frontier and De la Goa Bay, as likewise his desire to have the permission of his lordship to carry with him

about twenty-five persons in addition to the number necessary for navigating a vessel. On 5th May he received for answer that His Excellency acquiesced in his taking the persons with him which he stated to be necessary for prosecuting his commercial undertaking, and was informed that His Excellency would hear with great satisfaction that his endeavours to establish a commercial intercourse and lay the grounds for civilizing the inhabitants of that part of South Africa had been successful. He was, however, given to understand that the acquisition of any territorial possessions could not be sanctioned without a full communication being made to His Excellency of the circumstances under which they might be offered and were intended to be received. With the terms of the communication Mr. Farewell was perfectly satisfied, and immediately left Cape Town, accompanied by several Europeans and some Hottentots. A few of the former, dissatisfied with immediate results, left Natal by the first opportunity; whilst Mr. Farewell and Mr. Fynn, confident of the ultimate success, steadily persevered in their original determination. The former, on 14th September, 1824, addressed from Natal a letter to the Governor at the Cape, in which he mentioned his having visited Chaka, the King of the Zulus, who expressed great pleasure in hearing it was his determination to remain at the bay. "He made me," continued Mr. Farewell, "a sale of a part of his country in that neighbourhood, and at the same time gave us a number of cattle for our support. He likewise expressed a wish to send two of his chiefs to the Cape for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation. The territory he made over is nearly depopulated, not containing more than three or four hundred souls."

That Mr. Farewell considered (it) as affording every prospect of being a most desirable situation for emigrants, and he endeavoured to impress upon His Excellency that many of the settlers, who appeared to be living in great distress at the Cape, would there find a comfortable asylum, and the means of benefiting themselves and their families, as well as the English nation, by forming a colony on a spot so well adapted for civilizing, and establishing a trade with the interior of South Africa, which, among other benefits to be expected from it, would eventually lead to a large consumption of English manufactures. "It possessed," he remarks, "a port where vessels drawing nine feet of water can at all times enter; while those of a greater draught are protected from a westerly wind by a point which projects out some distance, forming a bay in which there is good anchorage outside the bar."

Such a period elapsed, after the arrival of this letter, without any information relative to the adventurers being received, that serious apprehensions began to be entertained in Cape Town as to their safety, and plans were devising for communicating with Natal, when Mr. King, in command of the "Mary," arrived from England. He no sooner heard of the circumstances than he immediately determined upon proceeding in quest of his former employer, and in that he was assisted by the charitable people of Cape Town, who entered into a subscription for defraying the disbursements of the vessel, should it unfortunately turn out that Farewell and his party were no longer in existence.

Soon after his arrival in the Bay of Natal, he encountered such a gale as forced him to cut cable and attempt the entrance of the harbour, in which, being unsuccessful, the vessel was wrecked on the east side of the port.

In that appalling situation he was soon cheered by discovering the party to be safe and well, and by being informed that Messrs. Farewell and Fynn, who were at the moment absent in the interior, would shortly be with them, to furnish assistance and sympathise in his misfortunes. The long-boat, which fortunately they got on shore without having sustained any serious injury, was immediately prepared for sea, and three men were despatched in her to Algoa Bay to give information of the situation of the party. Soon after their arrival there Her Majesty's ship "Helicon" was despatched from Simon's Bay to receive on board, and carry to the colony, such of the persons as might be disposed to leave the country. Mr. King readily availed himself of the opportunity for the purpose of chartering a vessel to carry back articles of trade, and materials for building a small schooner. During his absence, the persons that remained made considerable progress towards the accomplishment of the latter object, so that, with the assistance he furnished on his return, she was soon completed, launched, named "Chaka," loaded with the produce of their trade, sailed for Algoa Bay, where she was seized, being without register, and now lies in a state of decay near the landing-place.

The unexpected fate of that, their own vessel, built expressly for the purpose of trading between Port Elizabeth and Natal, induced those still attached to the latter to abandon all hopes of keeping up a communication over sea, and forced them to resort to the more tedious and laborious process of transporting their produce overland. In one of the early attempts made to reach Natal in that

way, Mr. Farewell and several of his party were murdered a little to the eastward of the Umzimvubu River. That circumstance, though it excited momentary consternation, had not the effect of deterring from further exertions. Soon after the fatal occurrence several persons followed upon the same route, and all reached their destinations without injury or molestation, so that the road was soon considered as fairly opened, and to be travelled without serious danger, though not without great difficulties. Several of the individuals of the original party, who yet reside in the vicinity of the bay, as well as a number of other persons who have lately directed their attention to trade in that quarter, have within the last two years traversed the country between Graham's Town and the Zulu territory in all directions, and have on several occasions conveyed to the colony considerable quantities of ivory, &c., without the slightest interruption. Not more than a month ago, about thirty persons left Graham's Town with the intention of forming a permanent establishment in the vicinity of the port, and it is understood that in this project they are supported by some of the most respectable merchants of Graham's Town.

Paragraph 3:—"That these persons had succeeded in opening a trade with the natives," &c.

Ever since 1824 a system of barter to a greater or lesser extent has been carried on between traders of this colony and the Zulus, with such advantages to the former as have encouraged them to persevere in spite of the most disadvantageous circumstances. The natives possess a fair knowledge of the principles of trade, evince great anxiety for an exchange of commodities, offer produce similar to that which is furnished by the frontier Kafirs, and are only cramped in their operations by the limited demand.

The expenses unavoidably incurred in the conveying thither articles of European manufacture, and the still greater outlay necessary to transport to the colony the produce of their sales, forces our traders to limit their purchases to portable articles, and such as are productive of high profits. On that account a general trade has never yet been fairly opened, and consequently the mass of the population has been necessarily excluded from any participation in the advantages which have resulted from the intercourse that has hitherto existed. The more bulky and low-priced commodities which exist in abundance, and would be attainable at an expense which

would afford remunerating profits if they could be conveyed over sea to the Cape, are yet excluded from the market, and the proprietors of them left without the means of obtaining what they so specially desire, and what the traders could so fully supply, were they established under different circumstances. Hence the very great importance of Natal has not been practically demonstrated. Consequently its real value has by the matter of fact never been hitherto understood, and by the theorist only been inferred from analogy.

Ivory, since the first, has been the chief, indeed almost the only, article sought after by the colonists, and as that, according to the Zulu law, is regarded as the exclusive property of the king, he alone has been the principal dealer, and actually almost the only individual who has materially benefited by the trade. So far his interest has urged him to protect and countenance his white visitors, yet that more certain and effectual safeguard which would flow from the advantages of the intercourse being more generally experienced, has never yet been thoroughly enjoyed; the people at large having no interest in the connection, have consequently no motive for opposing any measures which the chief may be inclined to adopt. On this account the safety of the colonists must be considered to depend in a great measure upon the feelings of a single individual, and he, in common with all semi-barbarians, is liable to have those influenced by the most silly and extraordinary impressions. So long as such is the only protection, their security can never be viewed but as extremely precarious, whilst on the other hand, if they could be established there as general benefactors, the interest of all would be instantly promoted, the colonists would be benefited, the natives enriched; friendships would be generated, political union established, and the permanent trade maintained, that might eventually prove of benefit even to the British Empire.

The enabling of the traders simply to extend their dealings would not, however, be sufficient to secure success and avert danger. Were the natives ever so much benefited, and their feelings ever so favourable, untoward occurrences would doubtless arise out of the very condition of the traders themselves. On this head it might be invidious to enter into details. Therefore suffice it to ask, what is to be apprehended from a party of men bent upon gain, living at a distance from civilized society, without union. without laws, each absorbed in advancing his individual interests, and all aware that such was to be accomplished through a common medium, namely, the king of a barbarous and powerful tribe? A moment's reflection would supply

all that I could advance. It would suggest the necessity of another medium through which Great Britain is to be known to the Zulus, and it would whisper that if success be desirable, Government authority and Government functionaries must be established at Natal.

From various conversations I had with Dingaan himself, whilst residing in his kraal, I am firmly persuaded that he would be ready and willing to enter into an alliance with the colony; for, if he is to be believed, he wishes nothing so much as that he could continue to enjoy the advantages of our trade. He requested me to inform the Governor on my return to the Cape that he hoped nothing would occur which would interrupt the existing connection; and, as an earnest of his respect and regard for the white people, he promised he would never interfere with any of the tribes which enjoyed the friendship of the colony.

Paragraph 4:—"That such an establishment interposed between the Zulu and Kafir tribes would be of great importance as a protection to the latter," &c.

It being the custom of the Zulus to attack their neighbours, if possible, by surprise, the existence of such a tract of unoccupied country upon their western frontier is peculiarly calculated for enabling them to effect that, should their attention again be turned to the Kafirs; the simple assumption of it, however, by Great Britain would at once render any such method of proceeding impracticable, inasmuch as it would be the means of forcing Dingaan, were he determined upon visiting his western neighbours, to assemble his forces in the centre of his country, march them behind a range of mountains which runs parallel with the coast at a considerable distance inland, and then actually across it before they could set foot in the Kafir territory. Such a proceeding would be attended with so much labour, and so little prospect of ultimate success would exist, that nothing short of absolute starvation would in all probability ever induce him to make the attempt in that direction. The Kafirs are well aware of the security which an establishment at Natal would be the means of extending to them, and in proportion as we advance beyond our frontier in an easterly direction, in proportion do we find them anxious to know the intentions of Government relative to the subject.

Though the memorialists only particularise the protection against external enemies, which would result to the natives of our eastern

frontier from the proposed measure, it is equally certain that it would occasion a favourable change in the internal condition of the Kafirs themselves. It would enable the Government to have a check upon them, both in front and in rear, whereby they would soon discover, if judiciously treated, that their interest and their safety alike required them to observe peace and good faith towards those by whom they were in a great measure surrounded. A liberal, a just, and a consistent policy, provided they were so situated, would soon raise them greatly in the scale of society, and would doubtless soon dispose them to desire their amalgamation with the colonists. Even now, several of the chiefs are anxious to abandon their present mode of life; and Hanya, the principal of them all, earnestly requested me to intercede with Sir Lowry Cole, so that he and his immediate adherents might have a residence appropriated to them within the boundaries of the colony.

With respect to the commando of 1828, alluded to in the memorial, it may be proper to remark that it was not sought for upon a mere apprehension of the approach of the Zulus. They were actually in Kafirland at the time the troops were on the march, and the appearances which I saw in the Amapondo district, on my way to Natal, forcibly attested the horrible devastation which they had committed. It is true the conflict which occurred was not between them and us, and the knowledge of that circumstance has hitherto been all that was required to warrant the prevailing opinion that they had no real share in exciting the tremendous alarm which at the time existed. Many persons have questioned the propriety of the Government policy in having sent a force in aid of the Kafirs, and have asserted that it was time enough to interfere when the colony itself was threatened. Such reasoning may hold with regard to civilized communities, but I question its accuracy when applied in this particular instance. The Kafirs are our immediate neighbours, living almost entirely upon the milk of their cows, and without those would be destitute. Our colonial policy has disqualified them for vigorous and systematic defence; so that if they had been left to fight their own battles, they would to a certainty have been vanquished, deprived entirely of what they principally trust to for support, and left a nation of paupers, only to rob and plunder. Under such circumstances, the colony would immediately have become the scene of their depredations; and though hundreds might have been shot in the act of stealing, yet hundreds and hundreds more would have risked a like fate to avoid starvation.

I maintain that by expending a shilling we have saved a pound; by taking the lives of hundreds we have saved the lives of thousands; and that, if a like attack was again threatened, and like steps were not pursued, the longest-lived amongst us would to his last moment have to lament that the Government had acted otherwise.

A recurrence of such invasions may fairly be expected, and at no very distant period. The Zulu king is of a certain age; and no person exists who, according to law, is qualified to succeed him. The community he governs is composed partly of Zulus and partly of the remains of tribes that have been vanquished, all of which are filled with an inveterate hatred to the conquerors, and are only at present restrained from showing it by the severity which is extended to any who may be bold enough even to insinuate their dislike. In such a state of society, should the head go, nothing but a dreadful insurrection could be expected. The remnants of the conquered tribes would fly together, a most bloody and terrific war would ensue, one party would necessarily be subdued and driven forth in a state of want and desperation, wanderers in search of food, and enemies ready for attack, wherever the former was to be found. If it would be desirable to avert such occurrences, there is no time to be lost. The means are within the grasp of the British Government. It might act so as to prevent the peace of Kafirland being disturbed, and even the effusion of blood, which, without some judicious interference, must occur in the Zulu territory, and which in all probability will enable the cruel, ambitious, and warlike chief Mosilikatzi to add to his already powerful tribe the whole of the inhabitants between De la Goa Bay and Natal.

Paragraph 5:—"The features of the country between these tribes are of a character highly favourable. It is well wooded," &c.

The district in question is bounded on the west by the Umsimvubu River, on the south by the sea, on the east by the Umgeni River, and to the northwards its limits have not been correctly ascertained. It may be estimated to contain about 20,000 square miles, the principal part of which is peculiarly fitted either for the agriculturist or the grazier. The more western portion presents numerous extensive flats, thickly covered with luxuriant grass, and abounds in rivers and rivulets, the waters of which could be led over thousands of acres at comparatively little expense, which is a feature in the character of a country that is hardly within the compre-

hension of the Cape colonist. The middle and eastern divisions, again, exhibit a broken undulating surface, and abound with low knolls in some places clustered together, in others separate, and connected by rich meadows covered with a most beautiful and abundant vegetation. Here the rivers are particularly numerous, and some of them whose sources are far in the interior are very large. The more considerable ones commonly run in deep channels, and from the banks being rather precipitous, their waters could not be made available for extensive irrigation—which, however, is of no importance, as the number of small rills and powerful springs which everywhere exist render dependence upon the larger springs quite unnecessary.

In many of the meadows, water was observed oozing out in every direction. Indeed, the best idea I can give of its peculiarity in that respect is by stating that what the traveller has to hunt after in other parts of South Africa with the most anxious solicitude, is here everywhere, so close at hand as almost to constitute an inconvenience.

Trees fit for timber exist everywhere in sufficiency, but they are most abundant towards the eastern and western extremes. In those situations forests of considerable extent occur, but without the great proportion of underwood which exists in those of the colony. Such an effect was produced on one of my party (a Dutch farmer) on our entrance into this beautiful country, that for several days he could scarcely give utterance to anything but—"Almighty! I have never in my life seen such a fine place. I shall never again reside in the colony if the English Government make this a drostdy."

Nevertheless there was everywhere such an abundant supply of food for cattle, our oxen evidently lost flesh, a circumstance which led me to fear that the grass was either of an unhealthy nature or deficient in nutritive principles. Our farmer soon explained from what it arose, and satisfied me that in all countries where the grass is not burned from time to time, the same occurrence invariably happens where cattle are pastured upon it. On approaching Natal, where we first came in contact with some natives, I eagerly questioned them with regard to the subject. They all, with one accord, attributed it to the cause just mentioned, to a man united in affirming that a more healthy country for cattle could not be found, and that in former times, when it was thickly inhabited, their cows could scarcely walk from fat.

The circumstance I mention to prevent its being supposed that I was unheedful of any peculiarity that might militate against the

country, and also to meet remarks that might be made were it occupied and stocked without due precaution.

Three successive crops of Indian corn are mentioned as being sometimes reaped in the course of one year. Like information I also had from unquestionable authority, but at the same time I was not given to understand such to be a common occurrence.

The natives usually sow only twice, and each time reap an abundant harvest. In casting their seed into the ground, they never fear the result. They never know what it is to have a crop burnt up or to die from drought. The rains are so regular as to render irrigation unnecessary. On some occasions I was almost disposed to consider them as indulging in exaggerations, being aware of their anxiety to have it colonized by the English; yet when I applied to the farmer I have already mentioned, he seemed to see no reason for doubting the accuracy of their statements. That there could be no lack of water, I should myself have concluded without any other evidence than that furnished by an examination of the geological structure of the country; and of its vegetable productions, a great many of which having been found to appertain to orders known to be natural only to moist soils.

The harbour is correctly represented in the chart constructed by Mr. King, and the remarks contained in the memorial touching the character of the bar convey exactly the information which my notes would supply. Fresh water exists in abundance, and strong springs occur close to the very limit of the salt water. Equally near the latter grass thrives in profusion, and large herds of cattle could almost be fed within the range of the guns of a fort situated either at the entrance or upper part of the port.

The situation best suited for the site of a fort or village would depend in a great measure upon the circumstances of the moment, and would be best inferred by the strict observance of the occurrences which might immediately follow the landing of a party.

Paragraph 6:—"There are a considerable number of natives—a laborious, well-conducted people, who are the remains," &c.

A population of between two and three thousand souls have attached themselves to the colonial traders, and live around them in the immediate vicinity of the bay. These persons are the remains of the tribes which formerly occupied the present depopulated territory; and who, from the time they were conquered and plundered of their cattle, till the year 1824, kept constantly secreted in

the depths of the forests, purposely to avoid the spears of the Zulus. All of them are extremely poor, but industrious, kind, and peaceable to a miracle. They evince great attachment to their protectors, and display a lively interest for their prosperity. The circumstance of their having preferred their present residence to death, or joining the Zulus, has secured for them an extra dislike ; so that should it happen that the traders are necessitated to leave their present residence, their unfortunate retainers would, to a moral certainty, be either immediately put to death or forced to repair to the lurking-places from which they appear so delighted at having escaped. The number is so limited, in consequence of Dingaan objecting to any additions, knowing well that even the Zulus themselves would fly there, were they sure of protection. All his people are just in a state in which they would with pleasure attach themselves to any power that could ensure their protection ; and if a Government establishment were formed at Natal, one of the greatest difficulties that would require to be met would be the keeping down population. If a military party were to be posted near the bay, I 'would engage, in twelve months after its arrival, to be able to dethrone Dingaan by means of the very people who are at present his support. It is impossible for men to feel attachment to such a monster ; and it appears to me an act of great inhumanity to permit his murdering, torturing, and destroying even hundreds of his own subjects in the course of a day, when only the most trifling exertion would be required to effectually restrain him. As characteristic of his system of proceeding, I may only mention that, when I was in his kraal, I saw portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives, whom he had only a few days previous put to death merely for having uttered words that happened to annoy him.

Paragraph 8:—"A Government establishment at Port Natal would be the means of guarding against the injurious consequences of irregular trade," &c.

Several American vessels have lately entered the harbour, and out of one of them nearly fifty stand of arms, and a tolerable quantity of gunpowder, was bartered,—all of which are at present in possession of the Zulus. Hitherto they have used them only little in their wars ; but the king stated to me that, should he find himself unable to overcome his enemies by the weapons most familiar to his people, he would then have recourse to them. Should it, therefore, become an object for the Zulus to acquire an extensive supply of

firearms, they would find Natal a convenient place to barter for them—more especially as there are hundreds of American whalers nearly the whole year off the coast. It is generally believed that the American Government has some intention of forming a small establishment there, so that the numerous vessels which the States send out to the southern seas may have a port of their own to resort to in case of need. This belief has lately gained ground from the circumstance of an American vessel of war, with a political commissioner on board, having run along the coast and observed the situation of the bay. Let the intention of Government be what it may, I know from undoubted authority that the nation is about to send out missionaries to labour in that vicinity.

Paragraph 9:—"Looking, therefore, to the features of the country itself, its capabilities of maintaining a large population," &c.

A detachment of sixty men, together with a magistrate to administer the law, and communicate with the Zulus, would, in my opinion, be quite sufficient for the protection of a small mercantile community. It would, however, be next to impossible to confine it long to such a class of persons. The character by which the country is known, both in the colony and elsewhere, would urge thither persons of all descriptions; and in no long time the entire of the district, now lying waste, would be covered with emigrants, who, if they were but commonly industrious, would soon convert it into a most flourishing settlement.

MR. BORCHERDS' NOTES RESPECTING THE EASTERN COAST OF SOUTH AFRICA.

[FROM RECORDS OF COUNCIL.]

1653.—On 3rd June, 1653, the Commander van Riebeeck directed the attention of Government towards the Eastern Coast, and he proposed to visit by sea and ascertain the position of three rivers, about 220 miles from hence, named "Os Montes d'Ouro," "Rio di Quorno," and "St. Jorgo," for the purpose of promoting trade in gold, ivory, ebony, and slaves.

[Here commences the first act towards the introduction of slavery in this colony* on the part of Government.]

* The Cape.

1654.—On 18th June, 1654, Government fitted out a vessel (the "Tulip") to visit all bays, harbours, and places between Rio Dolce and Rio dos Reys, and to proceed to Madagascar for provisions.

1655.—On 27th October, 1655, the garrison was increased, a Portuguese expedition to Goa of 3,000 men and vessels, under a Viceroy, being expected to go to the Eastern Coast.

1660.—On 26th August, 1660, Government having succeeded in establishing peace with the natives, then called the Caapmans, and this being a safe and favourable opportunity to continue their researches, expedited thirteen persons to Monomotapa under the command of Jan Dankrots, an engineer and geometrician. He was to receive double pay, and to keep all gold and precious stones, &c., as a reward; and to visit the country about Monomotapa, Butna, and Davogue, about the River Spirito Santo, and to endeavour to persuade some of the people there to visit this place, leaving hostages in their stead. They were provided with three pack-oxen, provisions, and light merchandise out of the Company's stores.

[NOTE.—Here, for the first time, the name of the free burgher, Jacob Cloete, probably the ancestor of the extensive branch of that name, is mentioned on record. And on the occasion of making peace with the natives of the colony, it was discovered that the chief of the Hottentots, known under the name of Hottentoots, belonged to the tribe of Hornungwas.]

1661.—On 24th January, 1661. On the records of this date, it appears that the above-mentioned expedition had been unsuccessful, but a second under the command of Pieter Krugthof was ordered.

1683.—On 10th April, 1683, a storm is noted of twelve days and nights, on the bank of L'Agulhas.

1687.—On the 6th March, 1687, Terra di Natal is declared to be fertile, and the Council resolved to have it explored.

1688.—On 24th December, 1688, an expedition by land was ordered, under the management of Isaak Shryord, with 18 or 19 soldiers, with directions to proceed to Rio de la Goa, for the purpose of exploring the country.

1689.—On the 22nd October, 1689, the Council resolved to go on with exploring of De la Goa Bay, and to purchase it in the same manner as Port Natal had been purchased.

1705.—On 10th November, 1705, the Council ordered that a small vessel should proceed to Rio de la Goa and Terra di Natal; that the commander and court should administer justice there in

the civil proceedings according to the statutes of India and written law; and in criminal matters according to the regulations for the guidance of the Company's possessions and servants (Artikel-brief), and that appeals should be admitted to the court here.

1721.—On 20th January, 1721, instructions for the commander of Rio de la Goa and Terra di Natal were approved of here.

1723.—On the 12th July, 1723, a report was received from Rio de la Goa that the establishment there was in a bad state, and robbed by pirates.

On 10th September, 1723, orders were given to strengthen the fort at Rio de la Goa.

1724.—On 22nd May, 1724, orders were issued to examine the Copper Mountains and minerals at Rio de la Goa.

1726.—On 16th January, 1726, on the arrival of the Commander De Coninck, the instructions and necessary papers were given to him to proceed by land to Rio de la Goa.

1726.—On 29th January, 1726, a record is entered, by which it appears that the establishment of De la Goa amounted to 290 souls, and an extensive list of necessaries for the same, and for trade, is there inserted.

[NOTE.—This list may be interesting to those attempting an expedition to that part of the country.]

1726.—On 22nd August, 1726, three natives from Rio de la Goa arrived here; and were sent to remove the prejudice there entertained that slaves were brought here for the purpose of being eaten. Government showed great anxiety to conceal from the English the real state of Rio de la Goa. One of the natives, who spoke English, was purposely kept on board until the departure of an English vessel then at anchor here. Pewter spoons were found to be a profitable article of commerce.

1726.—On 23rd September, 1726, oil imported from Rio de la Goa was sent as a sample to Europe.

1727.—On 16th September, 1727, an oil press for Rio de la Goa was ordered to be made.

1729.—On 3rd February, 1729, experiment was made of some supposed gold-dust brought from Rio de la Goa, when it was found to be only river sand.

On 7th June, 1729, tin and ivory were imported from Rio de la Goa.

1729.—On 23rd June, 1729, a report was received that the cultivation of indigo at Rio de la Goa did not succeed.

On 15th November, 1729, orders were received from home, dated 14th April preceding, to abandon Rio de la Goa ; but previously to ascertain the spot from which two parcels of gold-dust had been forwarded. Thirty Europeans were there massacred.

1730.—On 11th June, 1730, it appears that the establishment of Rio de la Goa was finally abandoned.

1731.—On 27th February, 1731, an expedition was directed to be sent to Terra di Natal in the months of August and September : this period was preferred to avoid the heavy gales on the coast.

On 30th April, 1731, written considerations were received respecting an expedition for researches on the Eastern Coast, Terra di Natal, and Nyambani, and a decree accordingly taken.

1732.—On 29th July, 1732, the expedition on the Eastern Coast having failed, Council resolved to renew their attempt.

1755.—On 7th January, 1755, five thousand two hundred and thirty-six pounds of ivory and two pounds of ambergris were imported from Rio de la Goa.

1756.—On 4th September, 1756, in the Records of the Council, a memorandum is inserted of goods furnished for the trade in Rio de la Goa.

1759.—On 16th October, 1759, 5,800 lbs. of ivory were imported from Rio de la Goa.

1791.—On 24th June, 1791, the journal of Mr. Jacob van Reenen was produced respecting the "Grosvenor." It mentions the discovery of three white women in Kafirland (probably relics of the wreck of the "Grosvenor"), who refused to come to the colony unless accompanied by their families, which had then increased to about 400. This must have been in the country in the vicinity of Natal.

REPLY TO PETITION OF MERCHANTS.

Colonial Office, Cape Town, 12th March, 1835.

To the Gentlemen who signed the Merchants' Petition, &c.

GENTLEMEN,—With reference to my letter to you of 19th January last, relative to a memorial addressed to the King in Council by several merchants and inhabitants at the Cape, praying for the establishment of a settlement at Port Natal, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the memorialists, that a despatch

has been received from the Secretary of State, stating that His Majesty's Government have fully considered the memorial in question; but, with every disposition duly to appreciate the benefits likely to result from an extension of the commerce and the general relations of the colony, the Government do not feel that they could recommend to His Majesty to grant his sanction to the prayer of the petition; as in the present state of the finances of the Cape any additional expense for the establishment of a new settlement would be highly inconvenient, and could not with propriety be incurred.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN BELL.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH DINGAAN.

FEBRUARY, 1835.

[FROM THE WORKS OF CAPTAIN GARDINER, R.N.]

When about half-way, a petty chief arrived with orders to conduct me to the capital, and to kill a beast for us at the first place where he should meet us. Dingaan had expressed his desire that I should proceed, saying "that I was his white man, and must make haste." * * * Near this point the road branched off, one path leading to the principal gate of the town, and the other to the "Isigodhlo," or king's quarter, but which I had not perceived among the trees. As no voices were heard, and after waiting an ample time no traces of the party could be seen, I concluded that they must have passed unperceived, and accordingly made the best of my way by the only well-worn path that I could discern, and which I could distinctly trace to the very fence of the town. On reaching a shallow stream, which I forded, I found myself suddenly surrounded by thirty or forty women, who, laughing and shouting as they went, accompanied me as I proceeded towards a gate in the outer fence of the town, still under the idea that the party were in advance, and fearing that I should be deprived of the advantage of an interpreter at the very time when his services would be the most needed. At this moment a person suddenly came up, and, seizing the bridle of my horse, without further ceremony turned him short round. The effect was so immediate and unexpected, that I did not

at first recognise the individual, and struck at his hand with a stick; but in a moment I found that it was my servant, Umpondombini; and from the hurry of his demeanour and the immense anxiety he portrayed by his countenance, felt at once convinced that all was not right. Submitting, therefore, to his guidance, he soon conducted me to the party anxiously awaiting my return upon the road which I should have taken, and where I found many of the baggage-bearers actually in tears, and all under the highest state of agitation and alarm.

No causeless fears were theirs, for had I proceeded and entered by the gate I was approaching, they would all, it appears, by the custom of the country, have atoned for my mistake by their lives; and, as it was, there was still an apprehension that some at least would be capitally punished. We soon after entered the town, and on application to the principal induna (Umhlela) two huts not far from his own dwelling were appointed, into one of which I was not sorry to creep after the fatigues of the journey, having walked and ridden alternately since leaving the Tugela.

A bundle of imfi* and a large bowl of tshwala (native beer) were sent to my hut by order of Dingaan, and a messenger soon after signified his wish to see me. Crossing the area of the circular town, accompanied by the chief who had been despatched by Dingaan to conduct me to the capital, we were desired to sit at a short distance from the fence which surrounds the Isigodhlo or palace. After a little pause, the bust only of a very stout personage appeared above the fence, which I was soon informed was the despot himself. He eyed me for a considerable time with the utmost gravity without uttering a word. At last, pointing to an ox which had been driven near, he said: "There is a beast I give you to slaughter," and on this important announcement he disappeared. The carcasses of several oxen recently killed were at this time lying in separate heaps not far from the gate of his fence, the quarters divided and piled one upon another, and in order no doubt to exhibit at once his wealth and his munificence. He again appeared emerging slowly from the arched gateway, and advancing with a measured step to the nearest animal mound. Instantly he was surrounded by fourteen or fifteen men, who ran from a distance and crouched before him. A word and a nod were then given, and as quickly they arose and carried off the meat at full speed, holding it up the whole way with extended

* Sugar-reed.

arms, and singing as they went. Another heap was then approached, and as systematically distributed, and so on until the whole had been conveyed away in a similar pantomimic manner. Dingaan was habited in a blue dungaree cloak, relieved by a white border and devices at the back; the train swept the ground, and, although tarnished and worn, well became his height and portly figure. The soldiers having now been duly apportioned, he slowly approached the place where we were seated, and in solemn silence stood motionless like a statue before me, until a chair was brought from within, when he at last sat down and commenced a long conversation. His first question was regarding the conduct of the guides, who were also present, seated in a group, and who were readily pardoned on the assurance I gave that, if blame were attached, it must entirely rest with me, as I had mistaken the road when in advance of the party. He then requested to know the object of my visit, which I had some difficulty in explaining.

That my views were not in any way connected with trade, he could understand; but what was God, and God's word, and the nature of the instruction I proposed, were subjects which he could not at all comprehend. In order to give him some illustration, I gave him some of the leading circumstances which in other heathen countries had led to the worship, and contrasted their superior character, and the many advantages they possessed, since their reception of Christianity, with their former condition. He asked if his people could learn also, and seemed to regard the whole as an impossibility. The subject of the presents was then adverted to; but on this, unfortunately, I had little to say but that they were on their way, and I hoped would arrive safely. Still he was not satisfied, until I had not only enumerated every article, but entered into a minute description of each. The mention of a red cloak quite filled his mind, and seemed likely to suit his fancy more than all the rest. He then asked if my king's name was George; and on the mention of my sovereign, inquired how he governed his people. With so many decided proofs of despotism around, I considered this as rather a delicate question, and therefore avoided the circumstance of parliamentary interference altogether, by informing him that King William governed his people by means of his great men. He smiled, and seemed to regard even this as an inconvenient approximation to popular institutions. Finding that he had now sufficiently relaxed in state reserve, I thought it a favourable opportunity again to revert to the subject of teaching, and requested permission to build a

house for that purpose; but this was a knotty point, the objections to which I had yet to learn. No denial, however, was given; and I took my leave with a full understanding that a person should accompany me on the following day to direct me in the selection of the spot. Dingaan had already expressed a desire to see the "Book," of which I had spoken so much, and now reminded me to bring it with me on my next visit.

For three days subsequently he was unwell, and on the second sent to apologise for not seeing me. My next interview was in the Isigodhlo, where I found the king reclining on a head-stool at the door of his house, before which I was desired to seat myself on a mat. His first question was whether I had brought the "Book," on which my pocket Testament was produced, and at his desire delivered into his hand; but, after turning over the leaves with much curiosity for a few minutes, returned to me again. On his requesting that I would then read the words of the book, I read in order a number of passages previously selected as exhibiting the nature and penalty of sin, the power and omniscience of God, and the awful day of account when He will judge the world in righteousness. At the conclusion he asked several very pertinent questions, such as: "Where is God?" "How did He give His word?" "How will He judge at the last day?" "What nations will appear?" "Will mine be there?" "Shall I live for ever if I learn His word?" Two women only were in his house, and but one chief accompanied me, so that it might be considered a confidential meeting, and to me was particularly interesting. Before I left him, I reminded him of his promise respecting the house; on which he inquired if the open court in which I was then standing would do? And from the friendly manner in which it was expressed, I almost thought it possible that he might take my hint, and roof it in for my purpose; but now for the first time he mentioned a reference to the indunas as requisite before this matter could be finally decided. Hitherto I had been treated with great civility by all; but an unaccountable change was now but too apparent. Although the government is absolute, a considerable share of power is vested in the hands of the two principal indunas of the nation, who are always consulted, and generally supposed to sanction every important measure of their sovereign, and in this manner it becomes a convenient triumvirate, contracting and expanding its powers within itself, according to the humour of the ruling despot. These two important personages, Tambuza and Umhlela, I must now introduce—the one a chief of

hereditary rank, of a slight person, and a mild and intelligent countenance; the other sufficiently indicating, without a knowledge of Lavater, a character for tyranny and insolence but too exactly corresponding with his scowling profile. For some cause or other of which I was entirely unconscious, unless it was my determination not to make confidants of either, but to treat only with the king on the object of my visit, they not only treated me about this time with every indignity, but by their example of rudeness induced the people to accost us with insolence, and often to salute us with opprobrious epithets as we passed. Even my walks were disturbed, and often, while seated under my favourite tree, about three-quarters of a mile from the town, a message would be sent in the king's name to desire that I would immediately return. On one of these occasions my interpreter happened to be near Umhlela's house when the order was issued, and heard Tambuza's further instructions, that in case I should not willingly come they were to drag me along.

Doubtful how far they might have the power, or to what extent they might be acting under the king's directions, as I had not been able to approach him for some days, and they assured me that without their sanction I should not have another interview, I thought it prudent to bear all without reproaching them, with a full intention of stating the whole circumstances to Dingaan on the very first opportunity that should occur. Nothing seemed to gratify them more than to find that I returned to town when thus summarily ordered, or to announce, on my application to Umhlela for the cause of this intrusion, that they had directed it, palliating the affront by merely saying that they wished me to sit down and talk with them. So systematic was this species of persecution, that on one occasion, as I was leaving the town, one of the inferior indunas, a very powerful man, took me by the shoulder and attempted to obstruct my passage in the gate. I immediately walked up to Umhlela and Tambuza, seated with a group of people round them, not far distant, and asked them if it was by their sanction that strangers were thus ill-treated. The only answer was that they had sent him to call me, as they wished me to join them and converse.

Supposing that the non-appearance of the presents might have greatly contributed to place me in my present dilemma, I waived the opportunity, which soon after occurred, of making a direct complaint to Dingaan, and contented myself with hinting the advantage of sending a messenger to Port Natal to ascertain whether the wagon had yet arrived, adding that should that be the case the presents

might be forwarded without delay. This arrangement was no sooner proposed than messengers were appointed: and by this means I also succeeded in sending a letter to England, which, under my present circumstances, was an immense relief. Had this letter reached its destination, it would have been a singular production. It was written on the only half-sheet of paper that I possessed, by the light of a lamp made by placing the native butter in a small calabash, and inserting a rag wick. Some isidudn, my usual meal, supplied the paste for a wafer. The shed hoof of a calf is not a bad substitute for a lamp when a calabash cannot be procured. On this occasion I fully thought some treachery was meditated. Umhlela had again taken upon himself to send for me, and on reaching his hut I hesitated, when required to enter, begging that he would himself come out. The messenger who had called me, and whom I knew to be a principal person, assured me that Umhlela was alone in the hut, but to my surprise, on crawling in, the sides were lined with men. Umhlela commenced a long preamble by informing me, as he had often done before, that Tambnza and himself were the king's eyes and ears, and that all matters of importance must be first notified to them before they could be expressed to him. He then pointed to the messengers about to proceed to Natal, and who were then present, saying that whatever message I wished them to take must be delivered to them now. There appeared to be no alternative, and surrounded as I was by so unexpected a party, I delivered a short message, reserving the remainder for a note, which was given them on their departure. From this time matters gradually assumed a more pacific character. They had in vain attempted to wear out my patience; and probably finding they could not irritate me into any overt act of retaliation, the system of annoyance was dropped: and the change in their manner was so apparent that I cannot but think they had received some positive rebuke from Dingaan on the subject. My interviews with the king were now more frequent; but although I made it a point never to leave him without giving him a hint respecting my desire to commence teaching his people, and constructing a house for the purpose, no decisive answer could ever be extracted: that he would take an opportunity of consulting with the indunas, was the invariable reply. Since my return to Port Natal the following story has been related to me, which I doubt not has operated much to my disadvantage, and will in some measure account for the recent strange conduct of the two indunas. Jacob, the interpreter of the late Lient. Farewell, who was the first settler at Port Natal, from

some cause became greatly incensed against the settlers, and took every opportunity to prejudice them in the eyes of Chaka, at that time the sovereign of this country. He assured him that a white man assuming the character of a teacher or missionary would arrive amongst them, and obtain permission to build a house: that shortly after he would be joined by one or two more white men; and in course of time an army would enter his country, which would subvert his country, and eventually the white people would rule in his stead.

One afternoon, while occupied in what may be esteemed a very puerile amusement, planning out the rooms of a house with stones laid together on the ground on the spot which, if permission could be obtained, I had selected for the mission buildings, a messenger, running and breathless, came to inform me that Dingaan was waiting to see me. I found the king seated near the fence of some detached houses at the back of the Isigodhlo, where I was joined by my interpreter, who informed me that several messengers had already been despatched for me in several directions. Dingaan appeared in high good humour, but with a degree of mystery which rather prepared me for some strange antic. He began some trifling conversation to eke out the time, when suddenly the head of a column of the most grotesque-looking figures debouched from their ambush on the right, and marched past four deep, raising and lowering their bent arms, as though in the act of tugging at steeple bell-ropes, and repeating two lines of a song as they passed, which may be thus translated:

"Arise! vulture!

"Thou art the bird that eateth other birds."

When they had passed and re-passed in this order, they appeared again, broken into irregular companies, according to the colour of their dresses; and seeing that I admired the arrangement of the beads, with which they were literally covered, they were ordered to advance in files, and to approach nearer that their dresses might be inspected. They proved to be no other than the king's women, about ninety in number, decorated as they usually are previous to the army taking the field. Their faces were veiled with pendants of beads, with which also the petticoat was covered, forming an elegant chequered pattern, while their throats and arms were adorned with large brass rings. Some wore short cloaks, also covered with different-coloured beads, and all two strange feathers, which gave them a very uncouth appearance. For women they seemed to be in a high state of discipline, and rather enjoyed the display than otherwise; and

Dingaan seemed to be highly gratified by the well-merited encomiums which I paid to his taste, every one of these devices having originated in his fertile imagination. It was nearly dark before this extraordinary exhibition was ended, Dingaan, during the latter part, frequently turning round and addressing me thus: "Are we not a merry people?" "What black nations can vie with us?" "Who among them can dress as we do?" It was some of these ladies whom I met on my first approach to the town after missing my party: they had been bathing; but I have frequently met large parties of them carrying burdens for the use of the Isigodhlo, and more than once seen them marching out, with Dingaan at their head, and employing themselves in weeding his corn and "imfi" grounds, while he inspected the crop.

My mind was much relieved by the return of the messengers, who not only brought the welcome intelligence of Mr. Berken's safe arrival with the wagons at Port Natal, but some substantial proofs of my integrity to Dingaan in the long-promised presents, some of which, indeed, had so deteriorated in their various submersions by the way that they were scarcely producible; while, to my great satisfaction, that which was most prized, the red cloak, was in the best preservation. For the selection of this article, which was composed of red baize with a long, silky nap, I was indebted to Mr. Fynn, who kindly recommended it to me in Graham's Town, as a description of cloth in texture and colour more likely to please his Zulu majesty than any other that could be procured; and, certainly, no advice could have been more correctly given. As soon as it was opened it was displayed in every possible manner; first on the king's shoulders, then on one of his servants, who was ordered to turn and twist about in all directions, that its every bearing and fold might be shown off to the best advantage; it was then stretched to its widest extent, and two men, holding it up at arms' length, were ordered to run at full speed backwards and forwards, that he might witness its appearance while flowing in the air. At length it was hung upon a fence opposite his own house, that the curiosity of his people, who were viewing it from a distance, might be satisfied. Strange to say, after all this display, he never even wore it, but has had it carefully preserved ever since, for the grand national assembly at the feast of the first fruits, which takes place annually about the first week in January. In the evening I received the

important information, by special messenger, that it was neither too long nor too short, but exactly suited.

Dingaan, with all his barbarity, is dearly fond of a joke, and one morning sent for me and my interpreter for the sole purpose of affording some amusement. The open court, which surrounds his house, into which we were admitted, was lined with seventy or eighty women seated on mats, while he himself was standing on an earth mound of the shape of an ant-heap, from which he could not only overlook the fence but take a general view of the whole town; and it is from this rude pedestal that his orders are frequently given to the people without.

"There has been a contest," he first observed; "my women will not believe that you can do the things that are written down, unless you were present when the directions were noted, but I tell them you can."

In order to place this knotty question beyond all further dispute, I was requested to remain at a sufficient distance outside the fence while my interpreter, at their dictation, wrote the names of fourteen or fifteen of the women, describing their relative situations, when I was again admitted. The accuracy with which I was enabled at once to point to each individual named on the paper was a source of merriment and surprise; but still they were not satisfied, and devised another plan, which they thought would certainly puzzle. On my return, after a considerable interval, it appeared that several articles had been hid, and for which I was required to search according to the directions given. My first essay was to produce a broom, which had been rolled up in the end of a mat; then a bead in the closed hand of one of the ladies; then an ear ornament concealed in the skirt of Dingaan's cloak, but here I was at default, pointing to the cloak: he shook it loose to show that there was nothing there; still I pointed at the same spot near his feet; at last, with a laugh of triumph, he lifted up one of his feet, which had been purposely placed upon the article in question. This, of course, all acknowledged was an unfair advantage; and I then proceeded to pronounce the name of his favourite dog, Makwilana; and to watch the first lizard which ran over the thatch of the king's house; on noticing which my task was ended; and, I doubt not, my reputation for literary acquirements wonderfully enhanced. Dingaan, it appears, had on some former occasion proved the skill of a white man in deciphering his own language.

But a more tragical scene was about to be exhibited. Early one

morning my servant came to inform me that they were killing a man; and on leaving my hut to ascertain the truth of the report, I found that Gowujuana, one of the king's brothers, had already been hurried through the gate to the place of execution, and was at this time followed by two of his servants, in charge of a party of executioners, armed with knobbed sticks. Partly dragged, and partly goaded on, they were distinctly traced across the stream, and ascending the opposite hill. Here, however, they stopped, and a horrid scene took place. The two servants naturally enough had endeavoured to effect their escape; but, instead of binding them, they determined, as they called it, to take away their strength by throwing them down and striking them violently on all parts of the body with sticks; their blows I could distinctly hear. Again they were placed upon their feet, and urged on less rapidly to the fatal spot, near a large euphorbia tree on the brow of a hill, where the horrid purpose was completed by additional blows on the head. Gowujuana, I understand, made no resistance, and only requested, as he was being led along, that, in consideration of his being a king's son, he might be strangled instead of being struck with the knobbed sticks, which was granted.

Much affected by what I had witnessed, I could scarcely take my eyes from the spot, and was still standing in the same place, when the principal executioner entered the town on his return, holding in his hand the brass ornaments which had been taken from the necks of the deceased. He advanced directly towards me, and for a second or two, as he was approaching, the thought crossed my mind that I was to be the next victim; but it appeared he was only actuated by curiosity, and after displaying the brass rings, passed on. The following afternoon I took an opportunity of visiting the spot, but so effectually had the hyenas and vultures performed their office that the skeletons only remained to add to the number of skulls and bones with which the whole slope of the hill was strewn. Gowujuana was one of the most intelligent-looking men I had ever seen—of an open and engaging countenance, and, though the next in succession to Dingaan, was so unassuming in his manners that I have often had great pleasure in his conversation, and had, indeed, indulged in the hope that it might please God to make him the first convert to Christianity. A mystery hangs over his death; but, whether true or false, the alleged offence is an intrigue against the king, in which two of his other brothers were also said to have been implicated, and about a year ago suffered the same fate. Dingaan, according to

report, had hitherto spared his life contrary to the wishes of his two indunas, but so determined was Umhlela to effect his death, that because his recommendations in this particular were not attended to, he had for some time refrained from visiting the king, except on matters of business; and, the other day, plainly told him that it was impossible that they could ever go out to war while the poisoner, as he termed Gowujuana, lived.

But even here the matter was not allowed to rest. When a chief falls by the hand of the executioner, all his property is confiscated, and every individual, of whatever age, who is in the remotest degree connected with him by family or dependence is summarily put to death. An induna who lived in a hut next to mine was ordered upon this revolting duty, and from his lips, on his return, the following account is given. The principal property belonging to Gowujuana was in the neighbourhood of the Tugela, and thither he was sent with a party of men not exceeding thirty to destroy the entire population of ten villages. On reaching the first of these devoted places, he entered with one man only, to avoid suspicion. In the course of the evening one or two more dropped in, and so on until the whole number had arrived. He then informed the principal men that he had a message to deliver from the king, and as it was addressed to all, it would be better for the men to assemble in a place together, where all could hear. This being arranged, he so contrived it that his men, with whom a previous signal had been concerted, should intermingle with the party, and endeavour to divert their attention by offering them snuff. While thus apparently upon the most friendly terms, the fatal blow was given, each of the induna's party, on noticing the signal, rising and stabbing his fellow with an assagai. The houses were instantly fired, and the women and children indiscriminately butchered. The same horrors were perpetrated at each of the remaining villages, and it is said that very few escaped by flight out of the whole number.

It is truly lamentable to reflect on the number of cold-blooded murders which are thus systematically occurring, and that under the highest sanction, in these habitations of cruelty, going far to depopulate many flourishing districts. • • • A few days after this painful occurrence, a chief named Geogo, at the head of a large detachment from his regiment, came from a distant part of the country for the purpose of begging for shields. As all the cattle folded in the military kraals belong to the king, and but few • are killed there in proportion to the numbers which are daily

slaughtered at the capital, this is in consequence the great deposit of shields which are manufactured, and this is the constant and almost the only occupation of the men, two being formed from each hide. The reception of this party, which was somewhat curious, I shall now describe. Their arrival at the principal gate of the town having been announced to the king, an order was soon after sent for their admission, when they all rushed up with a shout, brandishing their sticks in a most violent manner, until within a respectable distance from the Isigodhlo, when they halted. Dingaan soon mounted his pedestal and showed himself over the fence, on which a simultaneous greeting of "Bayete!" ran through the line in which they were now formed. He soon disappeared, and they then seated themselves on the ground they occupied. Dingaan shortly after came out, the two indunas and a number of his great men having already arrived, and seated themselves in semi-circular order on each side of his chair, from whom he was, however, removed to a dignified distance. Tambuza, who is the great speaker on all these occasions, and the professed scolder when necessity requires, was now on his legs. To speak publicly in any other position would, I am convinced, be painful to a Zulu; nor is he content with mere gesticulation: actual space is necessary—I had almost said, enough for a cricket-ball to bound in; but that would be hyperbole. A run, however, he must have, and I have been surprised at the grace and effect which this novel accompaniment to the art of elocution has often given to the point and matter of his discourse. In this character Tambuza is inimitable, and shone especially on the present occasion, having doubtless been instructed by the king, in whose name he addressed Geogo and his party, to interlard his oration with as many pungent reproofs and cutting invectives as his imagination could invent or his natural disposition suggest. On a late expedition, it appears that the troops now harangued had not performed the service expected. They had entered the territory of Umsilikazi, and, instead of surrounding and capturing the herds within their reach, had attended to some pretended instructions to halt and return: some palliating circumstances had, no doubt, screened them from the customary rigour on such occasions, and this untoward occurrence was now turned to the best advantage. After a long tirade, in which Tambuza ironically described their feeble onset and fruitless effort, advancing like a Mercury to fix his dart, and gracefully retiring as though to point a fresh barb

- for the attack; now slaking his wrath by a journey to the right, and then as abruptly recoiling to the left—by each detour increasing in

vehemence—the storm was at length at its height, and, in the midst of the tempest he had stirred, he retired to the feet of his sovereign, who, I remarked, could scarcely refrain from smiling at many of the taunting expressions that were used. Geogo's countenance can better be imagined than described at this moment. Impatient to reply, he now rose from the centre of the line, his person decorated with strings of pink beads, worn over his shoulders like a crossbelt, and large brass rings on his arms and throat. "Amanga!" (it is false) was the first word he uttered. The various chivalrous deeds of himself and of his men were then set forth in the most glowing colours, and a scene ensued which I scarcely know how to describe. Independent of his own energetic gesticulations, his violent leaping and sententious running, on the first announcement of any exculpatory fact, indicating their prowess in arms, one or more of the principal warriors would rush from the ranks to corroborate the statement by a display of muscular power in leaping, charging, and pantomimic conflict which quite made the ground to resound under his feet; alternately leaping and galloping (for it is not running) until, frenzied by the tortuous motion, their nerves were sufficiently strong for the acme posture—vaulting several feet in the air, drawing the knees towards the chin, and at the same time passing the hands between the ankles. In this singular manner were the charges advanced and rebutted for a considerable time; Dingaan acting behind the scenes as a moderator, and occasionally calling off Tambuza as an unruly bull-dog from the bait. At length, as though imperceptibly drawn into the argument, he concluded the business in these words: "When have we ever heard any good thing of Geogo? What has Geogo done? It is a name that is unknown to us. I shall give you no shields until you have proved yourselves worthy of them. Go and bring me some cattle from Umsilikazi, and then shall shields be given to you." A burst of applause rang from all sides on this unexpected announcement, under which, in good taste, the despot made his exit, retiring into the Isigodhlo, while bowls of beer were served out to the soldiers, who with their indunas were soon after observed marching over the hills on their way to collect the remainder of their regiment for the promised expedition. I am inclined to think that there was much of state policy in all these proceedings, particularly as the order for the attack on Umsilikazi was shortly after countermanded, and not more than ten or twelve days elapsed before the same party returned and received their shields.

At this time I was quietly writing in my hut—one of the shield-

houses adjoined—and I shall never forget the unceremonious rush they made. Not content with turning them all out, and each selecting one, but in order to prove them, and shake off the dust, they commenced beating them on the spot with sticks, which in connection with this sudden incursion occasioned such an unusual tumult that I almost thought a civil war had commenced. The chieftain above alluded to (Umsilikazi) is of Zulu origin, born not far from this very town: his people are the same; but during the reign of Chaka, the predecessor of the present king, a separation was made, and, as is usually the case, the greatest jealousy and antipathy exist between these two independent and powerful states.

The morning being generally the time for transacting business, as well as for slaughtering the cattle, which is always an important operation; I used sometimes to join the select party seated round the king, who, on a chair near his fence, was almost daily visible at that hour. The deaths and casualties which have occurred during the night among his cattle are now formally reported, and with such precision that even the colour and twist of the horns are described. A herd is then driven near and paraded before him for inspection. From these he selects the number required for the day's consumption—six, eight, and sometimes ten or twelve, which are no sooner chosen than a person appointed thrusts a long spear into their sides. But one puncture is made, near the region of the heart, still it is seldom that the animal drops immediately; many walk and stagger for a minute or two, and, even when fallen, seem to die in great agony from the whole of the blood escaping through the mouth and producing a degree of suffocation. It was this cruel accompaniment which often deterred me from these morning visits. The fingering my watch was always a favourite amusement with Dingaan. Irrespective of consequences, I quite inadvertently drew it out on one of these occasions, when a narrower inspection was immediately requested, and, as there was no alternative, it was consigned to a hand which had little regard for its delicate construction. How to recover it again I hardly knew. Dingaan was already aware that there was still one intended for him among the presents that had not yet arrived, and pleaded hard for an exchange. "Why may not this be mine? Does the other make the same noise? Is it as large?" Although satisfied on all these points, and even assured that the other was larger, he still seemed to regard present possession as vastly superior to the most costly promises. Hints were unavailing. At last I appealed to his feelings by informing him that it was the

gift of a very dear friend, on which, much to his credit, and greatly to my relief, he readily restored it uninjured to my hand. A singular phrase was used by the group assembled near at one of these morning conferences. Dingaan had sneezed once or twice, when they immediately exclaimed : " May he grow greater ! "

A ludicrous proof was at this time given of the promptitude with which the most unusual and despotic order is obeyed when issued by the king. Several men from a distant part of the country, and who had never yet seen a horse, were standing near, when Dingaan, in one of his frolicsome moods, turned round suddenly, and, pointing to my horse, who was quietly grazing at a distance, cried out : " There's a lion, go and bring it alive ! " Instantly the whole party was in pursuit. I did not witness the circumstance, but my interpreter informed me that, as they approached, they extended themselves to surround him—one standing out in advance, as though to tempt the attack—while those behind were prepared to seize and master the animal, after he had, as they expected, sprung upon his victim. But they soon discovered their mistake, and on their return were ironically rebuked by their sovereign for not bringing the lion. Had it been a lion, as Dingaan himself asserted, it would have been brought ; and from this specimen I have little doubt of the fact, notwithstanding the great loss of life that must have attended so unusual an enterprise.

One of his most cruel acts was unfortunately induced by the sight of an eye-glass, which I occasionally wore. He requested to look through it, and was amusing the people near by describing the effect. " Now," he would remark, " you are all to run over the river," meaning that he could distinguish people on the opposite side ; " now you are all to come back," directing the glass to nearer objects. At length he asked whether it would burn, and on being told that it was only intended to assist the eye, he sent to the Isigodhlo for a large burning-glass, which he had formerly received as a present. His first essay was to ignite the dry grass on each side of his chair : but this was too tame an occupation ; and, beckoning one of his servants near, he desired him to extend his arm, when he firmly seized his hand, and deliberately held it until a hole was actually burnt in the skin, a few inches above the wrist. Crouched before him, in the humblest posture, the unfortunate man seemed writhing with pain, but dared not utter even a groan, and, as soon as this wanton infliction was over, was directed to go round to the company and display the effect. Had my glass been restored I should, long before, have

taken my departure—unwilling to countenance such barbarous proceedings; but it was still retained, and I was necessitated to witness a repetition of the same torture on another servant, whom he held in the same manner, and who appeared to suffer more intensely, yet without any further indication of his feelings than a nervous writhing of the whole body. No sooner was he liberated than he confessed that the pain extended through every part, from his head to his feet; and that he was convinced he must have fallen had it been prolonged. He, too, was ordered to exhibit his arm to all present; and, really, from the expression of many of the countenances as he went round, a stranger might have imagined that some honorary badge had been conferred.

In these military towns the whole food of the soldiers, consisting of "utshwala" in the morning and beef in the evening, is provided at the king's cost, and partaken of in public. It is no uncommon thing to see a string of thirty or forty women proceeding to the Isigodhlo, with bowls of "tshwala" on their heads, singing as they go; these are delivered to servants appointed, and soon after set before the assembled crowd, who, passing them from one to another, empty them on the spot; but the evening meal is the most characteristic, and which, from the position of my hut near one of their feeding-places, I had the most frequent opportunities of witnessing. Every regiment is divided into sections, and over each of them is an officer appointed, whose particular charge are the shields and the distribution of meat, of which he is the carver. The beer is always distributed and drunk within the area included within the inner fence, and often in the presence of the king; but for the supper, every section is collected separately in some convenient spot in that quarter within the fences. The meat is generally stewed in a large black earthen bowl, with a smaller one inverted and cemented near the top, to prevent the steam from escaping; but for all this, and notwithstanding it may have been cooking the greater part of the day, it is generally so tough that my teeth could make but little impression upon the pieces which I now and then attempted by way of experiment. It is usually dark before their repasts are ready, when the meat is brought upon a mat about two feet square and placed upon the ground, round which the whole party thickly crowd in dense circles, two or three deep. The carver, then, with an assagai-head upon a short stick, which constitutes his knife, apportioned rations to every second or third man, who in his turn divides it with his collateral neighbours, by the joint effort of their teeth: the

recipient being always entitled to the first bite. So positive is the labour which is necessary before they can venture to swallow these tough morsels, that the operation is distinctly audible at a considerable distance; and when the whole is devoured (for "eat" is too mild an expression for the operation, which is over in a few minutes) the whole body becomes a convenient napkin, and is plentifully besmeared with the fat and grease which adhere to their hands and lips; while the most thrifty take this opportunity of re-burnishing the brass which encircles their throat and arms.

But it is now time to speak of the graces. The new moon had already appeared, and preparation was made for a grand dance, a continuation of those which had commenced at the in-gathering, early in the preceding month. For two or three days previously a number of boys had been assembled to collect small pebbles, which were afterwards placed in the vacant cocoon of a winged insect of the beetle kind, striped yellow and black, frequently adhering to the mimosa trees; several of these strung together were worn at the ankles by the dancers, and made a jingling noise which was not unpleasant. Some preliminary exercises having been gone through by way of practice, the whole male population, now swelled to about a thousand, arranged themselves in a ring, three deep; the women in ranks of about twenty forming a close phalanx in the centre, on a spot at a little distance without the town. The king in his dancing attire soon after made his appearance; his women, dressed out in their best, having preceded him, and fallen into their proper places in the centre of the ring. I waited near the gate for the purpose of accompanying him, and witnessing his reception, which was enthusiastic, all voices being raised at his approach to utter the mystical "Bayete!" with other appropriate epithets. Having but once before seen Dingaan without his cloak, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could refrain from laughing outright. Of all the grotesque figures, either in print or in "*propria personâ*," his equal I never saw, though he bore the nearest resemblance to Falstaff of any I could recollect. Tall, corpulent, and fleshy, with a short neck and a heavy foot, he was decked out as harlequin, and, carried away by the excitement of the moment, seemed almost prepared to become one. He had a good ear and a correct taste, at least in these matters, and, had his figure but corresponded with his equipments, he would have carried off the palm in the dance, which he entered into with some zest, and certainly sustained his part with much natural grace and, for so heavy a man, with no ordinary ease and agility. The songs

which are sung on these occasions are chiefly of his own composition, and are varied every year; in fact, the songs are but an accompaniment of the dance, and stand in the place of music, of which they have none that deserves the name. Each man is provided with a short stick, knobbed at the end; and it is by the direction he gives to this, the motion of his other hand, and the turns of his body, that the action and pathos of the song are indicated. The correspondence is often very beautiful, while the feet regulate the time, and impart that locomotive effect in which they so much delight;—sometimes the feet are merely lifted, to descend with a stamp; sometimes a leaping stride is taken on either side; at other times, a combination of both; but they have a yet more violent gesture—forming four deep in open order, they make short runs to and fro, leaping, prancing, and crossing each others' paths, brandishing their sticks, and raising such a cloud of dust by the vehemence and rapidity of the exercise, that, to a bystander, it has all the effect of the wildest battle-scene of savage life, and which it is, doubtless, intended to imitate. While all this is going on in the ring, the women in the centre are not idle spectators: they do not, indeed, move from their position, but bending their bodies forwards to the clap of their hands, stamping with both feet together, and raising their voices to the highest pitch, they fill in their parts, and follow out the chorus with such a degree of continued exertion as would cause an European woman to go upon crutches for the remainder of her life. When the king mingles in these festivities, he takes his place in the inner circle, exactly opposite the centre of the sable phalanx; and should he set the time, which he usually does, when present, a shrill whistle from a number of men (the king's herdsmen) stationed in the opposite part of the ring, announces the condescending act; and at the conclusion of every song, whether he is present or not, two heralds cross each other, emerging at the same moment from opposite ends of the circle, and running furiously along the line which faces the women, shouting the whole time at the top of their lungs—"O, O, O, O, O," to indicate its conclusion. These heralds are always disguised in some grotesque attire; on this occasion one was so completely enveloped in the entire skin of a panther, his own eyes piercing through the very holes in the skull, and his neck and shoulders streaming with long lappets of the same fur, that he bore no resemblance to a human being. The other was less hideous, being covered with long fillets of ox-tail and hair, a large fillet of which encircled his forehead and hung wildly over his eyes. Every song,

many of which are sung on these occasions, has a different air, and the corresponding attitudes vary also—some are humorous and colloquial, a conversation being kept up with the women, who ask questions, and are in return answered by the men; but the generality relate either to hunting or war. On one occasion the boys were employed to water the ground, and in an instant every calabash, large and small, was in requisition; even bundles of wet grass were brought and switched about to assist in laying the dust; but in a quarter of an hour it was again raised by the continued stamping of so many feet. The black feathers of the long-tailed finch form the usual head-plume of the men; the forehead is bound round with a fillet of white beads, having a square of red in the centre; white beads usually decorate the ankles, and a band of this or some other colour, such as pink or blue, the leg below the knee; while heavy brass rings on the throat and arms are the established uniform during the dancing season, and to the eye have a very rich and dressy appearance. In this climate, however, they are a positive torture, and many are the complaints which I have heard from the wearers that they frequently raise blisters after a long exposure to the rays of the sun. The marvel is that the whole nation are not afflicted with sore throats, as the pressure and heat are endured throughout the hottest months of the year, while they are suddenly left off at the approach of winter.

But I must now revert to the more immediate subject of my visit. Nearly a month had elapsed since my arrival, and not the slightest progress appeared to have been made in what I had most at heart—the religious instruction of the people; although no opportunity had been lost of urging the point with Dingaan. The horse which I had borrowed at the Tugela was still with me, delayed day after day in the full expectation that a final reply would be given to my often-repeated applications, and that its services might be required either for the purposes of the station here or for my return to Natal. In order, therefore, to bring the point at once to an issue, I requested an audience, and informed the king that I could no longer retain the horse; that it was my intention to send him back on the following day, but that it would be very inconvenient for me to do this without having been previously made acquainted with his decision with respect to my remaining to instruct his people. His reply was: “You must go and speak to the indunas about it, and to-morrow morning bring them up with you, and I will give you an answer.”

Delighted with this apparent opening, and anticipating a favour-

able result, I proceeded in quest of Umhlela and Tambuza; but at that moment those important personages were actively engaged in dancing in the ring, and as my intrusion at such a time would only have retarded my views, and the sun had gone down before their return, I was obliged to content myself with a promise that they would attend to the business the first thing in the morning.

Soon after daylight I sent to enquire if Umhlela were disposed to receive me in his hut, or whether he and Tambuza would call on me; but though diligent search was made, neither could be found; and it was at length ascertained that both were with the king. For a long time I awaited their return, my interpreter and myself taking different stations for this purpose; and although at last I succeeded in waylaying them, it was again but too evident that nothing could be expected from either. Orders, it appears, had been suddenly given, and arrangements were now being made for the removal not only of the court, but of the whole male population to Imbelibeli, a military station about ten miles distant, where a series of dances on a more extensive scale was to finish the festivities of the season. The urgency of the occasion and the press of business which devolved on them, was the plea they advanced for not at once attending to my wishes; and perceiving that all prospect of success amidst the hurry and bustle of the moment was utterly hopeless, I fell in with Umhlela's suggestion to accompany them, a promise at the same time being held out of a final answer on reaching Imbelibeli. My expectations of such a result, I must own, were by no means sanguine; the dancing was expected to continue for twenty-one days, and I had little hope that in the midst of all the excitement and bustle of such a scene, my business was likely to be better attended to than here, still there was a glimmering of hope; both the king and the indunas were pledged now to express their opinion, and I thought it very probable that something might arise during the march that might induce the indunas to espouse my cause.

The Umkungunglovu regiment, about nine hundred strong, marched out in single file at about ten o'clock; a number of camp followers, bearing a few articles rolled up in mats upon their heads, had preceded, and several kept company at a respectable distance, on either flank, among whom were the king's servants, bearing his cloak in a basket, his gilt stick, a chair, and various other articles. Dingaan, followed by the two indunas, passed through the gate at the head of his people, but on reaching the heights ordered them to proceed, while he rested in his chair and reviewed them as they filed

past; those nearest to his person bending almost double as they approached, and continuing the obsequious posture until they advanced several paces forward. The line occupied a considerable space, and, as they wound up the irregular slopes of the hills, the effect produced by their glistening armlets and collars and waving plumes was certainly fine; and Dingaan, who is a notorious boaster, took advantage of the circumstance to expatiate to me on the numbers and efficiency of his troops. For some time he continued in the rear, and then ordering a general halt, passed along the line and resumed his station at their head.

On approaching a military town called Isiklebeni, the whole male population turned, formed on the hill, and soon after descended with an impetuous charge to within about two hundred yards of the advancing line; on which both halted, and shouts of welcome resounded from the Isiklebeni people, closely compacted in "mélée" order. Dingaan was at this time seated, under the shade of a spreading mimosa, with Makwilana, his favourite dog, at his feet, and witnessing the stately walking and trotting of some of the principal ladies, who had come out to greet him. The troops of both towns soon after assembled on the top of the hill to await his arrival. Among these ladies of rank was his own sister, who on approaching kissed his hand, and then joined her companions, who were slowly moving backwards and forwards on the same line, in order to exhibit to the best advantage a long skin petticoat of the blackest dye, studded round the waist with brass knobs, and furnished on each side with a long lappet, which trailed upon the ground behind. The motion of the feet, half-walk, half-trot, gives the idea of wading through an opposing current of water, while the shoulders are alternately advanced, and the bent elbow moved up and down in so constrained and inelegant a manner that I never would regard these "gauche" manoeuvres, though evidently intended to please, with any tolerable degree of composure. On reaching the hill on which the town is built, both parties had formed two sides of a square, and here a similar exhibition took place in leaping and athletic eccentricities to that which has already been described on the arrival of Geogo.

The object, however, was different in the present instance, to assure their sovereign of the capacity and eagerness of each old warrior to emulate his former deeds; and certainly, if actions could speak, they must have made an indelible impression upon his mind. Here was no speechifying, but out came a warrior with a bounce,

brandishing his weapon and beating his shield, and covering as much ground in three strides as a tiger could spring, stabbing and parrying and retreating, and again vaulting into the ranks, with so light a foot and so rigid a muscle, that the eye had scarcely time to follow the velocity of his movements. Another and another came out, each with a peculiar step and gesture; and while in the performance of these exploits, pointed at in his meteor course, as well by the king as by all his compatriots, who, by the extension of their hands and their sticks towards the individual, accompanied by the prolonged sound of the letter Z, indicated their recognition of a warrior of known and tried courage. This continued some time, when the Umgungundhlovu troops passed on, followed by those of Isiklebeni, who escorted us about a mile from their town to the bank of a dry rivulet: when after a few more bounces and leaps and simultaneous shouting they took their leave, to slaughter and devour some beef which had been presented to them by the king, a herd having accompanied our progress at some distance from the line of march. As we now proceeded along more quietly, Dingaan turned round to inquire of me whether King William often visited different parts of his country, and whether he was welcomed by his subjects in a similar manner. I immediately tossed my hat in the air, and gave three cheers, which, on being explained, greatly delighted him. During the whole of this journey we were accompanied by the two "imbongas," or professed praisers of the king, bearing shields, and keeping always within audible distance on one side or other of the path. These are the same men who perform the part of heralds in the dances, and who now, at every convenient opportunity, recounted the various acts and deeds of their august monarch, in a string of unbroken sentences; the climax of this species of impromptu composition being the volubility of the speaker, and his total disregard of every rule of punctuation.

The entrance to the Imbelibeli was in the same style as the approach to Isiklebeni. The people of the town came out to receive the king, and then all moved forward together; the main body, as soon as they had reached the inner fence, opening to admit the king, who was in the rear, and then immediately closing and forming a circle around him, who, after witnessing a further exhibition of warlike antics, retired to the Isigodhlo at the upper part of the town. Not so fortunate was I, although nearly the whole population of the place had been forced to turn out for the accommodation of the people from Umgungundhlovu, who may be considered as the body-guard, and who were seen lighting their fires as we approached, and

preparing to bivouac among the neighbouring bushes. Not a hut could be obtained; and had it not been for the influence of the two indunas who, at the express order of the king, accompanied us in the search, we should not have succeeded. Not expecting to remain beyond a night, the sum total of my baggage was a pocket Testament and a spoon, naturally calculating on procuring a mat. But even this luxury could not be obtained; and I was obliged to content myself with the solid floor for my bed, and a more solid stone by way of pillow, and that in a hut already occupied by two natives, independent of my interpreter. Having been promised an early interview with the two indunas in the morning (March 7th), and the actual height of the sun described at the time the intended conference should take place, I was at Umhlela's place rather before the time appointed; but neither himself nor his colleague—who, in the crowded state of the town, were housed together—could be found. His servants informed me that they had been seen passing through the gate, intending to bathe in the river; which, I believe, was correct. However, in due time, they were reminded of the appointment, and the long-promised meeting took place.

Both Umhlela and Tambuza, who were the only individuals present, excepting ourselves, expressed themselves in the kindest manner, and evinced so much cordiality and willingness to forward my view that the object appeared almost gained before the final reference had been made to the king. Apparently animated with the subject, which was discussed at full length, they themselves proposed an immediate adjournment to the presence of the king; but this, even to them, was not so readily gained; and, to my astonishment, notwithstanding their previous boasting, we were all kept a full half-hour waiting attendance—happily under the shade of some old trees in the centre of the area—until his majesty (not at the time occupied, like the nursery king, in “counting out his money,” but in inspecting his herds of cattle) had finished his princely enjoyment. His chair was then set beside the trunk of another tree, to which we soon after repaired; and I was called upon by Dingaan to state the substance of what had just been advanced in Umhlela's hut.

As these arguments will appear in the sequel, it will be unnecessary to say more than that I endeavoured to explain to him, as I had frequently done before, that my only motive in visiting his country was the spiritual instruction of his people—enlarging upon the blessings attendant upon Christianity, both individually and nationally; and assuring him that any intention to interfere with

either their laws or customs was the farthest removed from my thoughts: as, next to the fear of God, honour and respect to kings, and all in authority, was a prominent feature in the religion which was taught in the "Book," and which I was so anxious to make known to them. To this point I met with no interruption; but here Tambuza observed that they did not wish for teaching; that they could never learn; that such words as these they could not understand. If I could instruct them in the use of the "isibamu" (musket) I could stay, but these were things they did not care about. As neither Umhlela nor the king had as yet expressed any opinion, I strove hard to combat these objections, hoping still to neutralize this unexpected rebuff; but to no purpose. Umhlela, though he said little, supported his colleague; and both soon cut the matter short by an appeal to the king for his final decision. His reply, a masterpiece of *juste milieu* policy, and, I am willing to hope, at variance with his better judgment, was thus expressed:—"I will not overrule the decision of the indunas." As though thunderstruck, and scarcely believing my own ears, I still ventured to prolong the discussion, until reminded by the indunas—who, having now gained their point, were more authoritative in their manner—that the business was ended.

* * * *

As the object of my visit had now, at least for the present, entirely failed, I signified my intention to return forthwith to Port Natal.

* * * *

Scarcely had we arrived at Port Natal, when the following letter, bearing the signatures of all the Europeans then in the settlement, was put into my hand:—

Port Natal, March 14, 1835.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, residents of Port Natal, learn with regret your unfavourable reception with Dingaan: and, to enable you to form a just estimate of our own feelings, declare that the presence of a missionary establishment at Natal, whose object would be to inculcate religion and industry, would and shall meet with all the support in our power.

(Signed) JOHN CANE, C. BLANCKENBERG, RICHD. WOOD, CHAS. ADAMS,	J. FRANCIS, C. J. PICKMAN, P. H. OGLE, JAS. COLLIS.

* * * *

Having given the matter full consideration, a reply was forwarded.*

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Description of Port Natal.—The entrance is narrow, but it immediately expands into a beautiful sheet of water, of nearly an oval shape, having a low island near the upper end, and exhibiting from the neighbouring heights all the peculiar characteristics of lake scenery. Both the island and the banks of the bay are covered with mangrove trees, the wood of which has been found to be very durable in buildings; and so low is the general level of the land to the foot of the surrounding hills, that during the spring tides a great part on the north side is overflowed. Near the sea-coast, and upon the slopes of all the hills which face the bay, the woods are comparatively thick and tangled; but on gaining the first or second ridge, they only occur in ornamental clumps, large tracts of open ground intervening, and affording every facility for immediate tillage. By a little attention to draining, the whole of the flats which margin the bay may be available for agricultural purposes; and so rich is the alluvium in some of these places, that a very productive garden has lately been laid out by Mr. Collis, in a spot still surrounded by reeds, and formerly entirely occupied by them. With the exception of Mr. Collis' house, constructed of reeds and mud, there was not a single dwelling of the European fashion in the whole settlement on my arrival, and to a stranger unacquainted with the localities, the whole had a most wild and deserted appearance. On account of the frequent threats of Dingaan to send down and reclaim his runaways, the open country was considered unsafe, and every village and hut carefully concealed among the woods with so much ingenuity and labour that, in threading the narrow and winding avenues leading to some of these jungle fastnesses, I have often fancied I was approaching the dismal abode of some desperate buccaneer. Although widely scattered, the native population in the immediate vicinity may be estimated at 2,500, among whom about thirty Europeans and a few Hottentots are residing. In this heterogeneous community, a singular transposition of the natural order has taken place. The natives, although barely raised above the lowest scale of civilization, subsist by agriculture, while the Europeans, with but few exceptions, live entirely by hunting. But in drawing this contrast, which is

* In this reply, March 16, 1835, Captain Gardiner offered his services, "until the necessary buildings are completed, and arrangements can be made for a clergyman of the Church of England to occupy this important station."

merely curious and incidental, I must not be understood to infer that it is for the daily supply of food that the hunter is thus actively employed: far otherwise is the fact; his usual game is the elephant and the buffalo, and by disposing of the tooth of the one, and the hide of the other, he obtains a sufficient fund for his present exigencies: and were but an equitable scale of prices established for the colonial goods he may require, it would, with common prudence and industry, very soon place him in comparatively comfortable circumstances. Hippopotami are still numerous, and the hides, until lately, were an article of export, but from some cause they have lost their value, and the huge animal is now only shot for the sake of its meat, which is often eaten, both fresh and salted, as well as for the fat, which makes an excellent substitute for oil, and burns well, and without smell in open lamps, but it is of too solid a nature to run in the ordinary way.

* * * *

History.—The immediate ancestors of Dingaan in the supreme authority are Jama, Senzagakona, and Chaka. The latter was brought up by Dingizwayo, King of the Umtetwa, who is reported to have been a man of great sagacity, and to have originated some parts of the military system which Chaka subsequently brought to such perfection. The Umtetwa at that period were a people far more powerful than the Zulus. Chaka usually headed his army, but, at the period of his death, they were engaged on a distant expedition against a powerful chief, named Sotshangana, ruling a country to the north-west of Delagoa Bay, which proved unsuccessful. At this time, 1829, two of his own brothers, Dingaan and Umhlangana, conspired against his life, assisted by Satayi, a principal domestic of great influence. Diverting his attention by driving from his presence several men who had been exhibiting some feathers for sale, he received an assagai wound in the back from one of this treacherous party, who were anxiously watching the favourable opportunity. He immediately rose and attempted to throw off his "ingubu" (skin mantle), but fell in the act. His last words were: "What have I done to you, children of my father?" Although Dingaan was present and consenting, it is not believed that he took an actual part in the murderous deed. Chaka is generally allowed to have been illegitimate, and, prior to his death, had nominated Dingaan as his successor, but it appears that it was the object of Satayi to set this aside in favour of Umhlangana, the younger

brother. The plot was soon discovered and Umhlangana murdered, it is said, by his brother, who notwithstanding permitted Satayi to escape with impunity. Until very lately he was residing at his own village on the Umhlatusi, but has recently been killed by order of Dingaan. These two unnatural brothers are said to have drunk on the spot the gall of the chief they had conspired to assassinate. The sovereignty is hereditary in the nearest male relative. A brother of Dingaan still living is the presumptive king.

Titles of the King.—"Bayete" (no signification yet ascertained). "Baba"—father (used in reply, as "Yebo, Baba,"—yes, father); the same term is also used by inferiors of all ranks to those above them. "The Noble Elephant." "Thou, who art for ever." "Thou, who art as High as the Heavens." "Thou, who Begettest the Men." "The Black One." "Thou, who art the Bird who eats other Birds." "Thou, who art as High as the Mountains." "Thou, who art the Peacemaker," &c., &c.

Military Organization.—The whole kingdom may be considered as a camp, and every male belongs to one or other of the following orders:—"Umpakati," veterans; "Isimpohlo" and "Insizwa," younger soldiers; "Amabutu," lads who have not served in war. The two former are distinguished by rings on their heads; the others do not shave the hair.

Throughout the country there are "Ekanda," or barrack-towns, in which a certain number of each class are formed into a regiment, from six hundred to about one thousand strong, and where they are obliged to assemble during the half-year, principally for the practice of dancing, which is considered as a military exercise. In the whole country there are said to be from fourteen to sixteen large "ekandas," and several of a smaller size; and it is supposed, but I cannot speak from personal observation, that they can bring fifty thousand men into the field. Each regiment is commanded by from two to ten principal officers, that are called "indunas," of which one is considered the commandant: and these are assisted by an inferior class, who have charge of the different sections, and attend principally to the distribution of provisions, and to the shields, &c.

During the reign of Chaka, no soldier was permitted to marry until he had distinguished himself in war. At present this restriction has undergone a considerable modification; but still in all cases the king's consent must be obtained, and this is seldom given but to the Umpakati. But it is no unusual thing, on any great occasion,

for the king to issue an order for a whole regiment to marry; and, strange as such a decree would sound to European ears, it would be a happy circumstance if such sweeping orders were more frequent, as unfortunately there is no limit to those who are excluded from this indulgence in the number of concubines they may choose to take. This is done upon principle, and I have heard it gravely asserted as one of the wisest enactments for rendering a soldiery efficient by keeping them thus aloof from family attachments, and unshackled by domestic attractions. I naturally refrain from entering further into detail, having only glanced at the surface of this painful subject, which is so interwoven with their habits and character, that it is likely to present a formidable obstacle to their religious improvement. The example of both Chaka and Dingaan has tended greatly to uphold this baneful system, neither of whom was ever legally married, according to the customs of the country.

* * *

Laws.—During the reign of Chaka, every principal induna had the power of life and death; but this has since been greatly curtailed, Dingaan on his succession restricting it to three indunas, Umhlela, Tambuza, and Iyoto, the induna of Congela.

In a country where there is no written language, a stranger during a short residence can obtain but a very cursory acquaintance with laws and usages sanctioned only by custom and traditionary record. I shall therefore prefer offering a blank upon this subject to advancing what may hereafter prove to be erroneous information, and content myself with merely stating what crimes are capitally punished:—Adultery; witchcraft; speaking evil of the king. The houses of malefactors are always taken down, and the sticks by which they are beaten to death, and the dress they wore, are thrown away, and never allowed to be used afterwards.

Customs, apparently of Jewish Origin.—1. Circumcision. This rite, which is now obsolete, obtained until Chaka's reign. He allowed it to go into desuetude in his own person, and his example has been followed by the whole nation.

2. It is the usual custom, though not absolutely obligatory, for the younger brother to marry the widow of his deceased brother.

3. On any apprehension of infection, one of the Igika (or doctors) passes through the town, bearing a bunch of small boughs or herbs, followed by a person bearing a large bowl of water, into which the boughs are frequently dipped as he goes along, and the

door and entrance of every house is sprinkled. This took place during my stay at Umgungundhlovu, in consequence of several of the people who had assembled at the dances having, on their return home, been attacked with sickness. Both the hut which I inhabited and that of my interpreter were included, and even the ground about the gateway of the town was subject to this mysterious cleansing.

4. The "Festival of the First Fruits." This custom is not peculiar to the Zulus, but obtains among all the neighbouring nations; and appears now to be perpetuated for a double purpose—to prevent improvidence in commencing upon the young corn crops too early, and to afford an opportunity for assembling and reviewing the whole nation preparatory to war. The first ripe corn is partaken of by the king, before any one of his subjects dares, under heavy penalties, to taste it. Much ceremony is observed, and the annual dances are then commenced, during the continuance of which the greater part of the nation assemble at the capital.

5. A propitiatory offering to the spirit of the king's immediate ancestor. No altar, prayer, or ceremony of any kind is observed; the bullock is killed within the cattle-fold, contrary to the usual practice, and the flesh is cooked and partaken of on that very spot, an observance peculiar to such occasions.

Connected with this subject, I would merely remark, as a singular coincidence, that the name of Ham is not uncommon among the Zulus. On hearing it called once or twice, I made some enquiry, and was told that it is generally given to those who had a fierce countenance and a voracious appetite, or, in other words, that they were "hyena-men," as they are not inaptly designated.

Marriage.—A remarkable distinction is made by these classifying people even in the designation of their women:—An unmarried woman is called an *untombi*; a married woman, but without children, is *umfazi*; a married woman with children, *inina*.

It is not regarded either as a matter of etiquette or of delicacy from which side the proposal of marriage may proceed. The overture is as often made by the women as by the men. In the former case, the pseudo-bride, accompanied by another married woman, proceeds to the residence of her elect, some other married women following them at a distance; should the proposal be accepted, the matrons come up and commence singing. There are no words to the song, but it is merely a melody of sounds. On the following day a beast is slaughtered, and the bride and bridegroom, with their

friends, partake of the feast. It is required strictly that each part of the flesh should be eaten; after which the ceremony of Ingazizo, or washing with beads, takes place. The newly married couple, with their friends, being assembled, a calabash of water and a basket of beads are brought. The beads are first put into the calabash, and it is then presented to the bride, who pours a little of the water first upon the hands of her husband, and then upon those of her friends, who extend them for the purpose. She then consigns the calabash to her partner, who, in his turn, pours some of the water first upon her hands, and then upon those of his friends, until it is exhausted, when he returns it to her. The bride then throws the beads at his feet, which any of the party but himself are at liberty to pick up and possess; in fact, it becomes a sort of scramble. This, as I am informed by a native (for I never witnessed it) finishes the ceremonies on such occasions—subordinate, however, to the all-important consideration of cattle; for until that is duly arranged, the consent of all parties is held in abeyance.

The usual sum demanded is from four to six cows, according to the circumstances of the parties, though, in the case of a chief's daughters, from twenty to fifty, or one hundred head, are not unfrequent; not, indeed, by way of dower, but as a present to the father or nearest relative of the lady, and partaking too much of the character of a commercial transaction. For the acquisition of this species of property Dingaan has a great propensity, often discarding a concubine, and obliging some wealthy subject to marry her, for the sake of the herd of cattle which he must receive on the occasion.

Among the Kafir tribes the marriage ceremonies are much more significant. When all are assembled, a broom, a bowl, and a grinding stone are presented to the bride; and some assagais and an axe to the bridegroom, as indicatory of their different occupations, while both are exhorted by the elders of the place to industry and good conduct.

Both Jama and Senzagakona were married; but Chaka, in order to support his military system, broke through this rule—partly, it is supposed, by way of example to his subjects, and partly under the idea that, as long as he continued unmarried, he would not be regarded as a veteran, and consequently his life would be less liable to be cut short by the ambition of his successor or the intrigues of his subjects. The latter object, connected with an evident desire to imitate his talented but inhuman brothers, seems to be the sole inducement with Dingaan to perpetuate this departure from the

better practice of his forefathers. His frequent boast, "I am but a boy, I am too young to marry,"—although at this present moment about forty years of age—when taken in connection with the example of his predecessor, can have no other rational meaning.

In connection with this subject there is a tragedy too dark to be probed. Neither Chaka nor Dingaan ever allowed that they had any children, and it would be instant death to any subject that should make such an assertion. My inquiries on this subject were always met with evasion or constrained silence: a kind of inquisitorial blight at once palsied the tongue, which until that instant had been loquacious and communicative. What could this mean? Two facts, painfully notorious, will explain. On one occasion, perhaps from some faint expectation of its being spared, an infant was presented to Chaka. The "hyena-man" instantly seized his own child by the heels, and with one blow deprived it of that life which, with such a father, it could have been no privilege to enjoy. This horrid deed was only surpassed by the immediate murder of the agonised mother, whose eyes closed with the vivid impressions of the scene she had beheld.

Dress and Personal Appearance.—Little can be said on the first particular with respect to the men, whose undress, with the exception of a few dangling strips of fur suspended from the waist, is but too notorious. Many of the younger women wear merely a fringe belt, made of the fibres of a root; but a short petticoat, reaching nearly to the bend of the knee, is the usual costume. Both men and women shave their heads close, the former leaving merely sufficient to attach the isigoko, or ring; and the latter a small tuft called "embiti," on the crown, which is carefully coloured with red ochre; but neither is worn until the individual has arrived at the age of maturity, prior to which the heads of the young men are not shaved. Strange to say, the will of the king is as necessary for the adoption of either of these badges as in any other of his despotic acts, a whole regiment being sometimes ordered to adopt this ring.

That there is some tradition associated with this peculiar costume I have little doubt, but could never obtain a further reply to my frequent enquiries on the subject than that it was an ancient custom, which I believe originated with this nation, though it has been adopted by many others. The method of putting it on is thus described:—A piece of rush, cut and smoothed to the proper size and length, is closely twisted round with sinew, and formed into a

circle by uniting the ends. With sinew it is then sewn to the roots of the hair, which in every other part, even within the circle, is entirely removed; and the ring, thus closely fitted on the scalp, and blackened over with the black wax of the honeycomb, is completed.

Being composed of several tribes and conquered nations, a great difference of complexion is perceptible among the Zulus; some few are nearly as light a copper colour as the Bushmen on the borders of the colony, but a dark chocolate is the prevailing shade, though others, especially from the neighbourhood of De la Goa Bay, are jet black. Dingaan himself is nearly so. The generality of the men are of the middle size, light, active, and well proportioned; they are excellent walkers, and will almost compete with the sycees of India in running. Although far from cleanly, crawling into their houses on their bare knees, and accustomed to tread about with unconcern in all the filth of the cattle-fold, both men and women are fond of bathing, for which purpose they generally repair to the nearest stream once a day, and, after first smearing themselves over with blue clay, if it can be procured, by way of soap, return greatly embellished by the operation.

The war-dress consists of a thick, full kilt composed of cats' tails, descending nearly to the knee. The shoulders and upper part of the body are decorated with the long hair of ox-tails, and the head is protected by an otter-skin cap. The whole has a very martial appearance. The common tails worn at other times, a few in front, and some longer and more widely apart behind, are strips of wild cats' and monkeys' skins, and worn with the fur outside.

* * * *

Description of various Implements, and other articles used by the Zulus.—The shield is made of ox-hide, with a stick secured down the middle, and ornamented at one end with leopards' fur. It reaches from the ground to about the mouth of a moderate-sized person. In windy and wet weather they are almost useless, and in the latter case they are frequently rolled up on the march. The Zulus prefer attacking in open ground, contrary to the practice of the Kafirs, and seldom throw, but stab with their short spears, of which a bundle of five or six are usually taken when going to war; but arms are seldom borne in their own country, excepting when on a hunting expedition, or making a journey; and then a single "umkonto," with one or two straight sticks, is all they require. The shields of every regiment are as nearly as possible of the same colour, and by this they are often distinguished: thus the white and black

Hlomanhlini. White is the favourite colour, and has a good effect contrasted with the black skins of the bearers: such are the shields of the Umgungundhlovu men.

Musical Instruments.—The calabash, attached to the bow, increases and softens the sound produced by striking the string with a short stick.

A common reed pipe perforated by keys and blown like a child's penny trumpet, though at a distance the sound is not unpleasant. The same simple instrument I have also seen used for a similar purpose by the natives of Tahiti, and other islands in the South Seas.

A goat or sheep's leg-bone, from which a sound is produced by blowing across the smaller end, as children do into the pipe of a key. The shrill notes of some of the wind instruments employed in the band of the late Dey of Algiers have often grated my ears, but the sudden jar produced by this surpasses anything of the kind I ever endured. So much has already been effected by the surprise of a galvanic shock, that it may be a question how far a beneficial result may not in extreme cases be produced through a different organ by means of this instrument of oral torture. In every great dance it was always introduced, and as invariably sent me to the opposite side of the ring. My memoranda of the names of these instruments have been lost, but I doubt not, from the above description, which contains nearly all that can be said upon this head, the profession will sustain it without regret.

Method of Smelting Brass.—The bellows is worked by directing the cow's horn, which forms the nozzle of two leathern bags, into the larger end of an eland's horn, and alternately raising and depressing them, by which means the opening at the top is closed or shut with the hand. * * * The crucible is sunk its whole depth into a bed of ignited charcoal, to the lower part of which the extremity of the eland's horn is directed, and in this manner the metal is molten, and either run into bars for forming throat-rings and armlets, or into smaller clay-moulds for the knobs and studs with which the women frequently ornament their girdles or "ingubus" (petticoats). The crucible is composed of a coarse sandstone, procured in many parts of the country, and capable of sustaining any degree of heat without splitting.

* * * * *

Iron is abundant in many parts of the country, but it is only worked in the mountains, about the head of the Amatikula, whence

sufficient is procured for the heading of all their assagais, axes, and hoes.

Egudu, or Smoking Horn.—The tobacco is placed at the end of a reed, introduced into the side of an ox's horn, which is filled with water, and the mouth applied to the upper part of the horn. The quantity of smoke which is inhaled through so large a hole, unconfined by a mouth-piece, often affects the breath and produces much coughing; notwithstanding which the natives are particularly fond of it. Tobacco composed of the dried leaf of the wild hemp, here called "dakka," is in general use, and has a very stupefying effect, frequently intoxicating; on which occasions they invariably commence, long and loudly, to praise the king—a soliloquy which has often disturbed me, though at some distance from the hut whence it proceeded.

"Dakka" is indigenous throughout the country, and tobacco is frequently seen growing wild near deserted villages, but it has, I understand, been imported. Though smoking is comparatively confined to few, all without exception are passionately fond of snuff, and no greater compliment can be offered than to share the contents of a snuff-calabash with your neighbour. For this purpose the hand is extended, and a certain quantity shovelled in by means of a small ivory spoon, the whole of which is then snuffed off from the palm of the hand; and worse than a Goth would that barbarian be in their estimation who would wantonly interrupt a social party so employed. Often have I been obliged patiently to await the disappearance of the last grain, rather than too harshly urge them on, even when on a journey requiring speed.

Etunga, or Wooden Milk-pail, used only by the king's herdsmen. While collecting the cattle together, and during the whole operation of milking, they utter a shrill whistling noise, which from habit the cows attend to and become more quiet.

Isigungu, or bowl for containing native beer (utshwala). It is composed of black earthenware, made by hand without the aid of a wheel.

Wooden Spoons.—The smaller one, merely the longitudinal section of a calabash, is the most frequently used, though both are often dispensed with.

Snuff-calabash and Spoon.—The snuff is composed of dried "dakka," ground with burnt aloes. The spoon is of ivory.

Isituku-tuku, or Scraping-knife.—Made of ivory, and used in hot weather to scrape the moisture from the forehead and face.

A TREATY

CONCLUDED BETWEEN DINGAAN, KING OF THE ZULUS, AND THE
BRITISH RESIDENTS AT PORT NATAL.

Dingaan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingaan.

Any infringement of this treaty on either part invalidates the whole.

Done at Congella, this 6th day of May, 1835, in presence of
UMTHELLA, } Chief Indunas and Head-council-
TAMBOOSA, } lors of the Zulu nation.

Mr. G. CYRUS, Interpreter.

Signed, on behalf of the British residents at Port Natal,

ALLEN F. GARDINER.

REGULATIONS OF THE TOWN OF D'URBAN,
PORT NATAL.

Port Natal, 23rd June, 1835.

A meeting of the residents of Port Natal, especially convened for the purpose, was this day held at the residence of F. Berkin, Esq.;

PRESENT:

Capt. Gardiner, R.N.,	Mr. J. Mouncey,	Mr. R. Wood,
Mr. H. Ogle,	Mr. G. Cyrus,	Mr. T. Carden,
Mr. C. Pickman,	Mr. C. Adams,	Mr. R. King,
Mr. P. Kew,	J. Collis, Esq.,	Mr. J. Pierce,
Mr. J. Francis,	Mr. J. Cane,	Mr. D. C. Toohey,

When the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1st. That an eligible and commodious site be immediately selected for the purpose of erecting a town, and allotting a sufficient township for its inhabitants' use.

2nd. That, after a minute survey, we do unanimously agree that the said town be situated between the River Avon and the Buffalo Spring; that it be bounded on the west by the River Avon, on the east by a line drawn from the bay in a right angle, and touching the Buffalo Spring near the residence of F. Berkin, Esq., and that the town lands extend four miles inland, and include Salisbury Island in the bay.

3rd. That the town now about to be erected be called D'Urban, in honour of His Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony.

4th. That each of the present inhabitants of D'Urban be entitled to a building plot of ground in the said town, and Messrs. Berkin, Ogle, and Collis be entitled to an extra allotment each, in consideration of lands conceded by them to the town and township.

5th. That every person taking an allotment do engage to erect a house, conformable to the plan now adopted, within eighteen months from this date; the street front of which is not to be less than twenty-four feet within its walls; the breadth not less than ten feet; and the walls not less than eight feet high. Such building not being completed within the said term of eighteen months, to be declared forfeited, and sold to the highest bidder by the Town Committee, and the proceeds added to the town fund.

6th. That no Kafir hut or any straw hut or building be erected in the township; but a temporary residence, not less than one hundred feet from the street, may be erected for the accommodation of labourers on the allotments in which they are employed while erecting the residence of their employer.

7th. That every individual now in Natal, on taking possession of his allotment, do pay into the hands of the treasurer the sum of seven shillings and sixpence; and that those who may arrive after this date do apply to the Town Committee, who will dispose of, by public auction, the number of allotments required, at a sum not less than three pounds fifteen shillings each, and that the proceeds of such sales, and other moneys collected, be paid into the hands of the treasurer, who shall be elected by a majority of householders, and applied only to public purposes, under the regulation of a committee, appointed annually.

8th. That the Bluff point, extending between the sea and the bay, with the wood growing thereon, two English miles westward from its point, be considered town land, and reserved for the use of the town for building purposes; and that every individual cutting timber on the town lands do pay into the treasurer's hands the sum of one shilling and sixpence per wagon load.

9th. That a body of householders, not exceeding thirteen in number and not less than five, be elected annually, on the first day of July (except such day fall on a Sunday), by vote from the whole body of householders, to form a committee, to be called the Town Committee; proxies to be admitted for such householders as may be absent at the time of election.

10th. That the Town Committee meet for business as often as may be necessary, but always on the first Wednesday of every month; they are chargeable with the enforcement of the Town regulations, which are hereafter to remain unalterable. Five members, duly elected, to constitute a board; but they are invested with no power to enact new regulations without the consent of the whole body of householders duly convened by public notice.

11th. That the president, members, treasurer, and secretary be remunerated in the sum of one shilling and sixpence per diem, when transacting public business, out of the town fund.

12th. That the following gentlemen do compose the Town Committee for the ensuing year, viz., Captain Gardiner, R.N., J. Collis, Esq., F. Berkin, Esq., Mr. J. Cane, and Mr. H. Ogle.

13th. That for the endowment of a clergyman of the Church of England, for the parish of D'Urban, three thousand acres of land, situate on the River Avon, and bounded by the lands of J. Collis, Esq., be reserved as Church lands, to be held in trust by the proper authorities, and never to be alienated from that purpose, and that the clergyman be also entitled to a building allotment for a town residence.

14th. That the appointment of a clergyman for the parish of D'Urban is to rest with the Church Missionary Society, but subject to the approval of a majority of not less than two-thirds of the whole body of householders, six months after his arrival.

15th. That a convenient site be selected in the township for the erection of a free school, and that two thousand acres of land be reserved for its support; and that the said land be reserved on the right bank of the Umlaas River, at the foot of the Munyabi.

16th. That a reserve of three thousand acres of land be appropriated as a fund for the foundation of a public hospital: and such reserved lands be on the right bank of the river Inkomaas, below the drift, and under the control of the Town Committee.

17th. That a plot of ground within the township be set apart as a burial-ground for the natives.

18th. That in the event of the town being removed beyond the limits of the present township, the whole of the township be equally shared among those at present residing in Natal, and become the property of their heirs and successors.

19th. That every person be at liberty to dispose of his allotment, and buildings thereon, as soon as the above regulations are conformed to.

20th. That all who may feel inclined to take farms in the vicinity of Port Natal, as well as those already in possession of lands, report the same, in writing, to the Town Committee, describing their situation, extent, boundaries, &c. All lands not so reported to be considered as void.

21st. That any infringement of the above articles subjects the individual to the forfeiture of his allotment; provided he does not conform within three months after due notice shall have been given him by the Town Committee.

22nd. That a voluntary subscription be entered into this day for the purpose of establishing a town fund; and tenders be received by the Committee for performing, by contract, the cleaning of the streets and squares of the town; that the lowest tender be accepted; and that F. Berkin, Esq., be solicited to fill the office of treasurer.

23rd. That two auditors be elected every six months, to examine and report on the treasurer's accounts; and that they be authorised to call a meeting to receive their report, and approve of the same.

24th. That a petition be forthwith prepared, and transmitted to His Excellency the Governor of the Cape, praying him to transmit it to His Majesty's Government, soliciting the protection of the British flag in favour of the infant colony of Victoria.

25th. That the thanks of the inhabitants of Port Natal are justly due to Messrs. Berkin, Collis, and Ogle for the readiness evinced by them to concede their respective claims to land considered essential for the comfort of their fellow-citizens.

Resolved: That a copy of the above resolutions, and petition, be forwarded to the editor of the "Graham's Town Journal," who be

requested to strike off one hundred copies of the regulations, for the use of the inhabitants of D'Urban; and to insert a copy of the same in the "Graham's Town Journal," with a list of subscriptions.

(Signed) C. PICKMAN,
Secretary and Acting Treasurer.

List of subscriptions for the purpose of clearing the bush, and other necessary improvements in the Town and Township of D'Urban:—

Capt. Gardiner ...	£30	0	0	C. Adams ...	£0	5	0
J. Collis, Esq. ...	10	0	0	H. F. Fynn ...	2	10	0
H. Ogle ...	5	0	0	R. King, one week's work.			
C. Pickman ...	1	10	0	J. Mouncey, „	„		
P. Kew ...	1	10	0	J. Francis, „	„		
J. Cane ...	1	10	0	R. Wood, „	„		
T. Carden ...	1	0	0	D. Snelder ...	2	0	0
G. Cyrus ...	1	0	0	B. Biggar ...	1	10	0
J. Pierce ...	1	0	0	John Jones ...	1	0	0

PETITION

OF THE HOUSEHOLDERS OF THE TOWN OF D'URBAN, PORT NATAL.

May it please Your Excellency!

We, the undersigned, British subjects, inhabitants of Port Natal and its vicinity, have commenced building a town, called D'Urban, in honour of Your Excellency.

We hold in our possession extensive tracts of excellent land, a considerable portion of which has long been under cultivation. Many of us are occupied in conducting a valuable trade in hides and ivory, the former of which are almost exclusively obtained within the limits which, by mutual consent of surrounding chieftains, have been ceded to us.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Chaka, late King of the Zulus, and other causes, the whole country included between the Umzimkulu and Tugela Rivers is now unoccupied by its original possessors, and with a very few exceptions is totally uninhabited.

Numbers of natives from time to time have entered this settlement for protection; the amount of whom at the present moment cannot be less than three thousand.

These all acknowledge us as their chiefs, and look to us for

protection, notwithstanding which we are living in the neighbourhood of powerful native States without the shadow of a law or a recognised authority amongst us.

We, therefore, humbly pray Your Excellency—for the sake of humanity, for the upholding the British character in the eyes of the natives, for the wellbeing of this increasing community, for the cause of morality and religion—to transmit this, our petition, to His Majesty's Government, praying that it may please His Majesty to recognise the country intervening between the Umzimkulu and Tugela Rivers, which we have named "Victoria," in honour of our august Princess, as a colony of the British Empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council, with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them, in concert with a body of representatives chosen by ourselves, to constitute a House of Assembly.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

CHURCH AT D'URBAN.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Port Natal was held this day, 23rd June, 1835, when it was unanimously resolved :

That a subscription for the erection of a church be commenced, and that the building shall, on the amount of subscription reaching £500 sterling, be immediately commenced.

That the aid of the religious public be requested, and that subscription lists for that purpose be opened at the stores of Messrs. B. Norden and Maynard, Graham's Town ; Messrs. Dixon and Burnies, Cape Town ; Messrs. Drummonds, Charing Cross, London.

The following sums were immediately subscribed :—

Capt. Gardiner ...	£50	0	0	Mr. J. Pierce ...	£2	0	0
J. Collis, Esq. ...	20	0	0	Mr. G. Cyrus ...	2	0	0
Mr. John Cane ...	5	0	0	Mr. T. Carden ...	1	0	0
Mr. J. Francis ...	3	15	0	Mr. H. F. Fynn ...	5	0	0
Mr. P. Kew ...	2	10	0	Mr. D. Snelder ...	2	0	0
Mr. H. Ogle ...	2	10	0	Mr. R. Biggar ...	3	10	0
Mr. Wood ...	2	0	0	Mr. John Jones ...	1	0	0
Mr. Pickman ...	2	0	0				

His Excellency Sir B. D'Urban has since subscribed the sum of £50.

DESPATCH FROM SECRETARY OF STATE.

Downing Street, 26th September, 1836.

To Major-General Sir B. D'URBAN, K.C.B.,

&c., &c., &c.

SIR,—Captain Gardiner, of the Royal Navy, who lately visited the Zulu country, being about to return to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of fixing his permanent residence at Port Natal, with the honourable intention of benefiting the natives of that settlement, I have to desire, in order to give full scope to the execution of Capt. Gardiner's views, that you will appoint him a Justice of the Peace at Port Natal, in conformity with the provisions of the new Act of Parliament.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) GLENELG.

George's Hotel, Cape Town, 8th March, 1837.

To WILLIAM SMITH, Esq.,

Colonial Office, Cape Town.

SIR,—As you have requested me to state my views respecting the extent of the proposed jurisdiction in the neighbourhood of Natal, I would beg leave to mention what appears to me desirable on this point. In the absence of any recognised police, the wellbeing of such a community as that of Natal can only be effected by a moral influence; and this, to be efficient, should not only be perceptible to the European settlers, but extend also to the furthest limit of those native tribes among whom they are accustomed to hunt and trade. To give, therefore, the utmost practical facility to the feeble authority which can at any time be exerted by a solitary magistrate so situated, and enable him to check, if not wholly to restrain, the baneful attempts which are now making to introduce arms and ammunition among the Zulus, it does appear to me quite necessary that his jurisdiction should not be less than that described below—from the left bank of the Umzimvubu to the northernmost limit of the Zulu country; and from the sea coast to the Kwahlamba Mountains, including the whole Zulu territory and its dependencies.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. GARDINER.

[Enclosure in Despatch No. 46.]

FROM CAPTAIN GARDINER TO WM. SMITH, ESQ.—(FURTHER DETAILS
AS TO HIS PROPOSED JURISDICTION, &c.)

[Enclosure No. 6 in Despatch No. 46.]

FROM CAPTAIN GARDINER TO COLONEL BELL, C.B.

George's Hotel, 18th March, 1837.

SIR,—As it appears that there is no enactment at present existing in the Colonial Legislature whereby the selling or bartering of arms and ammunition by British subjects to the native tribes beyond the colonial frontier is prohibited, and feeling assured from local knowledge that the judicial office with which I am about to be invested at Natal and the adjacent districts will otherwise be wholly nugatory, and result in no practical benefit to the community over which it is extended, I have the honour to submit to you the following observations on this subject for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor.

Since my return from Natal, muskets have been introduced as an article of barter with the Zulus by some of the European settlers at or near the port. At present this traffic is in an incipient state; but so great is the avidity of the sovereign of that well-organized and warlike people to acquire this additional means for the extension of his territory and the subjugation of his neighbours, that I fear the very worst consequences, not only as regards the tranquillity of the settlement at Natal, but eventually of the whole Eastern frontier of the Cape, should no prompt and decisive measures be adopted to render such suicidal proceedings not only illegal but criminal.

At the present moment it is comparatively easy to stay the evil, but if deferred no enactment will meet the exigency, and in the course of a very few years—perhaps not many months—the Zulu army, led by a second Chaka, may, with muskets in their hands, not only sweep all before them in Natal, but, encouraged by such partial success, even dispute the very boundaries of our colonial territory. Their progress may, indeed, be less rapid, but the result will not be the less certain.

To appear as a British agent, with no such power as that referred to, would be but to sanction the trade in question, and tacitly to open Natal as an entrepôt for all kinds of warlike stores,

available at any moment either by the Zulus or any other people, who would only have to select the fittest time and place for an attack either upon each other, or simultaneously upon the colony.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. GARDINER.

[Enclosure 7, Despatch 46.]

EXTRACT OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 20TH MARCH, 1837.

His Excellency lays before the Council two despatches from the Secretary of State, in reply to His Excellency's despatch, 4th December, 1835, proposing to form a British settlement at Natal, and transmitting reports from Capt. Gardiner, R.N., on that subject; and a memorial from thirty residents there, who pray for protection and institutions of government.

On His Excellency's proposal, Lord Glenelg states that Her Majesty's Government are so persuaded of the inexpediency of engaging in any scheme of colonization, or of acquiring any further territory in South Africa, that he feels himself precluded from offering any encouragement to the project.

Despatch No. 92, September 26, 1836, desiring His Excellency, in order to give full scope to the execution of Capt. Gardiner's views of fixing his residence at Natal, with the honourable intention of benefiting the natives, to appoint him a Justice of the Peace there, in conformity with the Act of Parliament 6 and 7 William IV., c. 57.

His Excellency also lays a copy of said despatch before the Council, with a draft of the commission therein referred to, as prepared by the Attorney-General, and the following letters from Capt. Gardiner, 10th March, stating that he is at a loss to know how the powers intended by the Act to be conferred can be executed; and suggesting that provision be made for power to appoint a special police, or local constables, for safe custody of criminals, and their transmission to the colony, and their remuneration, and for an interpreter; and, March 14th, submitting requisition for articles required for his office, and for protection of Europeans under his jurisdiction at Natal. The articles are—sixty stand of arms and accoutrements, ammunition, and camp equipage; and, 7th March, stating that the Zulus have lately been supplied with arms by European inhabitants, and enquiring as to whether there is any law, &c., &c.

The Council are of opinion :

That the commission should provide for a local force, and for safe custody and transmission of criminals to this colony, and for remuneration of constables and others ; but, as no provision has been made for the expenses, His Excellency has no power to assign from the revenue any funds for this purpose.

That it is inexpedient to put arms and ammunition into the hands of any individuals for this purpose, even if British subjects ; thus establishing an authorized armed force, residing where Her Majesty has determined that no British colony shall be established.

That there is no law which can prevent or control the introduction of arms and ammunition at Natal.

That it is beyond the power of the Council to make any law which can prevent or control such importation or sale.

With regard to Capt. Gardiner's declaration that to appear as a British agent, without power to prevent or control such proceedings, would be but to sanction the trade, and open Port Natal, tacitly, as an "entrepôt" for all sorts of warlike stores, the Council can only regret the alleged probability of such consequences ; but as no power can be vested in him by the Colonial Government, and as he is not duly invested of them, as a British agent by the British Government, and cannot possess any authority beyond that contained in his commission, it may be well for him to consider whether it will be desirable for him to accept a commission which, while it will unquestionably create a belief among the natives and settlers that he is an accredited agent, will leave him powerless to avert the fatal consequences predicted by him.

Finally, the Council is impressed with the conviction that any attempt whatever on the part of the Colonial Government to give any effect to Capt. Gardiner's views—discountenanced as they have been by Her Majesty's Government, could only terminate eventually in disadvantage to himself and the settlers in Natal, and the probable embroilment of the Government with the independent native tribes of that country ; and that, however useful the provisions of the recent Act may prove in the territories strictly adjacent to the colony, they will be found inoperative in the more distant regions thereby included in the jurisdiction of the colonial courts, from the extreme difficulty of bringing criminals to trial, and procuring witnesses.

(Signed)

J. BELL,
Secretary to Government.

[Enclosure 8, Despatch 46.]

Colonial Office, Cape Town, 24th March, 1837.

COLONEL BELL TO CAPTAIN GARDINER.—(EMBODIES THE OPINION OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.)

[Enclosure No. 9, Despatch 46.]

FROM CAPTAIN GARDINER TO COLONEL BELL.

Graham's Town, 14th April, 1837.

In reply to the above, * * *

Had I consulted my own inclination, I should not have accepted the office, but it is now too late to retract, as I feel assured that such a step would not only derange all that has been done towards the establishment of order and tranquillity at Natal, but tend greatly to accelerate evils that are already impending in that quarter.

Humbling as my position must necessarily be, as the bearer of a commission that I have not the power to execute, and that under the conviction that the colony's true interests and the wellbeing of the British settlers are deeply involved in their due and impartial fulfilment, I am nevertheless willing to sacrifice my own personal feelings, and endeavour to effect that which, if not supported by H. M. Government, I must abandon as hopeless.

The mere semblance of order and unanimity at a period when numbers of the colonial farmers are seriously contemplating a permanent removal to the districts around Natal, will not be without its due effect, and is especially needful as a temporary check to any misunderstanding which such a circumstance might create in the mind of a despot so powerful and indiscriminating as Dingaan, and more particularly since the late disastrous affray which has taken place in the country of his rival Umsiligazi.

For a few months, but certainly not longer, this faint shadow of British jurisdiction may possibly avert the danger and serve to restrain the introduction of more firearms and ammunition, and prevent the active interference of the white population in the wars of the Zulus. But as I cannot answer for the consequences, neither will I be responsible for the calamitous results which I foresee, should not these baneful practices be expressly prohibited and rendered criminal by an act of the Legislature.

Deeply impressed with this view of the subject, I am willing to

attempt, by a mere moral influence, for the credit of my countrymen and for the benefit of the missionaries about to be established in that neighbourhood, to palliate what I am not permitted to remedy ; but in the full expectation that by the representations which will doubtless be made by His Excellency to Her Majesty's Government on the subject, I shall either be relieved from the duties of my office, or some measures will be devised for carrying them into effect, in a manner at once consistent with the interests of this colony, and worthy of the dignity of Her Majesty's Government.

In the meantime, I would beg leave to request permission to address all such public communications as I may feel it my duty to make directly to the supreme Government of this Colony at Cape Town.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. GARDINER.

CAPTAIN GARDINER TO COLONEL BELL.

Port Natal, 1st June, 1837.

SIR,—On 24th ultimo we anchored at Port Natal, and found everything quiet, both here and in the Zulu country.

I have not as yet had an interview with Dingaan, but hope in the course of a fortnight to visit his capital, and deliver the presents entrusted to my charge by the Government.

Finding it quite impossible on entering on the duties of my office to record depositions, collect evidence, or in any satisfactory manner to undertake the business which devolves upon me here, without some intermediate person to assist in the details, I have appointed Mr. Charles Pickman to act as my Clerk of the Peace until I shall receive His Excellency's instructions upon this head ; but as I am not authorized to assign any pecuniary stipend, I have agreed to remunerate him from my own private means. Two constables have also been appointed, without salary ; but in order to ensure their prompt attendance when necessary, I shall still be necessitated to make them an allowance equivalent to that usually made in the Cape Colony during the period they may actually be employed in the execution of their office. This charge I must also defray from the cause above mentioned, or leave the duties entrusted to me wholly unfulfilled.

Another heavier expense must either fall on the Government or myself, for it is indispensable—the erection of a gaol, and a suitable

house for the transaction of public business. There is not a single building here adapted for either; and unless I throw open my own residence, to the daily discomfort of my family, and the consequent destruction of my property, the public service will be greatly impeded; and in either case it will be impossible to secure offenders.

As the Hottentots here are very refractory, it may soon be necessary to place one or more of them in confinement, until opportunity offers for sending them to the colony.

I have issued a public notice, requesting tenders to be sent in for erecting the buildings in question, &c.; but in the meantime they will be in progress, &c., * * and I hope they will be completed in eight months.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. GARDINER.

CAPTAIN GARDINER TO COLONEL BELL.

Umbanati on the Tongati, 13th June, 1837.

SIR,—The accompanying document which I transmit, as received yesterday from Natal, will explain the reason of my sending it by express overland to Graham's Town. My office is virtually at an end; for, although a clerk of the peace has been appointed, not a single individual is willing to perform the duties of constable, neither have any tenders been received for the erection of the magistrate's office or the gaol.

The commission of which I was the bearer was thoroughly explained and understood by all the European inhabitants at a public meeting held at Port Natal on 1st instant; so that, under present circumstances, standing alone as I do, without any possible means of enforcing its conditions, I see no other alternative than to await some further instructions from His Excellency as to the arrangements I should make, and the manner in which the enactments of the British Parliament, upon which it is grounded, are to be carried into effect.

With reference to the protest, I have but two remarks to make. The grant of territory alleged, in the 2nd clause, to have been made over to the white people, as a free possession, by Chaka, and subsequently confirmed to them by his successor, Dingaan, was merely the right of hunting—an assertion which requires no other demonstration than the simple fact that Zulu towns and villages were scattered over the whole district between the Tugela and the Umgeni

Rivers, viz., within ten miles of Port Natal, until after the accession of Dingaan to the supreme government. As respects the 7th clause, I would also beg leave to state that, at my last interview with Dingaan, before leaving his dominions on my last visit to England, I used every argument in my power to persuade him not wholly to close the trade with the European inhabitants at Port Natal, but merely recommended, as the only and most obvious mode of redress (rather than an armed party should be sent out), to prohibit such Europeans from further traffic as had wantonly offended against the laws of his country.

Had this recommendation been rigidly adhered to, the injuries they allude to could only have been traced to themselves as the primary cause; but I have now fully ascertained that since my departure not only has the trade been carried on as briskly as ever, but that the whole of the British inhabitants, with but three or four exceptions, have voluntarily joined the Zulu army, and by means of their firearms killed and wounded numbers of his enemies, for which they have been handsomely rewarded with the cattle they had captured.

After making the foregoing statements, and considering the very unpleasant position which I am placed in, with but one desire, the establishment of order and tranquillity, I trust it will not be very long before I receive instructions as to the course which I should adopt, and the support which is necessary from Government to enable me to fulfil my duties as magistrate.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. GARDINER.

PROTEST

OF THE INHABITANTS OF NATAL AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF CAPTAIN GARDINER, R.N., AS MAGISTRATE OVER THEM:

For the following reasons:—

1. That this country of Natal is not an acknowledged part of the British dominions, but a free settlement.
2. That this said country of Natal was granted to the resident inhabitants by Chaka, the late King, and confirmed to them by Dingaan, the present King of the Zulus, and styled by them "The white man's country."
3. That the power invested in Captain Gardiner is contrary to

principles of equity, inasmuch as it extends to British subjects only, not empowering the said Captain Gardiner to punish any act of aggression committed by the native population, or by other Europeans, upon the British residents of Natal.

4. That the said Captain Gardiner is not empowered to decide upon civil cases, which would much more have benefited this settlement by the increased confidence it would have given to mercantile and mechanical men to settle in Natal.

5. That the appointment of Captain Gardiner to take cognizance of criminal cases only might open the door to acts of tyranny and oppression, inasmuch as he is obliged by the tenor of his commission to forward and transmit to the nearest magistrate in the colony of the Cape, the depositions taken by him of any alleged offence committed, during which time the supposed offender must remain in custody until a decision upon the report is made in the colony and returned to Natal.

6. That no mode of redress is pointed out, in the event of acts of oppression being committed by the said Captain Gardiner, or his order, upon the inhabitants of this free country, and ruin might be the result to the person so oppressed.

7. That the said Captain Gardiner, before his leaving this country for the avowed purpose of soliciting the British Government to take possession of and annex Natal, has materially injured the interests of the inhabitants by advising the King of the Zulus to stop the trade with his people; which fact has been communicated to them by Dingaan.

That the inhabitants, by thus stating their reasons for thus protesting against the appointment of Captain Gardiner over them, are not actuated by factious motives, but do so on the principle that this is not an acknowledged part of the British Empire; nor has been officially taken by Her Britannic Majesty, but is a free country: yet they ardently trust that Her Majesty's Government would recognise it, and appoint magistrates, not to hold out threats and imprison only, but to protect and encourage them.

(Signed) DANIEL TOOHEY, H. OGLE,
A. BIGGAR, J. STUBBS,
R. BIGGAR, C. BLANCKENBERG.
J. CANE,

1837.

LETTER

FROM ORIGINAL SETTLERS, NATAL (WITHOUT DATE, BUT EVIDENTLY
WITHIN THREE MONTHS AFTER 19TH APRIL, 1837), TO THE EDITOR
OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

SIR,—We have read with surprise a letter in the "South African Commercial Advertiser" of 19th April, 1837 (copied from one in the "Record"), purporting to be written by Capt. Gardiner, wherein he states distinctly three courses to be taken in treating with Dingaan. There is a fourth; but we must confess we do not understand it, as he does not clearly specify what it is.

We have now consulted, and are unanimously of opinion that by Capt. Gardiner's own words at the time, also from his interpreter, George Cyrus, who we think is at Graham's Town, and by what we have heard from Dingaan since, that it was upon the third course that the natives were delivered up, that is to say, *unconditionally*.

He states that a weak and timid policy might be contented with the third alternative. We answer: "So it was." We are not aware of any other policy having been pursued until the late slaughter by Dingaan of Dubo's people, and the desertion of the Amapisi, when we all agreed to reject the treaty, as most cruel and utterly impracticable, and to protect the people; and though we by no means wished to come into collision with Dingaan, yet if he molested us to offer resistance.

Such a message was conveyed to Dingaan; and though before that he had stopped the trade, and even taken the guns from one of the hunters (as he says, by the advice of Capt. G.), yet we had no sooner assumed this firm attitude than he immediately declared the trade open, and expressed a wish to be on closer terms of friendship and alliance with us than ever. How long it may last, now that Capt. G. has arrived again to carry out his "energetic and humane policy," we cannot say. We know that Dingaan expressed disappointment upon Capt. G.'s recent visit to him, no doubt expecting Capt. G. to fulfil his treaty, the impossibility of which we need not point out.

But to return to the letter. Capt. Gardiner states that he has received the thanks of many, both black and white, for his interference in the treaty. Possibly he may have received thanks from

Dingaan, who thirsted for their blood; but that he received thanks from the majority of the white residents here, we most positively deny. Many of the whites, of course all the blacks, were not parties to the treaty, and always disapproved of it. Still, when entered into, the Europeans would have kept it had it not been for the sanguinary measures of Dingaan.

So much repugnance did the whites feel to this treaty that H. Ogle, when compelled by its terms to take and deliver up to certain slaughter the mother and two infant sisters of Nontabula, one of his headmen, gave the son and brother of these victims a cow as some atonement for his conduct.

We also see by Capt. Gardiner's evidence, as given in your paper at various times, that he has stated that Dingaan gave him the country from the U'Tugela to the Umsimvubu River, of course comprehending Natal and the country of the Amapondas.

We beg through the medium of your journal to point out to those who may feel interested in our affairs, that Chaka gave at several times, and to several different parties, the same tract of country, and that Dingaan has often confirmed the same "gift" to the predecessors of Capt. Gardiner; and also that Capt. Gardiner has treated with and received a country from a man *who has not, nor ever had, the slightest title to it*. If desolating a wide extent of country by fire and sword, if murder of the inhabitants in cold blood as well as in battle, if cruelties the most unheard-of to the aged and defenceless, the women and the children, could give such a right,—such a right had Chaka, and none other; he never having occupied it, excepting upon his return from his first marauding expedition against Faku, when the worn-out and knocked-up cattle were left at different places upon the route until recovered.

Unluckily for the validity of such a gift, there lives at Natal a chief, named Umnini, whose ancestors have, as far back as Kafir tradition reaches, been the legal and rightful chiefs and owners of the country around, and who has never abandoned it. After a knowledge of the above, who will argue for the justice or the necessity of receiving such a grant; in fact, receiving from Dingaan the property of Umnini?

We remain, &c.,

(Signed)	R. BIGGAR,	D. C. TOOHBY,
	T. D. STELLER,	W. BLANCKENBERG,
	G. WHITE,	J. STUBBS,
	J. DUFFY,	R. RUSSELL.

DESPATCH FROM SIR B. D'URBAN TO LORD GLENELG.

Government House, Cape Town,
July 26th, 1837.

MY LORD,—With reference to your Lordship's despatches of March 29th and September 26th, 1836, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Captain Gardiner arrived here in March, on his way to Natal; and to transmit herewith a series of correspondence and other documents which will successively put your Lordship in possession of all that has passed between him and this Government.

* * * *

After the opinion with reference to Capt. Gardiner, and in relation to it contained in my despatch of 4th December, 1835, it must be superfluous for me to express my regret at the existing condition of things and circumstances of that place, or at my inability to contribute to his power and efficiency there, which is effectually precluded by your Lordship's first despatch above cited, 29th March last, while the second of 26th September conveys no essential modification of the former, since it strictly confines the support to be given to Captain Gardiner's intention of benefiting the natives to the appointing him a Justice of the Peace, under the Act of Parliament of 5th and 6th William IV., chap. 57, which, in truth, though it vests him with a legal right to do certain acts of subordinate police, gives him no power either in means or money, or any sort of machinery, to execute them; still less does the Act of Parliament bear any authority to regard him as holding any political or executive agency among the British subjects who have established themselves at Port Natal, and to whom, besides, your Lordship has felt yourself precluded from offering any encouragement in regard to their wish for British protection or institutions; and that this continued to be your Lordship's determination is sufficiently confirmed by the tenor of the letter of introduction from the Under Secretary of State to me, brought by the missionary clergyman who accompanied Captain Gardiner, in which I am expressly reminded that this mission is without the possibility of any sanction from H. M. Government.

All these considerations have compelled me reluctantly to coincide in and act upon the views and opinions of the Executive Council upon the subject, as in the enclosed minute of the proceedings of the Executive Council upon the subject; and consequently

to limit the assistance of this Government to Capt. Gardiner to what is contained in the letters to him from the Secretary of the Government, of which copies are enclosed.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) B. D'URBAN.

CAPTAIN GARDINER TO COLONEL BELL.

Ambanute, 9th September, 1837.

SIR,—Although from the circumstances previously reported, I am still unable to perform any part of the duties required by His Excellency's commission, I feel that it is incumbent upon me to acquaint you of a further step in direct opposition to the British Government by the English settlers at Natal.

They have not only resolved to set my delegated authority at defiance, but have declared themselves independent of all British control, which has been publicly signified in the clearance issued a few days since to the brig "Eliza," under the following date, the "third month of our independence." This single fact by itself might be of no importance; but when it is remembered that, at not many days' distance, there is a large and increasing body of Dutch emigrants who, without disguise, have sworn allegiance to their self-elected chief, it gives to the whole proceeding a more serious aspect. The few observations I might be induced to make on this subject will doubtless occur to you. I shall therefore merely express my strong conviction that if prompt measures are not taken, this country will become to a greater extent than heretofore the acknowledged asylum of every malcontent from the Cape, and instead of becoming the base of military operations in the rear of the Kafirs, in the event of future irruptions, and thus one of the strongest points of defence for the northern frontier, it will generally increase the difficulty of providing for its security.

I cannot in justice to Mr. Pickman omit to state my high opinion of his discretion and loyalty. He stands alone in his allegiance to British authority, and is ready at all times to render any assistance in his power.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. GARDINER.

P.S.—Dingaan's army have just returned, having, according to their report, killed all Umsiligas' people, captured their cattle, and a few muskets which they threw away in their retreat. Umsiligas himself escaped. This account Dingaan has sent me by express.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

Port Natal, 24th October, 1837.

SIR,—Knowing from the tenor of the remarks which have appeared at various times in your valuable and independent journal on the affairs of this infant colony, that you have a friendly feeling towards it, and wish for its prosperity, I am induced to trouble you with these few lines. The arrival of Mr. Retief and a party of emigrants at this place, on the 19th instant, with a view to their final settlement, was hailed by us as a matter of no small moment. The conviction that we shall, for the future, be permitted to live in peace, and be freed from the constant, though idle, threats of Dingaan, has infused a lively spirit amongst us. We can now proceed with confidence, and an assurance that our future exertions will be no longer cramped by doubts of our stability; but be rewarded with the fruits of our industry. I enclose you the copy of an address, which was unanimously agreed to by all the residents that could be collected at so short a notice, to Mr. Retief and his party, which I hope will find a place in your paper. Mr. Retief sets off this day to enter into a treaty with Dingaan; but he had previously transmitted to the king a letter announcing the object of the intended visit, a copy of which I also transmit to you.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) A. BIGGAR.

DRAFT LETTER TO OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT,
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

29th October, 1837.

SIR,—I have received Sir B. D'Urban's despatch of 26th July (No. 46), enclosing his correspondence with Capt. Gardiner, the magistrate appointed at Port Natal in pursuance of the Statute 6 and 7 of William IV.

I approve of Sir B. D'Urban's proceedings on this subject; and I think the reasons assigned by the Governor in Council of the Cape for the measures taken, at their recommendation, conclusive. Her Majesty's Government were, of course, aware that the statute in question, however valuable it might be for the punishment and prevention of offences in the immediate vicinity of the colony, could have very little practical efficacy at so distant a point as Port Natal.

They were aware, too, of the fact that, without a police, a gaol,

and minister of justice, the value of such a statute would be comparatively small ; but they did not, on this account, deem it right to forego the use of the best attainable remedy against the lawless conduct of British subjects on the African continent.

Capt. Gardiner seems to have understood the statute as implying a pledge on behalf of the Government to do all that is necessary for giving complete effect to the jurisdiction with which it invests him. It is necessary, therefore, to deny the existence of any such tacit or implied engagement.

His late Majesty disclaimed, in the most direct terms, all right of sovereignty at Port Natal, and all intention to extend his dominions in that direction ; and Capt. Gardiner was distinctly informed by me that the Government entertained no projects of colonization in that quarter. Port Natal is a foreign land, governed by foreign chiefs, and the Government of this country has neither the right nor the intention to interfere with those chiefs.

By providing for the punishment of crimes by British subjects, committed within their borders, some encroachment is, indeed, made on the integrity of this abstract principle ; but that encroachment is strictly confined within the limits of the necessity by which it has been occasioned, and is justified. I entertain great respect for Capt. Gardiner's character and motives : but, disclaiming all responsibility for the enterprise in which he is engaged, I must leave him entirely to his own resources for the attainment of his object. With reference to the expectation expressed in Capt. Gardiner's letter to Col. Bell (14th April), that he should either be relieved from the duties of his office, or that some measures should be devised by the Government for carrying them into effect, I feel it incumbent on me explicitly to disclaim any right or wish on the part of the Government to impose on Capt. Gardiner the discharge of the duties in his commission, should he find that no good practical result can follow from his continuing to hold it ; or should he, in the exercise of his own discretion, desire to be divested of it.

The settlers at Port Natal describe it as a free country, and complain of the interference of Parliament. These persons appear to entertain views which cannot be too soon or too fully corrected. They have not ceased to be subjects of the Queen, or to be responsible to Her Majesty's courts and officers. They must either bear a local allegiance to the sovereign of the country in which they live, or a local—as well as personal—allegiance to their native sovereign.

The pretension which they make to constitute a free and

independent State is so extravagant, that I can hardly suppose it was seriously intended. Assuredly such a pretension will not be admitted by Her Majesty's Government, nor by any other foreign State, within the precincts of the civilized world.

Whatever may be the light in which these settlers may be regarded by the chiefs of the rude tribes with whom they are living, you will communicate a copy of this despatch to Captain Gardiner.

I have, &c., &c.

SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION.

["CHURCH MISSIONARY RECORD," No. 12 (DEC., 1837), VOL. VIII.]

The Rev. F. Owen, having succeeded in the formation of associations at the Cape of Good Hope in aid of the Church Missionary Society, proceeded with his family on his journey to the Zulu country. The account of his arrival there, and of his first introduction to the ruler of that country, is contained in the following extract from a letter by him, dated 29th August, 1837:—

* * On Friday, Aug. 4th, 1837, I set off for Ambanati to meet Capt. Gardiner. The weather and other circumstances detained us there above a week, so that we did not proceed till Tuesday, the 15th. The following day, at noon, we crossed the Tugela, which had only just become fordable. We went on, with our interpreters, on horseback, accompanied by a train of baggage-bearers. We took the road through Congella, where we looked about for a suitable site for a mission-house; and on Saturday afternoon arrived at a town about five miles from the capital, called Nobamba, where the king was staying. He sent for us immediately on our arrival, and received us with civility. He was seated on a chair inside of his isigorthlo,* which is a segment of the town, separated by a fence, in which the king and his women reside. Nothing particular occurred at this interview, his attention being wholly taken up with the things which Capt. Gardiner had brought, and which greatly excited his curiosity. I only learned from him that the hut which he had promised Capt. Gardiner to build for me near Umkunkinglove† was in the course of completion. As I stood

* Isigodhlo.

† Umgungundhlovu.

in his presence, I employed my thoughts in realising the character of the individual of whom I had heard so much. There was nothing sanguinary, however, in his appearance; and I could hardly believe that those hands had been so often imbrued in blood. I noticed the authority with which he gave his commands, and the promptitude with which they were obeyed. "Go," said he to his head servant, "to Umkunkinglove, and be back before the spittle is dry in my hand;" on which the man darted like lightning out of the isigorthlo.

* * * *

No. 9, Vol. IX.—(REV. F. OWEN.)

October 27, 1837.—After this I witnessed a novel and singular scene. An old man with a withered arm, and having his head ornamented with a number of small bladders, came forward. Three of the king's servants sitting down began, with great animation, to snap their fingers at him, crying "Find it out!"—he himself repeating some words after them. I asked Dingaan who he was. He replied: "It is like writing; he can tell all things;" and it appeared that Dingaan had called him on purpose to put his professed skill in the knowledge of secrets to the proof. Dingaan—who has a great deal of sense in him—began at once to ridicule the fellow for not telling him his secret. After the snap, the challenge, and the vain guess had proceeded for more than half an hour with great animation, I begged leave to go, not knowing how long it might continue. Dingaan is not the sort of man to be imposed on by these wretches; and I should not wonder if the old man were to fall under his displeasure and be put to death. On arriving at the station, I saw by a telescope that they were still at him.

I had a very interesting conversation this morning with the young man who brings my milk. He had begun to converse with my interpreter, asking what he had come to teach. He had given some very judicious answers, when I happened to come near and pursue the conversation. I told him that he was happy now (for, indeed, all the Zulus seem to be happy), but if he learned God's word he would not only be still happier now, but he would be happy for ever, even after his body was dead. He asked me what sort of happiness. I told him he would see God, and be free from all manner of trouble, and that there would be no more death. He was very anxious to listen, and repeated after my interpreter the substance of what I had said, sometimes making very judicious observations, at other times asking questions. I told him that every-

thing he saw showed that there was a God ; for it could not be that the sun, the earth, &c., had been made by any man. There must be, therefore, some superior, invisible power ; that He who made the eye must see, and He who made the ear must hear : that, in fact, God was in all places. He was present with us, and would be with him when he returned home. He enquired whether, if they served God, they would be able to serve their king too. I said they were to do what their king told them, and also what God told them. I then told him that God had given us a law, which all had broken ; and that He had sent His Son Jesus Christ to save us. He asked, " Where is He ? " I told him that He was from the first in heaven ; that He had come down to the earth, afterwards He went to heaven again ; and that at the last day He would come down to the earth again, and that we should all see Him. He asked what was the last day. I said it was the end of the world, when all things will be burned. He asked whether it would be Jesus Christ that should raise people ; and then put many singular questions as to what people would be raised, and with what sort of bodies they would come. He asked whether those persons would be raised who had been dead a long time. And when I repeatedly told him that all, all would be raised, he laughed, partly through astonishment, and partly, perhaps, from incredulity. I explained to him that our bodies would not be like our present bodies, but that they would be changed. He asked what kind of bodies then. I said they would be like Jesus Christ's, and not as our present bodies, subject to disease, pain, sickness, feebleness, and death, but incorruptible and immortal. I told him that those who learned God's word would be caught up in the clouds with Jesus Christ, and would be for ever with Him. His ideas of our future state were, however, formed from our present state, and were, as might be expected from an ignorant savage, who had never till now heard one word of religious truth, very low and carnal. He asked whether we should plant in heaven ; whether the cattle would rise again too ; what coloured bodies we should have, whether white or black. Some of his enquiries were, however, more pertinent. He asked, for instance, whether those who were already dead were happy. I gave him to understand that only those who learned God's word would rise to happiness : and that the rest would be cast into a fire which would never be extinguished. He expressed a doubt whether the people would come to be taught without the king's orders ; and said they dared not. He seemed to think it would be impossible to be the king's servants and serve God at the same

time. He asked: "After we have learned, learned, learned, what then? shall we know all?" I said, No; I do not know all myself yet. His reply was most remarkable: "Then I suppose that Jesus Christ alone knows all." He asked how, when I went away, were they to learn then? I said I did not mean to go away. He said, what, shall you not go back to your own king again? Upon the whole, the manner of the young man was so serious, and his observations in general so pertinent, his attention and eagerness so great, that I could not but feel deeply interested in this conversation, which occupied a full hour.

October 26, 1837.—I read a letter to Dingaan, which he had received from the Dutch Boers who have lately left the colony, expressing a desire for peace and a good understanding with the Zulu nation; to effect which, it was their wish to have, by means of their chief head, a personal interview with Dingaan; who would at the same time also arrange with Dingaan the place of their future residence, which is to be in some part of the uninhabited country adjoining the Zulu territories. The letter was dated from Port Natal, and signed by the chief of the Boers. Their party were at present dispersed through various parts of the country. The letter also stated the cause of their rupture with Umsilikazi, Dingaan's great foe, who, by means of the Boers and Zulus, is now said to be utterly vanquished.

October 31, 1837.—Dingaan sent for me soon after five o'clock, with directions to bring pen, ink, and paper. As soon as I arrived he commanded one of his servants to make haste, and bring all Umsilikazi's sheep which had been captured in the war. In the meantime I asked Dingaan whether the man whom I saw the other day told him his secret. He laughed and said, "No; not this time. Nevertheless he was a great secret-teller. If anything was hid, he could tell where it was. If any person, also, had by witchcraft caused sickness, this man could smell the witch out." Dingaan, in answer to a question of mine, expressed his faith in the supernatural powers of the man in question, which faith seems to have been confirmed by the following circumstance. When the army did not return from Umsilikazi's country as soon as was expected, Dingaan called this man to him and asked the reason. He said that only one regiment had hard fight; that Umsilikazi had been conquered, and put to flight; that the Zulus had taken a vast number of cattle, and that the trouble of driving them caused them to be so long on the road. Dingaan then said he took particular notice of everything the

man said, and found it was all true. Having related to me this wonderful story, he asked me, with an air of triumph, what I could say to this. I replied that if he had asked me the same question, I might have given the same answer; for I should think it very likely that he would overpower Umsilikazi; that Umsilikazi would fly; that the Zulus would take a great many cattle; and this would of course delay them on their journey homeward. He laughed at my persuasion of the prowess of his arms; but said, the thing that most astonished him was the specification of a particular regiment which had to fight hard. I asked, if the man was a real secret-teller, why could he not tell secrets always; for it appeared that he was at a loss the other day. He said they often asked the same sort of question, viz.: If they could find out witches, why did they not find them all out? Many were still in the country who were as yet undiscovered. He then told me the way in which the witches went to work. He said that they went out in the dead of the night, carrying a cat under their arms; that when they got to the house of a person whom they intended to bewitch, they sent this cat, who was a sort of little messenger, into the house; that the cat brought out either a bit of hair, or a bit of the cloak, or something else belonging to the unhappy victim, which the witch deposited in some secret place under the floor of her house, and that in consequence the object of her malice in due time became sick. Persons had often been detected, with the cat under their arms, going on this unmerciful errand. There were five animals which the witch employed in her service: the cat, the wolf, the panther, the jackal, and the owl. I asked if the wolf did not eat her up; but he gravely answered, "No, for he follows her like a dog; at break of day the witch and the wolf have been seen going about their business." All these lies Dingaan seemed firmly to believe. I asked him whether a white man could be bewitched, and told him I would defy all the witches in his kingdom to do me any harm. He told me they could bewitch me if they chose; but they did not dare, because I was the king's friend. For the same reason they did not dare to bewitch any of his great indunas. I told him that I hoped that now missionaries were come into his country there would be an end of witchcraft. He said "Why, they will not be afraid of you, for they are not even afraid of the smeller-out."

November 3, 1837.—Dingaan sent for me in the morning to write a letter to Captain Gardiner. Before he told me the subject he dismissed his indunas and servants, and we were left alone. The

letter was to request Captain Gardiner to come and advise with the king respecting the territory to be assigned to the Dutch.

The letter being written, Dingaan having taken it into his hand, began more than ever to admire the art of writing, and asked, as he had done a thousand times before, whether he should ever be able to learn it. On telling him that if he tried he might, he said that if the difficulty did not overpower him, it should not be for want of trial. He then began to read, and confessed that he had not thirsted after his reading so much lately as before, but said if he thirsted more he supposed he should make quicker progress. I have still reason to be encouraged in the children, particularly in some of the elder boys. One of these, a lad about fifteen or sixteen years old, who has changed his residence to a neighbouring village, received, on removing, a special command from the king to attend the station daily. He is a very intelligent and well-behaved youth, and has attended me from the beginning.

November 5.— * * * In the afternoon the Dutch arrived. Dingaan sent for me to come and see them. Of course I went. Dingaan asked if I was keeping worship when he sent for me. I said, "No, but I had come, as he had sent for me, to shake hands with the Dutch." He then showed me where they were. I told Dingaan that I hoped next Sunday to come and teach him. He said, "Yes." The Dutch expressed their disappointment that they did not arrive in time for service. The deputation consisted of four persons. When I got home I saw that Dingaan was making an exhibition of his cattle. He has lately been collecting an immense herd of oxen from distant parts of his country, with no other conceivable object than to display his wealth to the Dutch. This herd consists of the white-back oxen only, but it is without number. The children attended to-day. Kukumala, the eldest, professed to have a knowledge of sin. To convince him, I assured him that swearing and lying, the two most common sins, were both forbidden by Jesus Christ. The usual oath is, "By Dingaan!"

November 6, 1837.—Dingaan afforded amusement to the Dutch by collecting a large number of men from different parts to dance. The Governor, Mr. Retief, dined with us. Dingaan told him that pleasure must take precedence of business. The indunas, he said, had been asking the king to go once more against Umsilikasi, to bring his head; but the king said, if they had done as they ought,

they would have brought it the last time. We were much pleased with the frank and open manners of our guest.

November 7.—Dingaan sent for me to witness the festivities in honour of the Dutch. One whole regiment of the young men who have not a ring on the head were summoned to exhibit their skill and energy in military exercises. So anxious was the king that I might have the full enjoyment of this sight, that he sent a second messenger to hurry me, and would not allow me to sit as other times, but said that I must stand and admire. He was at great pains to assure us all that this was the smallest of all his regiments; nor were ever ears quicker than his—except, perhaps, those of his indunas—when I gave the very slightest intimation that I wanted to be informed concerning any part of the solemnity. The first act was a representation of the manner in which the Zulus commence a battle. The regiment divided into companies, each soldier having a stick in his hand—or, in lieu of a stick, the horn or some bone of a beast, for very few had their shields, and no one a spear—with a sort of double-quick march, and performed various evolutions, exciting themselves to the supposed combat by some note of their voice, which could not be called a song, and by raising their sticks aloft in the air. Very soon, though it was not warm, the sweat ran down their bodies. On a sudden they gave a whistle, and forming into one large company, they rushed furiously, as if to a charge, down the open area of the town, whistling as they ran. Some, who had shields, after this first essay, leaping aloft and kicking their shields, cried out, “We are as hard as stones; nothing shall hurt us.” Presently the military divided into two parts, and each dancing round the area on opposite quarters, they at last came within twenty yards of each other, when they made a tremendous rush, as if engaging each other in close conflict. The Zulus do not throw their spears, as other tribes do, but come to close quarters. After the sham fight had continued for some minutes, one party gave a particular sort of cry, which is usual after they have gained a victory. After this they formed a large semi-circle, in which they stood very thick and deep, their numbers beyond count, and began to sing and dance, the king himself sometimes setting the tune. Dingaan was clothed in a splendid robe of various colours—black, red, and white, in broad stripes, from the top to the bottom. When the review was over, another party of men began to assemble; and, fearing I might still be detained some time under the almost vertical sun, which was now very hot, I pleaded for my dismissal.

November 12 (Lord's Day).—Dingaan sent a boy with his telescope for my interpreter to mend. I desired him to return it, saying it was Sunday; and also, that I was coming by the king's desire to read the word of God to him. We were directed to wait outside of the Isigorthlo. A man stood near us, shouting, or rather brawling, with great vehemence for many minutes, though no one was near but ourselves. When he had finished he came to us, and I asked him to whom he was speaking. He said, "To the king; that he was praising his shield, because he had given him one." I have sometimes heard the king's praises sounded forth in this manner, in the dead of the night, to the disturbance of my repose. The voice of the praiser has reached the station, a distance of more than a mile. Presently notice was given to the king that a buffalo was in sight. This at once defeated my expectation of preaching to him the word of God. The men were immediately ordered forthwith with their dogs and spears to hunt. Dingaan himself ran about with his telescope to get a sight of the animal; and one of his servants brought out a gun, with which my interpreter was asked to go and shoot it. He properly replied, "It is Sunday." Though at the distance of half-a-mile or more, Dingaan asked him if he could not shoot it from the place where he was standing. The king then climbed up to the top of a hut, from whence, with the glass, he kept the animal and huntsmen in sight; and just as we were going he sent another message, with a hornful of powder, to go and shoot it, as it was now under a bank. But my interpreter still refused, saying that we feared the Chief in the sky. We left word that we were going now to keep Sunday at home; and that if he wished me to keep Sunday with him he might send for me. Subsequently he sent a message to tell us that the buffalo was killed.

November 26 (Lord's Day).—The most memorable, as well as the most painful day since the commencement of the mission. About eight o'clock, when I was preparing to go down to the town in order to preach the word of God (as I hoped) before the king, he sent a messenger to tell me "that he was much displeased; that he had expected the teachers would instruct him in all things; however, they chose to select certain things which they would teach him, but would not instruct him in that which he most wanted to know"—alluding to firearms—"therefore I might indeed come down, and preach God's word in the town, this once: this should be the last time; the children might come to me on Sundays, but this was all he would grant." I thought this message strange, but made no

reply to it, as I was myself ready to wait on the king. Dr. Wilson accompanied me. When we arrived, he was sitting as usual in the open area, outside the fence of the Isigorthlo,* a number of his servants sitting by him on the ground; and the rest of the men of the town at some distance, ready to commence their breakfast, consisting of bowls of native beer, which the women bring every morning from a great distance. It was the first time I had seen the men partake of the beer, though I had constantly met the women carrying it on their heads; who, as they proceed one after the other, through the town to the Isigorthlo, where it is deposited, make a practice of singing. Instead of the Christian practice of giving thanks to the Father of all mercies before their meals, these men praise their king for his bounty, shaking their fingers in the air, making a hissing noise with their teeth, and shouting out "Bayete!" ("our Father!")†

Dingaan having in vain endeavoured to extract from my interpreter what my sentiments were on his message this morning, called me to him, and said he was very sore. The white people, he said, were not one with him. They granted him some things, but other things they withheld; yet he was ready to do all the white people asked him. First one teacher asked to instruct his people, then another, and he granted all; yet he could not have his wants supplied in return. He said, moreover, that I was like the rest; that I was one with the white people; for when he asked me only to lend him a bullet-mould, I refused. This showed that I was like them. I told him that I was ready to render him every service in my power consistently with my duty to my God, my king, and my country. He said it was of no use for me to twist myself out of the charge that he brought against the white people, for it was evident that I opposed his having firearms as much as they did. I told him I did not mean to twist myself out of this charge; that I desired his good,—the good of his soul, which I had come in the first place to promote; and that I was ready to teach him anything else besides God's word, consistently with my duty to my country. He said it was in vain for me to shelter myself under the pretence that I desired his good, because I did not lend him the bullet-mould. He repeated over and over again the substance of all he had said, addressing himself to his servants, all of whom acknowledged it; and then he said he

* Isigohlo.

† The meaning of the exclamation "Bayete" is not accurately ascertained. By some it has been assumed to be a short utterance of "Bayedwa" ("Thou who art alone,") but this has not been accepted by linguists. Whatever be the rendering, it cannot be "Our Father."—*Compiler.*

would tell me plainly he was offended. When I asked if he was offended at me, he told me not to ask that question; I must infer it from what he had said. * * *

November 27, 1837.— * * * I had hoped to have an opportunity when with Umhlela to refer to the controversy yesterday, and thus to introduce religious conversation; but when I arrived, he and many others about him, who were standing without the enclosure of his huts, abruptly asked me what was the use of giving all that "ingubu" (clothing) to the children, alluding to the kilts with which I had clothed the boys. Dr. Wilson then introduced the much-wished-for conversation, by saying that all the words which I said yesterday were true. They all shrunk back and said, "We will say nothing on this subject, except before the king." This seemed to take away the remaining hope which I had arising from private conversation. It may not be from any express order from the king that they so positively refused to open their mouths to speak of their Maker; but they are so afraid of doing wrong, or of displeasing Dingaan, that they dare not venture on any new course without his express permission. This servile fear pervades all classes, and operates in matters unconnected with religion. For instance, I had some Indian corn which I wanted to be ground, but no one dared to grind it on my premises, even though it was a gift from the king. The persons whom we asked to do us this service must needs take it to their own village. Then they could not perform the operation without sending to the induna, who was a long way off in the mountain; and when he was not at home to give his advice and consent, they returned the corn unground. This is a little thing, but it shows the spirit of the people; and fear of doing amiss will, it is probable, operate disadvantageously in things of greater importance. The man whom the king appointed to milk our cows being on the premises one night, at the time of our evening worship, I called him in, but immediately recollecting himself he said that he was afraid; for, though the king had told him to milk for us, he had not told him to come into the house. He therefore sat outside. Some young women whom we had procured last week from the Isigorthlo, servants of some of the women there, to grind our corn, came in one morning at my desire to prayers. The next morning, however, when I sent for them to come in, they all scampered off in haste, expecting that I should use force; and on their return they said that they should be beaten by their mistresses, who had ordered them not to come in.

JOURNAL OF THE REV. F. OWEN.

["CHURCH MISSIONARY RECORD," No. 10 (Oct., 1838), Vol. IX.]

November 30th, 1837.—We arrived at the American Missionary Station on the banks of the Umhlatuzi at noon. Mr. Venables was not at home on our arrival at the station, having gone to procure wood for the erection of a school-room. They have built two small reed-houses, are conveniently situated near excellent water, and possess facilities for the irrigation of an extensive garden. They are within sight and walking distance of a great many villages. The nearest military town, Hlangwaza, is about five or six miles distant. We passed it on the road.

December 1.— * * * Mr. Venables returned home to-day. In the afternoon, the male portion of the natives about the house, who I had observed yesterday and this morning came from curiosity, suddenly withdrew, and no one dared to approach the premises. The reason was that the king had sent a servant girl to Mr. Venables at her request, who is in some way or other connected with the "Great House." To approach this young woman, or to pass her without special command, is death. Hence the male natives (for the exclusion only applies to them) were driven at once from the station. Other marks of distinction were also heaped upon her. She was not allowed to have her food from any of the meaner villages, but it was brought to her from the military town, six miles distant, by an appointed servant, who sat at a respectful distance from her.

December 2, 1837.—I walked with Mr. Venables to Hlangwaza to see the induna of that town. We spent some time in his hut. Like all the other great people in the country, he was an arrant beggar. After some preliminary conversation, I asked who made the mountains, the sun, &c. The reply was, they came of themselves; but being shown the absurdity of this, they said that we could tell them.

December 7.—Dingaan sent early for me to read some letters which he had received from Mr. Retief. One of these contained some excellent reflections and advice on the conduct of wicked kings. In allusion to the ruin of Umsilikazi, the common enemy of the Boers and Dingaan, Mr. Retief observed that his punishment had been brought on him by the righteous providence of God, because he had not kept God's word, but had made war when he ought not.

He referred him to the missionaries to tell him what God had said in God's word respecting kings who did not favour or obey his word. Dingaan here said, "Let us finish this first,"—meaning "read all the letters,"—"and then I will ask you questions." His attention was certainly awakened at the religious part of the letter; but the "convenient season" for consulting me on the important subject did not arrive.

December 13, 1837.—Dingaan sent in the evening to inform me that a white man who resides in the country, and is now at a wood about twenty-five miles distant, was very ill. I know the man well he has brought himself into some very great difficulties; and the state of his soul is yet more calamitous than his outward circumstances. I told the messenger that I should go and see him to-morrow, and take some medicine with me. Dingaan sent word again that he was going to send some of his physic, and that that must be tried first. I, however, determined to go; but, not to give offence, went down to Dingaan to tell him of my principal reason for going—that I might speak to him about his soul, as he might die. It was now night, and the king was at his food. The messenger told us not to cough, as the king was eating, it not being allowed to spit or cough at such seasons. We were admitted into his principal hut, which was lighted by a solitary tallow candle, which had not been snuffed, and cast a dungeon-like hue on the spacious apartment of the great chief, around whom some of his women were seated. One of them was giving him his food, as he reclined on his mat. He asked me what I had come for. I told him I was very sorry to hear of the illness of the white man, and that, as he might die, I wished to go and speak to him before he died, and begged that I might accompany the man who was going with the physic. The king said he could not die, for his physic would cure him; he had once cured a white man at Congella. On my assuring him that it was impossible for him to save any man's life by his medicine without the blessing of God; that our lives are in his hand; and that he saves and destroys whom he will, he said, "Unamanga." (You lie!) His women also said that I lied, and my interpreter too. I told them that in their hearts they did not believe so. I then informed Dingaan what my principal object was in wanting to speak to the white man, to show him how his soul might be saved. I said, in illustration, that a man came to inform me the other day that one of my oxen was dying, yet I did not go to see it; but now, as a man had a soul, which was to live for ever, it was my duty to go and see him.

Dingaan ridiculed the idea of saving the soul, and even made light of the name of God, which he went so far as to laugh at. At length he told me that the man would set off with the physic before daylight. I said that I should follow the track of my wagon with which my interpreter had just gone to the same wood for poles. My interpreter this evening was an English boy now in my service, who has been bred amongst the natives, and knows the language as his own tongue. In the meantime the rest of the king's women came in, and all immediately commenced a song. Their noise was almost stunning. I have sometimes heard it at the station, when I have not been able to conceive whence it proceeded. The king would not allow me to depart till all was over. He himself called for every new song, and joined them in the action of their arms, which was extremely vehement. At length they all rose from their seats, or rather moved on their knees from their original position as in a phrenzy, and surrounded me, pointing with their fingers. As this is the only sort of exercise they have, it doubtless has its use, however uncongenial to European taste. The women never stand or walk in the hut when the king is present; they always crawl on their knees.

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December 14, 1837.—At sunrise Dingaan sent for me to write a letter to Captain Gardiner. The purport of it was altogether new. It was to inform him that Isigwabana, the induna of Congella, the second capital, had deserted, but under a false impression. He imagined that the king had sent an army to apprehend him, but the persons whom he saw were only witches, stealing out at night. He (Dingaan) wished Captain Gardiner to inform Isigwabana that he had no intention of apprehending him. Subsequently, however, Dingaan said that the letter should not go; that his messengers should speak with their mouths. William, my interpreter, heard the king tell the messengers to be sure not to tell Isigwabana that he was angry, but to say that he himself should have run away if he had been similarly situated. At night two messengers came from Captain Gardiner, who brought us very painful and perplexing tidings. He had sent them to inform us of some secret machinations of Dingaan that had just been brought to light, and in which the safety of ourselves, the American missionaries, and of all the white people was concerned. Under these circumstances, Captain Gardiner wrote instantly to the American missionaries and to me, offering his own settlement as an asylum to all if we should think it prudent to leave the Zulu country for a time. Upon a due consideration of

circumstances, we deemed it most prudent quietly to remain, trusting in our heavenly Protector, and quietly awaiting the result.

December 21, 1837.—Messengers arrived this morning from Captain Gardiner, bringing me letters from him and Mr. Champion, the American missionary at the Tugela, which removed our fears. Many of Isigwabana's people lived near Mr. Champion's station, and attended his ministry. These have now all fled, and his congregation is of course much diminished; but even before this event the neighbouring indunas had exerted too successful an influence to prevent the people from hearing the word of life. He and Mrs. Champion gave distressing accounts of the misery of that portion of Isigwabana's people who had not effected their escape. The messengers of death were abroad, searching for the unhappy victims, and causing them to suffer the dreadful punishment which the cruel system of punishing the innocent with the guilty, if in any way connected with the offending party, invariably requires, at least when the accused is a chief. Many of these devoted victims of jealous tyranny have sought with heart-piercing cries an asylum in the house of Mr. Champion, and have been followed by an executioner at their heels. Some have fled to him in the night, and who can describe the pain which must accompany the necessary refusal of succour? Yet even the native servants in the house can mock the cries of those who flee thither for safety. As Captain Gardiner requested me, if any allusion were made by Dingaan to Isigwabana's plight, to inform him that he was not at his settlement, I went down about noon; Dingaan was at his food, and could not then be seen. Some men sitting about thirty yards from the Isigodhlo were severely reprimanded by some of the king's servants for coughing at that time. As I was on my way home, the king sent for me to return. He was standing on an eminence of earth behind the fence of his Isigodhlo; a large concourse of men being seated in a half-circle on the ground outside. He then ordered his people to sing, and gave out the words himself, "Friends, are ye not afraid of the king?" The women within the fence, who could not be seen, took part in the song. To shelter myself from the vertical sun, on this, the longest day of the year in this hemisphere, but more for the sake of privacy, I got into a small covered cart belonging to Dingaan, where I waited quietly till the singing and the dancing which ensued were over. An immense quantity of beef was then distributed among the men, who departed, raising a loud shout, praising their king, pointing their fingers upward, and shaking them in the native manner in returning

thanks or expressing approbation; and, as they retired with their fingers thus pointed, cried, "Thou that art as great as the Heavens!" The "idol" then called us to him, and began to interrogate Captain Gardiner's messengers as to Isigwabana's arriving amongst them. Their answers were plain and positive to the contrary. I now begin to hope that he will be satisfied with Captain Gardiner's positive declarations to himself in answer to his letter; but as I have a growing conviction that no dependence is to be placed upon a barbarian and a tyrant, I hope I shall have my faith more and more fixed upon God.

December 22, 1837.—Dingaan sent for me very early to witness a dance. Many hundreds of men, in different companies, all in their war dresses, with shields and spears, had assembled to sing and caper; while other regiments stood on the neighbouring hills, waiting to be called forth. The songs, as yesterday, were all in praise of the king. Individuals, who had received some special favour, or who had lately arrived at the town, praised him with loud voices, some of them running to and fro, and all of them using the greatest vehemence of gesture. One of them said: "Who can fight with thee? No king can fight with thee! They that carry fire cannot fight with thee!"* This, and similar expressions, were repeated by the same person for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour.

January 1, 1838.—Owing to the illness of my English servant (it being desirable that she should consult Dr. Wilson), the wagon set off this afternoon. Mrs. Owen and myself accompanied it. Kukumela, one of the boys who has met with an accident, also joined the wagon to get Dr. Wilson's advice, the king's permission, which was absolutely necessary, being first obtained—for the poor boy could not have stirred without royal authority. Another thing, illustrating the character of Dingaan, occurred to-day. The unhappy white man, of whom mention was before made, having expressed a desire to leave Dingaan and his service, the despot positively refused—though he sent yesterday to ask my opinion on the subject. Of course, I said, "Let him go." But this morning Dingaan said he objected to my advice; nor would all my arguments prevail. Though a white man, he seemed resolved to keep him a prisoner for the sake of mending his guns; but in the afternoon he thought better of the subject, and sent him to accompany the wagon. We spanned out at the first military town, about two or three miles from

* In allusion to firearms used by Europeans.

Umgungunhlovu. Having with some difficulty obtained a hut, and supped on sour milk, I was preparing to go to bed, when Dingaan sent two messengers to call me immediately, to read a letter which he had received from the Dutch. I walked back to the town in the sultry air, but when I arrived the king had fallen asleep; and as no one dared to awake him from his slumbers, I had my walk for nothing—except, as it proved, a little trial of my forbearance. I determined not to be vexed. When in the town this morning, I was witness of the trial of an induna who had been charged with slaughtering some of the king's cattle for his own use. The Amapakati (or council) sat on the ground in a semicircle, the offender being in the centre. Dingaan sat on a chair, as judge in his own cause; a man holding his shield, standing at his side to protect him from the sun. From the confusion which prevailed, and the almost total silence of the accused, it was evident which way the case was going. He had no counsellor or friend to speak a word on his behalf. Presently, a large body of executioners—forty or fifty—arrived, and sat behind. Dingaan sent a message to me to retire into the hut. Presently the word was given to take him from his feet, and he was instantly hurried away. On my return home, the ravens were devouring his carcass.

January 2, 1838.—After a sleepless night through excessive heat, almost at daybreak I was summoned to go back again to the town to read the letter. It informed Dingaan that the Boers had sent another commando out against Umsiligazi, who it appears was not entirely ruined, and had slain five hundred of his men, and captured three thousand head of cattle, while not one of the Boers had perished. It informed him also that the commando was going out the day the letter was written to re-take Dingaan's cattle from the Basutu, according to the agreement. At this letter Dingaan seemed to be satisfied; he had been informed by his own people of the Boers' victory over Umsiligazi, and related to us the manner in which it was achieved. They were completely surrounded by Umsilikazi's men, who were just preparing to rush on them from every direction; when the Boers, standing back to back in a kind of square, fired their guns, and put the enemy to the rout. It is not without apprehension, and a lively interest, that we trace the course of the Dutch, and wonder how it will terminate; especially in what way the Zulus themselves, if they be not extremely cautious of offending or giving just provocation to this powerful body, may be affected by them. The reading of the letter was once or twice interrupted by some men bringing complaints before the king. About six men from a distant

part of the country brought an accusation against an individual for being attached to his brother's wife, and for his having through jealousy of his brother given him something to eat which had made him blind. They had brought this case before Umhlela, who said that the man should be put to death: but what said the king? Dingaan immediately ordered that not only the man, but the woman also, should be killed. The men then retired with a shout. In the proceedings of yesterday there was some show of justice, but in this instance all forms of justice were set aside. The accused was condemned without any hearing, without examination; and thus may the lives of poor Zulus be sacrificed, not only at the dictate of royal jealousy, but also of private malice. An induna at the same time brought a charge against an absent individual for mischief which he had inflicted on some cattle; this man also, without a hearing, was sentenced to death.

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January 10, 1838.—Dingaan has been very troublesome in sending almost every day to inquire of the progress of the jackets; and has directed his servants to inspect the work. This, however, in *him*, was excusable; but to-day he subjected me to an insult for which no excuse can be offered. William Wood, a young English boy, whom I have with me, acquainted with the Natal dialect, had told his servants that there would be thirty jackets, or more; to-day, however, it appeared that there would be just thirty-five, when all were finished. The servants of Dingaan had told their master that William had said the number would be forty. Accordingly, this morning * * * I had a little occasion for the exercise of that spirit of forbearance which the Apostle advocates; for three powerful and rude men abruptly entered the hut, and, having demanded all the cloth, peremptorily required of me to show them all my things, that they might know that I had not secreted any of it. In vain I expostulated at this measure as being exceedingly unbecoming: the men were violent, and, after I had first refused to have my house searched until I had first spoken to the king, they deputed one of their number to inform him that I would not submit to have my things examined. I myself should have gone instantly to the king, but they violently seized hold of William, to prevent his going with me to interpret. Dingaan sent word that all my things must be searched. As it was in vain to oppose this rude step, the operation was begun, and was carried on with insult, as it had been commenced with injustice. The men said that they were the king's

dogs, but that they were kings to us. They added, "And who are you? You are only the king's dogs." And on my interpreter's wife—her husband being away with the wagon—they lavished every opprobrious name. At length they came to a box containing Mrs. Owen's wearing apparel, of which she had the key. It was in vain to say that, she being absent, it could not be opened. They obstinately contended that the secreted cloth was there, and that they could not go away till it was open. Having broken it open, all her wearing apparel was strewed on the ground. They then went into Mrs. Owen's tent, examined her boxes, bundles, &c. Next they went to my interpreter's wagon, which is his house, and to a bell-tent. In the meantime they endeavoured to enrich themselves with the spoils which they saw, but in vain. Being satisfied at length that I had not stolen the cloth, I desired them to inform the king that I was exceedingly displeased, and that I should not suffer any more of his cloth to be sewed until I had spoken personally to him. However much Christian meekness required that I should forbear and forgive on this occasion, I thought it prudent to express strongly my displeasure, to prevent a recurrence of such insults, and to establish my character with him.

January 11, 1838.—Dingaan, this morning, in order to reconcile me, sent a cow for slaughter, and promised that, when Mrs. Owen returned, he would send another; but that I must eat that one to-day, for which purpose he had sent men to kill it. I replied that I thanked him, but that it had not taken away my soreness of heart. In the evening I took a ride with William up the stream which runs by the town, with a view to see whether the water could be drawn off to irrigate any part of the country. Dingaan, who saw us, sent a large body of people to bring us back, alleging that there were lions up that river; at the same time sending a man to the station to enquire whither I was going. It seemed as if he thought that I was going away. He called me to him, on my return, and was much pleased when he heard of my object; and said that I must go by day, and not by night. I said that this river, I thought, lay too low, but that I would examine some other rivers. He asked whether corn would then grow in the dry season. He then asked if the cow was killed, and, on my repeating what I said this morning, he began to question William and his servants. Towards the former he was very civil, but with the latter somewhat violent. At length he said that William had mastered them: and then he told me he was sorry at what had happened; but his servants had put him out of temper.

I am glad that he is brought in some degree to his senses ; though it seems that he will cast the blame on any one but himself.

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February 2, 1838.—Dingaan sent for me at sunset to write a letter to Mr. Retief, who with a party of Boers is now on his way to the Zulu capital. The letter was characteristic of the chief. He said that his heart was now content, because he had got his cattle again. He requested that the chief of the Boers would send to all his people and order them to come up to the capital with him, but without their horses. He promised to gather together all his army to sing and dance. He said he would give orders that cattle should be slain for them in every place through which they passed on the road, and he promised to give them a country. I asked him how they could come without their horses. He said, "Tell them that they must bring their horses, and dance upon them, in the middle of the town, that it might be known which could dance best, the Zulus or the "Abalungu" (the general name given to white people). The Dutch will be too wise to expose themselves in this manner.

February 3, 1838.—Large parties of Zulus in their war-dress were yesterday evening entering the town. This morning, when we were at family prayer, the unusual sound of muskets was heard from the west. This proved to be the arrival of the Boers, who presently entered the town on horseback, with their guns in their hands. An immense concourse of Zulus were present to receive them. The deputation, in number about sixty, brought with them the cattle which they had recovered from Sikonyela. The Boers immediately showed Dingaan the way in which they danced on horseback, by making a sham charge at one another, making the air resound with their guns. This was something which the Zulu chief had never witnessed. In their turn, the Zulus exhibited their skill in dancing. About noon I paid a visit to Mr. Retief, who with his party, after the amusement was over, were sitting under the trees fronting the gate of the town. The answer which he gave Dingaan, when he demanded the guns and horses, was to show the messenger his grey hairs, and bid him tell his master that he was not dealing with a child.

February 6, 1838.—A dreadful day in the annals of the mission. I shudder to give an account of it. This morning, as I was sitting in the shade of my wagon, reading the Testament, the usual messenger came, with hurry and anxiety depicted in his looks. I was sure that he was about to pronounce something serious. And what was

his commission? While it showed consideration and kindness in the Zulu monarch towards me, it disclosed a horrid instance of perfidy—too horrid to describe—towards the unhappy men who for a few days have been his guests, and are now no more. He sent to tell me not to be frightened, as he was going to kill the Boers. This news came like a thunderstroke to myself and to every successive member of my family as they heard it. The reason assigned for this treacherous act was that they were going to kill him; that they had come here, and that he had now learnt all their plans. The messenger was anxious for my answer; but what could I say? I was fearful on the one hand of seeming to justify the treachery: and on the other of exposing myself and my family to probable danger if I appeared to take their part. Moreover, I could not but feel that it was my duty to apprise the Boers of the intended massacre; while certain death would have ensued, I apprehended, if I had been detected in giving them this information. However, I was released from this dilemma by beholding an awful spectacle. My attention was directed to the blood-stained hill nearly opposite my hut, and on the other side of my wagon, which hides it from view, where all the executions at this fearful spot take place, and which was destined now to add sixty more bleeding carcasses to the number of those which have already cried to heaven for vengeance. "There!" said some one, "they are killing the Boers now!" I turned my eyes, and, behold! an immense multitude on the hill. About nine or ten Zulus to each Boer were dragging their helpless, unarmed victims to the fatal spot—where those eyes which awaked this morning to see the cheerful light of day for the last time, are now closed in death. I laid myself down on the ground. Mrs. and Miss Owen were not more thunderstruck than myself. We comforted one another. Presently, the deed of blood being accomplished, the whole multitude returned to the town to meet their sovereign; and, as they drew near to him, set up a shout which reached the station, and continued for some time. Meanwhile, I myself had been kept from all fear for our personal safety; for I considered the message of Dingaan to me as an indication that he had no ill designs against the missionary, especially as the messenger informed me that the Boers' interpreter (an Englishman, from Port Natal) was to be preserved. Nevertheless, fears afterwards obtruded themselves on me when I saw half a dozen men, with shields, sitting near our hut; and I began to tremble lest we were to fall the next victims. At this crisis I called all my family in, and read Psalm xci.; so singularly and literally

applicable to our present situation, that I could with difficulty proceed with it. I endeavoured to realise all its statements; and although I did not receive them as an absolute provision against sudden and violent death, I was led to Him who is our refuge from the guilt and fear of sin, which alone makes death terrible. * * *

Dingaan's conduct was worthy of a savage, as he is. It was base and treacherous, to say the least of it; the offspring of cowardice and fear. Suspicious of his warlike neighbours, jealous of their power, dreading the neighbourhood of their arms, he felt, as every savage would have done in like circumstances, that these men were his enemies, and, being unable to attack them openly, he massacred them clandestinely. Two of the Boers paid me a visit this morning, and breakfasted only an hour or two before they were called into eternity. When I asked them what they thought of Dingaan, they said that he was good;—so unsuspecting were they of his intentions. He had promised to assign over to them the whole country between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu Rivers, and this day the paper of transfer was to have been signed! My mind has always been filled with the notion that, however friendly the two powers have heretofore seemed to be, war, in the nature of things, was inevitable between them; but I dreamed of the ultimate conquest of the Boers, who would not, indeed, be the first to provoke, but who would be the sure defenders of their property, and the dreadful antagonists of the Zulu nation, who could hardly be kept from affronting them—not to mention that real or imaginary causes of quarrel could not fail to exist between two such powerful bodies. The hand of God is in this affair; but how it will turn out favourably to the mission it is impossible to show. The Lord direct our course! I have seen through my glass that Dingaan has been sitting most of the morning, since this dreadful affair, in the centre of his town; an army, in several divisions, collected before him. About noon, the whole body ran in the direction from which the Boers came. They are, I cannot allow myself to doubt, sent to fall, or to join others who have been ordered to fall, unawares on the main body of the Boers, who are encamped at the head of the Tugela; for to suppose that Dingaan would murder this handful, and not make himself sure of the whole number, with their guns, horses, and cattle, would be to suppose him capable of egregious folly; as he must know that the other Boers will avenge the death of their countrymen. Certain it is, as far as human foresight can judge, that we shall speedily hear either of the massacre of the whole company of Boers, or of—what is scarcely less

terrible—wars and bloodshed, of which there will be no end till either the Boers or the Zulu nation cease to be. * * *

To Dingaan's message this morning (Feb. 6) I sent as guarded a reply as I could, knowing that it would be both foolish and dangerous to accuse him at such a season of perfidy and cruelty. Moreover, as his message to me was kind and well intended, showing a regard to my feelings as well as safety, however criminal his conduct to others, I judged it prudent and proper, as well as reasonable, to thank him for letting me know. Sorrow prevailed on every countenance in our little circle; my interpreter's wife wept, to whom the messengers spoke kindly, saying, "Be still, be still; don't weep." As her husband is away, her case is peculiarly trying, for he will not know what has become of her. We have no means at all, except through Dingaan, of communicating either with our American brethren, Capt. Gardiner, Port Natal, or the colony, except when Capt. Gardiner has sent any of his own people here. Under present circumstances all communication is stopped; and as the Tugela is, moreover, said to be full, I cannot now have any further communication with Dingaan; and even if he sends for me, I do not know how I shall go. In my hurry this morning, and under the sudden impression of my feelings, I forgot, to my great grief, the American missionaries; and omitted to ask Dingaan to acquaint them by his messengers with the transactions, as he had done me. When the messenger had gone it was too late, as even my native servants were afraid to go down. I was quite ready to go myself; but William Wood, my young interpreter, was too much petrified for me to ask him to accompany me. All is still as death; it is really the stillness of death, for it has palsied every tongue in our little assembly. In the course of the day, however, Mr. Venables, American missionary, arrived from Temba, his station on the Umhlatusi. His coming was as unexpected as it was peculiarly seasonable, for his presence administered comfort; and mutual conference, under present circumstances, was much to be desired. The occasion of his coming to the king was, however, very painful. Mungo, the principal induna of Congella, had called about half-a-dozen of his men and enquired of them the reason why they had attended the teaching of the missionaries. He then gave an order that no one in future, neither man nor woman, should go to be taught; and that the children should not go and learn to sew. On Mr. Venables' arrival, he was surprised to see the Boers' guns under the trees, and the natives handling them freely; but they themselves not to be found, but described as having gone hunting, &c. At length Umhlela, the

induna, told him that the Boers were killed. Mr. Venables made no reply, and the savage, remorseless induna asked him if he did not thank the king for having killed them ! Before this conversation, Mr. Venables had told him for what purpose he had come to see the king ; and Umhlela asked him what they wanted to teach ? Being told, "The Book," he asked, "Cannot you teach us to ride or to shoot ?" At length, our friend left and came to the station ; where, as he saw no one about as usual, he expected to find us also gone. Our conversation has been partly on the wisest course to be adopted in the present exigency. We agree that we have no security for life. The man who brings our milk informs us that the army went to-day against the Boers. We tremble for the result. In the evening, the king sent to me for some medicine to heal a man who had been wounded by a spear in a quarrel with another Zulu.

February 7, 1838.—In the morning, two indunas with an attendant called. One of them patted his breast, a common gesticulation of friendship. No induna had ever been to the station before, and they asked to see the hut, wagon, &c. They were remarkably civil. They had been sent by the king to inform me that he had no intention to kill me or the other missionaries, for we had come into his country by few and few. He could live in peace with us, for we were his people. All George's people (meaning the British) were his, i.e., he liked them ; but the Amaboers (Boers) were not his people, nor were they George's. He said that all the armies that came into his country should be killed ; that the Amaboers (Boers) were going to kill the king ; they had come like an army, and had fallen into a passion with him. Many other causes were then assigned for their slaughter, as that they had not brought Sikonyela and his people as prisoners. Some of the other reasons I could not well understand, nor did I trouble myself about them, as there was but one true reason—the dread of their power. That the whole was a premeditated plan of Dingaan's, who was anxious to see them in order that he might butcher them all at once, I cannot now have any reasonable doubt ; though I could not previously imagine that his designs were so treacherous. The thought frequently entered my mind, but I rejected it. I said little in reply to the king. I remarked that I had come into his country only to teach the Book ; that I was not a fighting man, as those who taught the Book in my country did not handle the gun.

I did not give an adequate description of the dreadful carnage yesterday. I omitted to state that many of the Boers had children

with them, some under eleven years of age, as I am informed—and these were all butchered. They also had their Hottentot servants, and these were likewise slaughtered, besides their interpreter and his servant. The number of slain must have been nearer a hundred than sixty; but if there had been ten hundred it would have been all the same. Dingaan afterwards sent for Mr. Venables and his interpreter. He set the latter to unhalter several of his newly-acquired horses, for they were knee-haltered. As he never possessed a horse before, none of his own people were as yet adequate to this office. The usual messenger who comes to the station was thrown yesterday, and seriously injured; nevertheless, he was obliged to come this morning, though apparently in great pain. When the above task was performed, the sun was too hot: the king went into his hut, and there was no conversation. The thermometer to-day in our hut is 101° , which is higher than it ever has been. In the evening, Mr. Venables went down again to the king. He said that he should never send us away, or drive us out; but if the teachers at any time wished to go and see their own people, and would come and say "Hlala guhle" (farewell, or rest quietly), he would not stop them.

February 8, 1838.—Troops of warriors have been seen to-day going to join the army which has gone out against the Boers. Mr. Venables left us to-day, after having conferred together as to the wisest course to be pursued.

February 9, 1838.—My interpreter returned, to the great joy of all. The natives on his journey had industriously concealed from him the massacre of the Boers; though, by their whispering and reserve, he feared that there was something amiss: and as the angel of Death has been lately crying with a loud voice to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, "Come and gather yourselves together," he judged from the numerous birds of prey flying over the hill whitened with the bones of men, and the saddles piled one upon another at the gate of the town, that the deed had been done. Our appearance at his arrival alone silenced his fears on our account. The king sent for my interpreter soon after his arrival, and gave him a very plausible account of the late unhappy affairs. He said if he had not despatched the Boers, they would have fired at him and his people when they left; and that, when their guns were examined, they were all found to be loaded with ball. The perfidious tyrant gave the following account of the manner in which they were seized. He invited them all into the cattle-fold to take leave of him,

and his people were then ordered to dance; and, forming themselves into a half-moon, they came nearer and nearer to the Boers, till he gave the command to lay hold of the unsuspecting victims of his jealousy. * * * *

Having duly reflected on our present situation, and the course to be pursued, I determined this afternoon to inform Dingaan of my intentions. I have considered that, as war is inevitable, and my situation at the capital peculiarly dangerous—as, in case of actual danger, flight is impossible, and, whatever may be Dingaan's indifference, we should hardly escape the fury of his subjects—we are not secure at this place. We foresee a storm coming; and it seems prudent to hide ourselves while we can. Had I any charge here—a flock to tend, or encouraging hearers to whom to preach the gospel of Salvation—I should, I trust, be ready to stay; and I hope we had made up our minds that, should Dingaan offer any hindrance to our going, we should receive this as the voice of Providence, and be contented and happy to stay, in the assurance that work of some kind or another was appointed. If, on the other hand, a way should be opened for a safe and honourable retreat from the country, prudence would point out to us the importance of taking the opportunity, and waiting to see what further openings Providence may hereafter make into the Zulu country. Accordingly, I took a handsome piece of red cloth to the chief, with which he was much pleased, calling me his friend. I then said that I wanted to have some talk with him, and then acquainted him with my resolution of going, on account of the troubles that were coming. He told me to tell him what was in my heart; was I going on account of the Boers? I said that that was my reason, for I feared that there would be war. He asked, "What war?" I said between his nation and the Ama-boers. He was grave; but said he would wish me a pleasant journey. I then told him I should leave in his charge the cattle which he had given me, and certain goods for which I should not have room in my wagons, and that I hoped at a future time to return. He was remarkably smooth; and, indeed, I fancy that he anticipated my departure, after his sad and wicked conduct the other day. He told me that I must see him again before I went, and he would speak to me; "for," said he, "as you are going, I must speak too;" as if he had something behind which he could not at present disclose.

February 10, 1838.—The smoothness of Dingaan yesterday, instead of satisfying me, only excited my apprehensions, and I slept

under a painful foreboding of something evil to follow. God be praised, who has taken away my fears! Early this morning the chief sent for me to tell me the words which I was to speak at Port Natal. On my arrival, he called several indunas about him, and having, with my interpreter, taken my seat in the midst of them, he began to acquaint them with my determination of leaving, saying that he did not know the reason—whether it was that I was fretting for the Boers, or for some other cause. However, he said he had no objection to my going, and would wish me a pleasant journey. His tone and manner, more than his words, gave me reason to apprehend that something was still in his mind; and as he went on speaking, his manner became more vehement, so that I knew not whereunto it would lead.

He referred to our native servants, who, he said, reported that I spoke evil of him; that we praised God, but when we did so always had *him* in our hearts. We praised God, he said, but reviled *him*; and to show me that this was the case, he would send for the girls that were in my house, that they might speak in my presence all that they had heard us say against him. * * * *

Presently, the messengers returned with the two girls and the boy.

* * * * The girl said she did not hear half of what was said; but only when we mentioned “his name” she knew the purport of our observations; she said they called him an evil-doer, a murderer. * * *

The boy and the other girl corroborated her evidence. The king then said to his indunas: “You hear what they say.” It pleased God, however, to restrain their passions, and they said nothing.

February 10, 1838.—As I now did not so much fear immediate violence as destruction on the road, by connivance of Dingaan, whereby he would shelter himself from the odium of our death, I directed my interpreter to give him a hint that if mischief were to befall us on our road, the blame would certainly be laid on him. Indeed, I could not tell what evil might result from the manifestation of his anger, even if no evil were designed or thought of at present. It was impossible to tell what consequences might not follow from the zeal of his captains and people, who are not influenced by those restraints which in some measure tie up the hands of the monarch himself, or how they might not influence him against me. For the present, however, appearances were favourable, and I felt an unspeakable relief. Dingaan said that he was not angry with me, but only wished to show me my faults. He had

before said, that if I had not asked to go, he should soon have sent me away, because I spoke evil of him. By degrees the storm subsided; and at length he told me to write a letter to the Governor of the Colony, to give his reasons for killing the Boers, viz.:—That they had laid claim to his cattle, saying that they belonged to them, for he had taken them from their common foe, Umsilikazi, who had stolen them from the Boers; that they fell into a passion with him about this; that they wanted before they left to fire a salute with blank cartridge, as they did on their arrival; but that their real intention was to kill him, as a proof of which, when their guns were examined after their death, they were found to be loaded with ball. He told me also to write that he would not allow white people to build houses in his country. This letter will not go without a suitable postscript from myself. In the warmth of his anger, at the beginning of this interview, he gave me this message to take home to my countrymen:—That his people were not such fools as I had expected; I had thought to come here to blind them, but they would not be deceived by me. Finally, however, almost without my speaking—for I had no opportunity, as he would not hear me—and extreme caution on my part, his wrath, by the goodness of God, seemed to be quite appeased; and we left at length with a lighter heart than even after the calm interview of yesterday.

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February 11, 1838.— * * * For fear of any delay, it was necessary that we should leave immediately and get out of the country as soon as practicable. Indeed, although we now may fear no danger, yet prudence requires that we should make all the speed possible, for fear of any change in the despot's mind; lest he repent of sending us away quietly.

* * *

March 10, 1838.—I rode forward to Berea.* On my way I met two natives, who were going to Ambanati, to inform Capt. Gardiner that the Natal expedition was preparing to go against the Zulu country on Monday.

* * *

[FROM MR. HEWETSON'S JOURNAL.]

March 11, 1838.— * * * On the way I fell in with a strange set of warriors. About four hundred Zulus came bellowing a war-song. It sounded exactly like the noise of angry bulls. No

* Near Durban.

one could mistake its meaning ; its tone was that of gloomy revenge. The words in English were : " The wild beast has driven us from our homes ; but we will catch him." They were headed by a white man, who had an old straw hat on, with an ostrich feather stuck in it. He had on his shoulder an elephant gun, covered with a panther's skin, and walked quite at ease at the head of his party, who went on with this dismal song, except that occasionally they all whistled the Zulu charge. They had flags flying, on one of which was written, " Izinkumbi " (or the locust) ; on another, " For justice we fight." They did not fatigue themselves with jumping or shouting ; but the monotonous howl could be heard for at least two miles. In front they drove the cattle for slaughter ; in rear, the degraded wives carried Indian corn, pumpkins, &c., all of which passed so quickly by me that it seemed like a frightful dream.

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[FROM REV. F. OWEN'S JOURNAL.]

April 17, 1838.—A bad and awful day. I took a long walk in the morning, chiefly with the view of visiting some more villages. On arriving at the first, I saw a young warrior ; and on my asking him and the women who were about, whether they would like to be taught, he returned answer that the whole commando had been destroyed by the Zulus, and that all the white men were killed. I pursued my walk to Mr. Ogle's own village ; but ere I arrived the sound of weeping and lamentation met my ear. I entered Mr. Ogle's hut, where a great number of natives were assembled. He himself had not gone out this time to fight, and he now acquainted me with the various reports he had heard, and which, though differing in many particulars, all agreed in this, that there had been a great slaughter both of natives and white people. He had scarcely begun to tell me what had happened, when a native woman arrived, bringing further intelligence, at which all the women in the village set up loud cries and wailings, running in all directions, crying in their own language, " Alas ! alas ! " As yet no man had arrived from the commando who had actually seen the fight ; but in a few minutes a warrior arrived with his gun, having fled seventy-five miles, in a day and a half, from the very scene of action. The intelligence which he brought corroborated the former reports of the general massacre of white people and black. And now the scene was heart-rending beyond example. The tumultuous cries of the distressed women, whose husbands are supposed to have

been slaughtered, made the air resound. One woman was seen walking with her hands at the back of her head, crying mournfully, "Buya, Baba" ("Return, my Father"). An Englishwoman, among the rest, was almost frantic with grief. In the meantime the men eagerly gathered round the messenger to hear the particulars. As it was expected that the Zulus would pursue their victory, and come immediately on Port Natal, I observed that it was of paramount importance that we should be prepared for an eternal world, and exhorted them to seek the Lord. After leaving the village, I heard the voice of weeping and lamentation for more than a mile. At night we went on board the brig "Comet," Capt. Haddon, which is providentially now in the bay.

April 19, 1838.—I visited a white man who, with three other Europeans, had effected his escape. He was lying under a wagon, severely wounded in the knee. He had received two other wounds, which were now healed. It appears that the Port Natal army had crossed the Tugela at daybreak, on the morning of the 15th, and attacked a Zulu village. In the meantime myriads of the enemy were seen pouring down the hills. Such of the Natal natives as fought with spears ran to the white people, or natives who carried guns, for protection; at the same time casting off the white calico which had been tied round their bodies as a badge of distinction. Being followed by the enemy, it was impossible now to distinguish between the Natal natives and the Zulus. It is stated that multitudes of the black people fled, and were pursued by thousands of Zulus, who killed more in the flight than in the battle. The loss on both sides was very great; but all the leaders of the Natal army being killed, Dingaan may justly reckon that he triumphed over his foes in this quarter. Nearly every individual of the party with whom I conversed after their arrival at Port Natal, and dissuaded from the fight, besides many others of the white men, whom I knew and had seen so lately, had perished. Of seventeen Englishmen who went out, only four returned. * * *

April 21, 1838.—Under these circumstances, we cannot but acknowledge the gracious Providence which brought a ship into the harbour, the brig "Comet" (Capt. Haddon), which was bound first for De la Goa Bay, but put in here from contrary winds, about three weeks since. She would long since have sailed, but the captain has been very dangerously ill; and the vessel, consequently, detained. We sleep on board every night, and are thus favoured with unexpected security in the event of any midnight attack. We

have lost all our cattle, in common with the other inhabitants; but, thank God! our lives have been preserved.

* * *

April 22, 1838 (the Lord's Day).—The violence of the wind prevented us from sailing to the Point, as usual, to hold service. As we were about to commence prayers in the tent, a small party of Boers were seen galloping along the opposite beach. In the evening we received tidings from them of the result of their first battle with Dingaan, in which they had lost their brave commander, Pieter Uys.

April 23, 1838.—In the morning we sailed to the Point, and called on the newly-arrived Boers. From a Scotchman in their party, I learned pretty full particulars of the commencement of hostilities between them and the Zulu chief. On 6th instant, a commando, consisting of three hundred fighting men, under Pieter Uys, left the camp, and, proceeding into the Zulu country, found no enemy until they arrived within half an hour's ride, and were in sight of the capital. Dingaan had ordered all the cattle to be driven away, so that they found but one stray ox. The despot's army was drawn up on some rocks through which there was a narrow pass, through which the Boers were to make their egress before they could reach the royal residence. The rocks formed a half-circle; on each quadrant sat a division of the Zulu army, guarding the pass. A third division remained at some distance, to fall on the rear of the Boers as soon as they had entered the ground which the Zulus had chosen for the fight. By this means they hoped to surround them, and prevent all opportunity for escape. Pieter Uys divided his men into two principal parties, which were to commence with the two divisions of Zulus who were arranged on the rocks. A smaller division, under Cobus Uys, was stationed by itself, with orders not to attack the third party of Zulus, unless they should happen to make the first onset. The division which Pieter Uys commanded advanced and fired. The party of the enemy whom this division attacked were quickly put to rout. Meanwhile, the other main division of the Boers met with a signal defeat. Having fired not more than sixteen shots, they fled. The Zulus returning from the pursuit, and being quickly joined by the other two divisions, now hemmed in the remaining Boers. Before this, however, Pieter Uys, his son, about twelve years, who fought at his side, and ten other men had fallen. They were surrounded in a kloof, from which they had not been able to extricate themselves. Uys received a wound in his thigh and fell from his horse. Being

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mounted again, he continued to fight; but, fainting from loss of blood, he again fell from his horse, when he was heard to cry: "Fight your way out, my brave boys; I must die." The Zulus then came and speared him. The Boers, being surrounded by the enemy, who were vastly their superiors in number, continued the fight for about an hour and a half—keeping up a continued fire, dismounting and advancing a few yards, until they were able to take a steady aim at their adversaries, and then retiring to their horses, which are trained to stand perfectly still in the midst of this noise; and firing, mounting and loading. On the other hand, the Zulus were not able to come sufficiently near to take aim with their spears (which on this occasion they threw) before they were shot. Thus about five hundred of them were killed, though some reckoned their loss at a thousand. At length the Boers, being unable to make their enemies retreat, were obliged to effect a retreat themselves, which they accomplished by directing a fire simultaneously to one point of the ring; and having thus made a lane with their guns through the Zulus, they rode over the dead bodies and escaped. A party of nine hid themselves in some Indian corn in order to cut off some spies who had been observed to follow them all day, with a view of ascertaining their place of encampment, that they might fall on them at night. At sunset, as these spies, seven in number, approached the place where the liers-in-wait were concealed, the latter issued forth, and each shot his man dead in a moment. The battle was fought on 11th instant, at about 10 o'clock. The Zulus might justly claim the victory, though it was dearly bought.

April 23.—In the evening two guns from the ship, the appointed signal of danger, admonished us to come on board. We all, therefore, entered our little boat, which was crowded. * * * *
On arriving at the ship we heard that a large army of Zulus had been seen at the Umgeni, about eight miles distant, advancing down to Port Natal, and had commenced by driving away the cattle which they had found there.

April 24, 1838.—The army made its appearance about 9 a.m., on a hill whereon Berea stands. We could only see them by the aid of glasses; nor was it possible to ascertain the correct number of the enemy. No one, however, thought of making any resistance. We were able to trace their motions by the telescope all day, whenever any opening in the bush afforded an opportunity. They never once came near the water, being deterred by the sight of the vessel and the report of her guns.

May 4, 1838.—Having ascertained from the natives that the Zulus had left the country, Mr. Hewetson and I rode to Berea, with the view of seeing what devastation had been made there. We found that the house had been broken into, and every box, case, bale, or bag emptied of its contents; the empty boxes themselves had been broken and piled in disorder. Not a vestige of cloth, calico, or anything that could by any means be converted into apparel, was left behind. Everything which could be of any use to the natives, or possessed in their minds any external beauty, was carried away; and scarcely anything was left but provisions of various kinds—salt, sugar, flour, &c., which were scattered on the floor: and in the midst of which lay, half covered and soiled, immense quantities of books, many of which were of great value.

May 11, 1838.—At four o'clock this evening we weighed anchor. The natives and a few settlers came to the beach and bade us farewell, with every token of grief. As we had a fair wind we soon crossed the bar, and I once more found myself at sea, without a prospect of being soon settled. The leaving this fine people is a greater trial than I can describe, when I take into consideration their habits, the fine country they possess, the valuable resources at their command for acquiring all the comforts of civilized life, and the blessing connected with Christianity—peace, love, joy, and the glorious hope of heaven. Six missionaries had schools in various parts of the country three months ago; now they have all left, perhaps never to return.

The time is not yet come for “the Ethiopian to stretch forth his hands unto God.”

FIRST LETTER OF RETIEF TO DINGAAN.

[FROM THE FRENCH.—ADULPHE DELEGORGUE. “VOYAGE DANS L'AFRIQUE AUSTRALE.”]

Port Natal, 19th October, 1837.

To the Chief of the Zulus.

I take the opportunity of the return of your messengers to inform you that my great wish is to have an interview with yourself personally, in order to remove the impressions made by certain vague rumours which may have reached you respecting the intentions of the party who have quitted the colony, and who desire to

establish themselves in the country which is uninhabited and adjacent to the territory of the Zulus.

Our anxious wish is to live at peace with the Zulu nation. You will, doubtless, have heard of our last rupture with Umsilikazi, resulting from the frequent and ruinous robberies committed habitually by his tribe; in consequence of which it had become absolutely necessary to declare war against him, after having in the first instance failed in every attempt to arrange our differences.

I shall set out in a few days for the country of the Zulus, in order to settle with you our future relations. The hope of always living on terms of peace and amity with the Zulu nation is the sincere wish of your true friend,

(Signed) RETIEF, Governor, &c.

We, the undersigned, original settlers at Port Natal, hail with sincere pleasure the deputation, on the part of the Emigrant Farmers, under Pieter Retief, Esq., their Governor.

We beg the deputation to offer our best wishes to their constituents, and to assure them generally of our desire to receive them as friends, and perhaps, in the course of events, as neighbours, and especially of our wish that a mutual good understanding may always exist between us.

(Signed) ALEXR. BIGGAR,	C. PICKMAN,	JOHN CANE,
JOHN KEMBLE,	H. OGLE,	CHAS. ADAMS,
J. D. STELLER,	THOS. CARDEN,	D. C. TOOHEY,
W. BOTTOMLEY,	GEORGE BIGGAR,	F. FYNN.
THOS. HALSTEAD,	R. KING,	

Port Natal, 23rd October, 1837.

A. BIGGAR, Esq., and others signing the Address.

GENTLEMEN,—After so flattering a reception as that given me on my arrival at Port Natal, I have no reason to regret the very troublesome journey made in ninety hours on horseback. With heart and hand I declare to you that the sentiments expressed by you are those entertained by myself. I have no doubt that the Almighty, in disposing events, may bring us together for our mutual welfare. Should it please God, I hope, on my return from the Zulus, to open more definite communications with you.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant and faithful friend,

(Signed) P. RETIEF.

Umgungundhlovu, 31st October, 1837.

To Mr. P. RETIEF.

SIR,—The king desires me to say that he has taken from Mose-likatzi (Umsilikazi) the sheep which the bearers of this letter have with them; that these sheep belong to the Dutch, and that he desires to restore them to their owners; that his army has taken many more than those you see, but that they have died by hundreds on the way; that many more have died since they came hither, and that he sends you their skins.

From all that he has been able to learn from a woman brought from Umsilikazi's country, there were no more than nine head of cattle belonging to the Dutch, and captured by his army; and these have all died since their arrival, otherwise he would have sent them to you. Umhlala, the induna who commanded the army, says that Umsilikazi has fled with numerous herds, and he supposes that the greater number must belong to the Dutch. The king has been much grieved by the attack by Umsilikazi on the Boers. He says that he does not expect that all the sheep he is sending will reach Port Natal, for many will certainly die on the way. He says that he very much appreciates the letter sent to him by you.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) F. OWEN, Missionary from England.

+ Mark of the Chief.

P.S.—The number of sheep leaving this place to-day is 110. The king will send the skins mentioned by his people as far as the Tugela; and, he says, you may, if you see fit, send a wagon for them, to load at that place.

Umgungundhlovu, 8th November, 1837.

To PIETER RETIEF, Esq.,

Governor of the Dutch Emigrants.

SIR,—This is an answer to your letter of 24th October, and will inform you of the conversation that has taken place. I regret to hear that you have suffered such heavy losses by the acts of Umsilikazi. I have taken from Umsilikazi a great number of your sheep. [&c., &c. The contents of the former letter are here repeated.]

Now, as regards the request you have made to me as to the territory, I am almost inclined to cede it to you; but, in the first place, I desire to say that a great number of cattle have been stolen from my country by a people having clothes, horses, and guns. The

Zulus assure me that these people were Boers : that the party had gone towards Port Natal ; the Zulus now wish to know what they have to expect.

My great wish, therefore, is that you should show that you are not guilty of the matters alleged against you : for at present I believe that you are. My request is that you recover my cattle and restore them to me ; and, if possible, hand over the thief to me. That proceeding would remove my suspicions, and will give you reason to know that I am your friend : then I shall accede to your request. I shall give you a sufficient number of people to drive the cattle that you may re-capture for me : and they will remove all the suspicions that the stolen cattle are in the hands of the Dutch. If any cattle have been taken that were not mine, I pray you to send them to me.

(Signed) Mark + of the Chief DINGAAN.

Witness : (Signed) F. OWEN.

Port Natal, 8th November, 1837.

To DINGAAN, King of the Amazulu.

It is with pleasure that I recognize your friendship and justice in the matter of the flocks taken by you from Umsilikazi. I thank you also in regard to the skins that you have so obligingly offered to return to me ; but I wish you to keep them for your own use and advantage. I have no difficulty in believing, as you say, that so small a number of my cattle should have been taken by your army from the possession of Umsilikazi, since, having seen a number of yours at the different villages, I found none of my own among them. Umsilikazi, I have no doubt, has fled to a distance, for he must think and feel that I shall punish his misconduct. Have I not already reason to complain that I have been constrained to kill so many men of his nation because they had been bound to execute his cruel orders ?

That which has just befallen Umsilikazi gives me reason to believe that the Almighty, that God who knows all, will not permit him to live much longer. The great Book of God teaches us that kings who conduct themselves as Umsilikazi does are severely punished, and that it is not granted to them to live or reign long ; and if you desire to learn at greater length how God deals with such bad kings, you may enquire concerning it from the missionaries who are in your country. You may believe what these preachers will tell

you of God and His government of the world. Respecting such things, I advise you frequently to discourse with these gentlemen, who desire to preach the word of God to you, because they will teach you how justly God has ruled and still rules all the kings of the earth.

I assure you that it is an excellent thing for you to have given permission to preachers to establish themselves in your country: more than that, I certify to you that these preachers have come to you because God instilled into their hearts the idea of doing so; and they are able to show you, by reference to the Bible, that what I am now saying to you is the truth.

As a friend, I must tell you this great truth, that all, whether white or black, who will not hearken to and believe the word of God, will be unhappy. These gentlemen have not come to you to ask for land or cattle, still less to cause you trouble in any way, but only in order to preach to you and yours the word of God.

Now, I cordially thank the king for the good and favourable answer to my request, and I hope the king will remember his word and his promise when I return. You may be satisfied that I would do the same. I think it likely that, before my return, you will be disquieted by advice given you respecting my request and your promise; and I think it possible that even more will be stated to the king respecting me and my people, and that such statements may have a semblance of truth. If discourse of this kind should occur, I would ask you to inform me on my return by whom these things have been said. I have no fear of meeting, in your presence, anyone who may have spoken ill of me or my people. My desire is that it may not please you, before my return, to give ear to anyone who would seek to raise up embarrassments in your mind respecting the country in which I desire to live.

As to the thieves who have taken your cattle, and what they have said, namely, that they were Boers, it was a skilful artifice to induce you to regard me as a robber, in order that they themselves may escape with impunity. I confidently believe that I shall be able to prove to the king that I and my people are innocent of the crime. Knowing my innocence, I feel that you have imposed a severe obligation on me, which I must fulfil, in order to show that I am not guilty. As for the proceeding which you require from me, accompanied as it is by expense, by trouble, and risk of life, I must be responsible for it to you, to the world, and to God, who knows all.

I go now, placing my trust in God, who gives me hope that I

shall be able to carry out this undertaking in such manner as to give a satisfactory answer. That done, I shall look forward to being satisfied that I am dealing with a king who keeps his word. I hope that some of your men, and especially those of the kraals from which your cattle have been taken, will be ordered to accompany me, as has been agreed; and, moreover, that they obey my orders with precision. I thank you for the friendly reception you have given me, in return for which I shall always endeavour to show you equal good-will.

Yours obediently,

(Signed) P. RETIEF.

P.S.—I enclose, for the king's information, a note of the number of men killed and of cattle stolen by Umsilikatzi:—Twenty white and 26 coloured people killed, of whom nine were women and five children. Twenty-seven persons were robbed of cattle: 51 saddle and 45 untrained horses; draught oxen, 945; breeding cattle, 3,726; sheep and goats, 50,745; also nine guns and four wagons.

(Signed) P. RETIEF.

[FROM THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."]

Extract of a letter from Mr. P. Retief, dated Port Natal, Nov. 18, 1837:—

"Dingaan received me with much kindness, but has at the same time imposed a difficult task upon me, as you will see from a copy of his letter. He finally told me, with a smile on his countenance, 'You do not know me, nor I you: and, therefore, we must become better acquainted.' The king did not give me an audience on the subject of my mission until the third day after my arrival. He said I must not be hasty, and that, as I had come from a long distance to see him, I must have rest, and partake of some amusement. During two days his people were engaged in exhibiting their national dances, and in warlike manœuvres. The first day upwards of two thousand of his youngest soldiers were assembled; and on the following day his elder warriors were exhibited, to the number of four thousand. Their dances and manœuvres were extremely imposing and interesting. Their sham fights are terrific exhibitions. They make a great noise with their shields and kerries, uttering at the same time the most discordant yells and cries. In one dance the people were intermingled with 176 oxen, all without horns and of one colour. They have long strips of skin hanging pendent from

their foreheads, cheeks, shoulders, and under the throat, which are cut from the hides of calves. These oxen are divided in twos and threes among the whole army, which then dances in companies, each with its attendant oxen. In this way, they all in turns approach the king, the oxen turning off into a kraal, and the warriors moving in a line *from* the king. It is surprising that the oxen should be so well trained; for, notwithstanding all the shouting and yelling which accompany this dance, yet they never move faster than a slow walking pace. Dingaan showed me also, as he said, his *smallest* herd of oxen—all alike, red with white backs. He allowed two of my people to count them, and the enumeration amounted to two thousand four hundred and twenty-four. I am informed that his herds of red and black oxen consist of three to four thousand each.

The king occupies a beautiful habitation. The form is spherical, and its diameter is twenty feet. It is supported in the interior by twenty-two pillars, which are entirely covered with beads. The floor shines like a mirror. His barracks consist of 1,700 huts, each capable of accommodating twenty warriors. But since its return from the expedition against Umsilikazi, his army is at an out-post. The king behaved to me with great kindness during all the time I was with him.

Of the missionaries here in general, I cannot speak too highly of their extreme kindness and attention. I visited Capt. Gardiner on my way to and from the king, and was kindly received by him.

I must now return with my work unaccomplished, which will cause me a great deal of anxiety and fatigue. But what can I do otherwise than leave our case in the hands of the Almighty, and patiently wait His will? He will, I hope, strengthen me to acquit myself of my difficult task as becomes a Christian; and, although the duty which now devolves upon me through the misconduct of Sikonyela is by me particularly regretted, yet my hope is in God, who will not forsake those who put their trust in Him.

I perceive with astonishment that there are yet persons in the colony whose hostile feelings are still displayed towards us, and who continue to calumniate us, though so far removed. They seem to wish us evil, and to anticipate the difficulties we shall have to contend with. I can thank God that their wishes and their expectations have not yet been answered. They would act much more wisely were they first to wait and see the result of the case before they express their sentiments.

CESSION OF PORT NATAL TO THE BOERS BY DINGAAN.

[From a certified copy of the original, supplied to the Compiler by Mr. Jeppe.]

Umkugings Sloave, (a) 4th February, 1838.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THIS—That whereas Pieter Retief, Gouvernor of the Dutch emigrant South Afrikans, has retaken my Cattle, which Sinkonyella (b) had stolen; which Cattle he, the said Retief, now deliver unto me: I, DINGAAN, King of the Zoolas, do hereby certify and declare that I thought fit to resign unto him, Retief, and his countrymen (on reward of the case hereabove mentioned) the Place called "Port Natal," together with all the land annexed, that is to say, from Dogela (c) to the Omsoboebos (d) River westward; and from the sea to the north, as far as the land may be usefull and in my possession. Which I did by this, and give unto them for their everlasting property.

(Signed) De merk + van Koning DINGAAN. (e)

Als Getuigen: (f)

NWARA,	}	Grote Raads-Heren. (g)
JULIWANE,		
MANONDO,		

Als Getuigen: (h)

M. OOSTHUYZEN,	Een ware copy: (i)
A. C. GREYLING,	(Signed) J. G. BANTJES,
B. J. LIEBENBERG.	J. B. ROEDELLOFF.

Certificeere dat de omgeschreevene Contract gevonden is door ons ondergeteekenden by de gebeenten van wylen den heer P. Retief in Dingaan's land op den 21ste dag van December, 1838, in een ledere Jagerzak. Indien vereischt zyn wy bereid dat met solemnele Eeden te staven. (k)

(Getd.) E. F. POTGIETER.

(a) Umgungundhlovu.

(b) Sinkonyela.

(c) Tugela.

(d) Umzimvubu.

(e) The mark + of King Dingaan.

(f) As witnesses.

(g) Great Councillors.

(h) As witnesses.

(i) A true copy.

(k) Translation:

"We certify that the annexed contract was found by us, the undersigned, with the bones of Mr. P. Retief in Dingaan's country, on the 21st day of December, 1838, in a leather hunting-pouch. If required, we are prepared to uphold this by solemn oaths. (Signed) E. F. POTGIETER."

[A true translation:—J. BIRD.]

THE PIONEER'S NARRATIVE.

By DANIEL PIETER BEZUIDENHOUT, born 19th November, 1813, at the farm Bakfontein, Uitvlugt, between Winterveld and Nieuwveld, District of Graaff-Reinet, Cape Colony, and now residing in the District of Bethlehem, Orange Free State.

FROM THE "ORANGE FREE STATE MONTHLY MAGAZINE," DECEMBER, 1879.

[Translated by the Compiler.]

My father's name was Wijnand Frederick Bezuidenhout. He was a cousin of Bezuidenhout of Slagter's Nek. We first migrated with 110 men, and had as our chief commandant Gerrit Maritz, and as second commandant Hendrik Potgieter. We first went to Marico, to punish Selikatz* for murders committed by him beyond the Vaal River. He murdered the Liebenbergs and Erasmus. We drove away Selikatz, and brought out Lindley, the American missionary, as well as Dr. Adams, and another white man, as well as two white women.

When we had returned to Blesberg, Retief came to us from Retief's Post, in the district of Fort Beaufort, Cape Colony. We then advanced as far as Zand River. Retief was then elected as Governor, and Gerrit Maritz as first president. There the Volksraad (the council of the people) was first held. From Doornberg, five men were first sent forward to seek a road to the Drakensberg, with the object of reaching Natal. A small "trekkie" (party of emigrants) had preceded us—that of Rensburg and Triecharadt. They had gone into the country to the north-east. Rensburg was murdered; and Triecharadt sent men to report this at De la Goa.

Now I shall proceed to relate how it fared with our migration (trek). Retief said: "The people (under Triecharadt and Rensburg) are going too far north. I want trade, and we must, therefore, endeavour to find a harbour."

Then Retief, with a deputation (commissie) of fifteen men, with four wagons, went to seek the bay of Natal. These fifteen men were Pieter Retief, Barend Johannes Liebenberg, Jan H. de Lange, Roelof Dreyer, Coenraad Meyer, Lucas Meyer, Wijnand Marais, Nicholas Liebenberg, Cornelis van Rooyen, Isaac Nienwkerk, Joseph

* Umsiligazi.

van Dyk, Pieter Oosthuyzen, Daniel Bezuidenhout, Pieter Meyer, and another, whose name I do not remember.

We, the commission, then went to Natal, and found the harbour of Natal. There we found 53 Englishmen; no white women, only black ones.

From Port Natal, Retief took Thos. Holster (Halstead) with him as an interpreter, and we went to Dingaan. We, the fifteen men, went with our four wagons to the mouth of the Tugela. Thence, Retief went with five men on horseback to Dingaan. These five were: Coenraad Meyer, Lucas Meyer, Barend Liebenberg, Daniel Bezuidenhout, and Roelof Dreyer (all now dead—myself excepted). When we arrived, Dingaan received us well; but he was not to be spoken to till the third day. On the third day Retief, with the five men, went to Dingaan. When we came to him, Dingaan's question was: "What are you wanting here?" Retief, through his interpreter (Thomas Halstead), answered: "We come to purchase an extent of ground from you. We come from far; our country is small, and we are becoming numerous, and can no longer subsist there. We see that you have a large country which lies waste and unoccupied from the Drakensberg to the sea, and we wish to purchase that country from you." Dingaan said: "How can you come to purchase land from me? You have quite recently shot my people, and taken their cattle." Retief declared us innocent of this; and then he learned, further, from Dingaan that not long ago certain people, dressed like the Boers, and riding on "oxen without horns"—as Dingaan called horses (he had never before seen the animals)—had, early in the morning, come to a kraal of Dingaan's subjects, on the borders of Zululand, and, amidst the shouts of "Maboela!" "Maboela!" (the Boers! the Boers!) they had driven off the inhabitants of the kraal, and had captured about 300 head of cattle.

Upon this, Retief said: "It can be no other than Sikonyela who has done this. He is the only Kafir who has horses, and some of his people are clothed as we are."

Dingaan said: "If it was Sikonyela, and you are innocent, you must first prove this. I will make the owners of the cattle accompany you, and also one of my generals. Go back to your people; give my people a free opportunity to seek amongst the cattle of your people, and see if none of their cattle are amongst them; and, if not, go and show my people where their cattle are."

Retief consented to this, and we returned across the Drakensberg to the Wittebergen, where Sikonyela was. When we came

into Sikonyela's neighbourhood, Retief made the Zulus (Dingaan's men) put on clothes. Before the commission of fifteen men had gone to Natal, we had had a negotiation with Sikonyela as to a line of road for our course, as we wanted Sikonyela, on terms of payment, to give us permission to travel through his country to Natal; and when now we returned from Dingaan, Retief sent a message to Sikonyela that we had now come to enquire how the matter stood as to the road. We first came to the missionary resident with Sikonyela (Daumas). On the following day Sikonyela came, and gave us to understand that his mother—who still had the first voice in his council—was willing to give us a right of road. I had a pair of handcuffs in my bag; and, as Sikonyela was sitting on the ground, I ran up to him and said, "Look at these beautiful rings;" and thereupon I closed the handcuffs on his arms, saying, "That is the way in which we secure rogues in our country." Retief then said: "Upon my word, you have been doing a wrong. Send for the cattle which you have taken from the Zulus."

On the first day, Sikonyela brought 150 head of cattle, and already there were some of the Zulus' cattle among them, which was a proof that Sikonyela was guilty. On the second day, Retief sent to have Sikonyela's herds collected. Sikonyela remained as a prisoner. On the evening of the second day we brought together a great number of cattle, and amongst them the Zulus (Dingaan's men) recovered nearly all their stolen cattle.

On the third morning, Retief said to the Zulus, "Drive out those of the cattle that belong to you, and if any are missing of the number, choose from those of Sikonyela as many as will make up the tally." The Zulus did this. Retief further took from Sikonyela 53 horses and 33 guns, as a fine for having made an evil use of those horses and guns, and having, in our name, made a predatory inroad with them against his neighbours.

We then returned, and our party of emigrants (trek) was stationed at Moordspruit, Blaauwkrantz, and the Bushman's River under the Drakensberg. From that place Retief went, with 60 men, to take to Dingaan the cattle which we had got from Sikonyela, and prove to him that we had not been the guilty party. I remained behind at Blaauwkrantz.

Whilst Retief had been absent at Sikonyela's, two of the English from Natal (viz.: Garnett and Stubbs) had been at Dingaan's, and asked him, "What is your law as to deserters who are unfaithful to their king?" Dingaan said that, according to his

laws, such deserters must be put to death. Garnett and Stubbs then said that *we* were such deserters.

The reason why the two English had gone to work against us in this way was, that when Retief, with his five men, had returned from Dingaan to Natal, he had held a meeting with the fifty-three Englishmen. They enquired what was to become of them if the Boers came to live in Natal? To which Retief made answer: "Well, you are the first indwellers, and must have the preference. We shall allow each of the fifty-three English who are here to select 12,000 acres (6,000 morgen) of the best land; but, as we form the great majority in numbers, you must be under our government." With this they were dissatisfied; and for that reason they (Garnett and Stubbs) had been sent to Dingaan to set him against Retief; and I have no doubt that this was the cause of the great murder at Dingaan's kraal; for when we, the five men, had first gone to Dingaan with Retief, he had treated us in the most friendly way, supplying us with Indian corn ('mielies'), Kafir beer, beef, and whatever the country produced.

Well, Retief then went again to Dingaan with the cattle, as I have said. What then occurred there is too well known—I need not repeat it. And, besides, I was not present; for, as I have said, I stayed behind with the wagons at Blaauwkrantz. This only I can say, that after we had defeated Dingaan at Blood River, we advanced to Dingaan's city; and there, on a hillock decked with thorn trees, lay all the skeletons of the murdered Boers; and on one corpse we found a pocket-book, by which we recognised that the skeleton was that of Retief! And in the pocket-book was the treaty concluded between Dingaan and Retief; and although the book had lain there so long in wind and weather, the paper on which the treaty was written was still white and uninjured, and the writing distinctly legible. General Andries Pretorius took the paper. I believe that Marthinus Wessel Pretorius must still have it in his possession.

Well, we had remained behind with the women and children under the Drakensberg, along the Blaauwkrantz and Bushman's River—not in a camp (laager), but in little bivouacs of three or four wagons each, every family separately, all along the course of the Blaauwkrantz downwards. We were in tranquil security, for there was peace; and, as Retief had recovered the cattle belonging to Dingaan's people, we could hardly imagine that matters would not all go right. This Dingaan knew; and, in order to come upon us unawares, immediately after the murder of Retief and his sixty

men, he sent a Zulu commando to fall upon us by night. Blaauwkrantz is between Ladysmith and Weenen, towards the sea.

The first assault of the Zulus was on Barend Johannes Liebenberg's bivouac; the second on that of Wijnand Frederick Bezuidenhout (my father). Each stood with its cattle separately, no camp (laager).

Of the Liebenbergs, four sons came forward; who, together with young Biggar, went to meet the Kafirs. All the other Liebenbergs were murdered. Young Biggar was an English bastard from Port Natal. He and the Zulus understood each other; and he must have acted treacherously, for he went among the Zulus without receiving any molestation from them. When Van Vooren, who was Liebenberg's son-in-law, and was in his bivouac saw this, he shot at Biggar, breaking his arm. Upon this Biggar said: "Uncle, you have shot off my arm!" Van Voren said: "What, then, are you seeking among the Kafirs?" And then he shot Biggar, and killed him. Liebenberg's bivouac was the lowest down along the Blaauwkrantz kloof, and was thus first attacked.

The second attack was on Adriaan J^s. Rossouw, who was murdered, with his wife and four children. We found two children, badly wounded, on the following day, but they were still alive. Elizabeth Johanna Rossouw had sixteen wounds, and died next day. Adriaan Johannes Rossouw, son of Adriaan, had thirty-two assagai wounds, and escaped with life. He lived on my farm till his eighteenth year (he was my sister's child), and then died of one of the wounds, which had never been completely healed. It was a wound which he had received under the breast, and it had penetrated through the shoulder-blade. The film of the stomach remained always exposed, and when he breathed one could see the film open.

The third attack was on my father's bivouac, consisting of five wagons and three skin tents; and there were three men with it—namely, my father, Roelof Botha (my brother-in-law), and myself.

It was about one o'clock in the night, and there was no moonlight. We stood on a rough hillock, near thorn trees. We had three or four bold savage dogs, that would tear a tiger to pieces without difficulty. I heard the dogs bark and fight, and thought that there was a tiger. I got up, having no clothes on my person except a shirt and drawers, and went to urge on the dogs: and, when I was about 300 yards away from the wagons, I heard the whirr of assagais and shields, and perceived we had to do with Kafirs, not tigers; and with the Kafirs the dogs were fighting. I shouted to my

father: "There are Kafirs here, and they are stabbing the dogs;" and I ran back towards the wagons to get my gun, for I was unarmed. But the wagons were already encircled by three rows of Kafirs. Still I strove to push with my hands, and struggle, in order to pass through the Kafirs to get at my gun. When I had in this way got through the three lines of Kafirs, I found that there was still a number within the lines closely surrounding the wagons. As I was still advancing, I heard my father say, "O God!" and I knew from the sound that he was suffocated by blood. He had a wound in the gullet, above the breast. Roelof Botha had fired three shots, and there lay three Kafirs, struck down by his shots: then he, too, cried "O Lord!" I heard no more, and then I tried to make my way back, away from the wagons, through the three rows of Kafirs. Then I received the first wound from an assagai on the knot of the shoulder, through the breast and along the ribs. A second assagai struck the bone of my thigh, so that the point of the blade was bent, as I found afterwards when I drew it out. The third struck me above the left knee—all the wounds were on my left side. A fourth wound was inflicted above the ankle, through the sinews, under the calf of the leg. Then I found myself among the cattle, and stood a moment, listening. I heard no further sound of a voice—all were dead; and the Kafirs were busy, tearing the tents, and breaking the wagons, and stabbing to death the dogs and the poultry. They left nothing alive. Of the women and children murdered at my father's wagons, there were: my mother, Elizabetta Johanna, born Liebenberg; my wife, Elizabetta Cecilia Smit; my mother-in-law, Anna Smit, born Botha; my sister, Susanna Margarita, married to Botha, her little child, Elizabetta Johanna, about five months old; another sister, Maria Adriana Bezuidenhout; also my sisters, Rachel Jacoba and Cornelia Sophia, a little brother, named Hendrik Cornelis, my little daughter, Anna Bezuidenhout (she was eleven months old), who was murdered with her mother. My wife lay in bed with a little one, three days old, also murdered with the mother; and on the following day we found my wife with her breast cut off, and the corpse of my child laid at the blood-stained breast. There was also a brother of mine, Petrus Johannes, fourteen years old. He slept in my father's tent, and when I shouted, "Here are Kafirs," he understood me to say that the sheep were running off. He jumped out, and received only an assagai-wound along the skin of the back, and then ran among the thorn trees. The next day late he arrived at Doornkop. He knew where the horses were running, had knotted

his braces together, had caught and mounted the horse that was most gentle, and drove seven other horses before him, and thus had escaped.

From that place I went up along the Blaauwkrantz River. The first family I came to was that of Sybrandt van Dyk. This was about two o'clock at night, and there was no moonlight. I had scarcely awakened the women and children and removed them from the wagons before the Kafirs were there. The second family that I roused was that of Scheepers, who had been murdered with Retief: there were only women and children there. The third was that of Hans Roets, Petrus van Vooren, and Karel Geer, with their families. This was the last. The day then broke, and we then (in all 196 men, women, and children) made our way on foot over the grassy ridge to Doornkop, where the families of Retief and the Grey-lings were. We reached Doornkop at noon. The people who had been along the Moordspruit and Bushman's River were all murdered. Among these were the Besters and Bothas. The Botmans were brave fellows, and defended themselves so well that the Kafirs were at first unable to force their way to the wagons; but at last the Zulus drove their own cattle down upon them and then came, mingling themselves among the oxen, so that the Botmans could no longer fire upon and kill them, and in this way they (the Kafirs) reached the wagons. At the upper part of the Blaauwkrantz, Mrs. Van der Merwe and Mrs. Prins escaped, both severely wounded. In the case of Mrs. Prins, her sinews had been cut, and she was a cripple ever after.

Then we assembled in encampments. Many wounded people had found their way out of the scene of slaughter. Then I had four orphans consigned to my care, and we had a time of hardship. My father and I had had 7,000 sheep, and much money. All was gone. I had nothing left but a shirt and pair of pantaloons. I had Johanna van der Merwe, little Rossonw, and two others to provide for; and I had neither food nor clothing. We had nothing but Kafir corn. A little while after, I bought a pistol; and, with my wounded arm in a handkerchief, I rode after the elands,* turned them in the direction of the wagons, and then shot and killed them. Then came the widows and orphans, and procured meat. Had it not been for the abundance of game, we should all have died of hunger.

Retief's widow died long after, at Mooi River. Kootje (*i.e.*, Jacobus) Retief was her only son, and Deborah Retief her only daughter.

* Large game of the antelope race.

The latter was married three times—first to Lucas Meyer, then to Dolf (*i.e.*, Rudolph) Landman, and then to Pretorius.

From that place we moved on to Bushman's River. The second encampment had been formed on this side of Bushman's River. The families within this encampment were then divided. A number, with Hendrik Potgieter, re-crossed the Drakensberg and went to Zoutpansberg; but the remainder, consisting principally of those who had lost family relations and connections in Natal, would not quit the country, after having made in it the sacrifice of so much blood. That portion then withdrew to the upper part of the Bushman's River, and formed a camp which we called Gatslager, because it lay in a hollow, surrounded by high mountains. Thither Dingaan sent his commando, which fought against us for three days, and ruined our flocks and herds ruthlessly. In that fight, one man only perished, Hans Froneman. They separated him from the camp. He jumped into a pool, and lay under thick grass; but they probed the water with their assagais till they found him, and then, as is their custom, ripped him open, cut off the parts of shame, and thrust them into his mouth.

On the third day of the fight at Gatslager, the Kafir commando drew off in the evening. After that, a commando of mounted men under Piet Uys went against Dingaan. Beyond the Buffalo River they came upon the Kafir forces. The superior power of the Zulus was so great that they were obliged to retire, and they were hemmed in by the Kafirs near a ravine. There Piet Uys fell. On that day, I believe, five men perished; and these were, I think, two or three of the Malans, and a young son of Piet Uys, aged about twelve or thirteen years. He was a brave little fellow. He was already at a distance from the Kafirs; but when he looked back and saw that his father was surrounded, he rode back, and, after having shot two Kafirs, he died beside his father. Yes! if all Africanders were like little Uys; then, then—— but! Well, in the following year Andries Pretorius came from Graaff-Reinet, and was chosen as commandant. We were all this time in Gatslager, and there was a camp—Maritzlager—near the Little Tugela. Then Pretorius went as general, with four hundred men. I was one of them. Then we had the battle, on a Sunday, at Blood River, where we killed 3,500 Kafirs. We had formed an encampment with our wagons. Between the wagons we had fastened long ladders, and skins of oxen were stretched over the wheels. At the back of each wagon there were little heaps of gunpowder and bullets; and when the battle was

fought, and the Kafirs in thousands were no further than ten paces from us, we had scarcely time to throw a handful of powder into the gun, and then slip a bullet down the barrel, without a moment even to drive it home with the ramrod. Of that fight nothing remains in my memory except shouting and tumult and lamentation, and a sea of black faces; and a dense smoke that rose straight as a plumb-line upwards from the ground. From Blood River we marched upon Dingaan's city. When we arrived, Dingaan had fled; and we found no one. We then held a sale at Dingaan's city of elephants' teeth, beads, and other valuable articles which we found there. Amongst other things there was a silver goblet, which Andries Pretorius bought for £60. I believe Marthinus has it still.

From Dingaan's city we held our course upwards along the White Umfolosi (Umfolosi Mhlopi or White Sand River). Dingaan was at the lower end of the river with his military force. He drove us through the river, and five of our men fell in the fight, amongst others Jan Oosthuizen, Gert Scheepers, and the elder Biggar.

Andries Pretorius then went into the interior to fetch away his own party of emigrants. After the battle on the Sunday at Blood River, all the native tribes whom he had previously conquered fell away from Dingaan. Matoba, Job, Sapusa, Hutsi, and Umpanda, all came to us to sue for peace. This Pretorius granted them. Umpanda was the most important amongst them, as the half of the people of Zululand recognized him as their captain.

After Pretorius had returned with his family, he was again chosen to be the commandant, and we again marched against Dingaan, with four hundred men. Pretorius had granted peace to Umpanda on condition that his (Umpanda's) forces should advance against Dingaan along the coast. When we had begun our advance, old Sapusa, the father of Umswazi, sent three of his captains; and Pretorius said: "Well, I grant you peace, but on condition that you bring me Dingaan's head!" Umpanda moved forward along the coast, and we along the upper country with four hundred men. Our wagon encampment remained at the other side of the White Umfolosi, and the mounted force went forward and drove Dingaan through the Pongola. He continually fled, till he reached the other side of the Umguza River, at Bamboesberg. There Sapusa took him prisoner. On the first day (according to the statement of the Kafirs), Sapusa pricked Dingaan with sharp assagais, no more than skin deep, from the sole of his foot to the top of his head. The second day he had him bitten by dogs. On the third day, Sapusa said to Dingaan: "Dingaan! are you still the rain-maker? Are you

still the greatest of living men? See, the sun is rising: you shall not see him set!" Saying this, he took an assagai and bored his eyes out. This was related to me by one of Sapusa's Kafirs who was present. When the sun set, Dingaan was dead, for he had had neither food nor water for three days. Such was the end of Dingaan.

After Dingaan's army had in this way been driven over the Pongolo, and he had ceased to exist, our commando and that of Umpanda came together. Umpanda was always near our camp. Thence we went forward, and took as booty a large number of cattle. There were 46,000 head, and we shared these with the captains who had forsaken Dingaan. We returned with the mounted force to the Umfolosi. There, Pretorius said: "Umpanda, Dingaan is driven off; his kingdom is at an end. I now appoint you to be King of the Zulu race that remains. You see that I have conquered the territory as far as the White Umfolosi (mouth of St. Lucia's Bay). Maintain peace with our people as long as you live. Then I give you as a concession—for it is my territory, conquered by my weapons—the kingdom of Zululand." A salvo of twenty-two guns was then fired by us in presence of Umpanda and his people. We graved the day and date and year on two long large stones. One of them we placed erect in the ground, and buried the other below the soil on the bank of the Umfolosi. Panda withdrew from the spot, became King of the Zulus, and remained in peace with us till his death.

Till we meet again,

(Signed) DANIEL PIETER BEZUIDENHOUT.

STATEMENTS RESPECTING DINGAAN,

KING OF THE ZULUS,

With some particulars relating to the massacres of Messrs. Retief and Biggar. By William Wood, Interpreter to Dingaan. [Cape Town: Published by Collard & Co., 24, Heerengracht. 1840.]

IN the year 1830, my mother and I embarked on board the cutter "Circe," Captain Blinkenstock, bound to Port Natal, to join my father, Richard Wood, who was in the employment of Mr. Collis, at that port. * * * *

The captain, my mother, and myself having landed, we proceeded towards a Zulu kraal, where we were treated kindly. We then set off for Mr. Collis's, and got there without any accident.

I had been living there about six months, during which time I endeavoured to pick up as much of the Zulu language as possible.

We travelled as far as the Togela* River, where we were met by Mabeyantee, Dingaan's principal messenger, who acquainted us that it was the king's order that the English at Natal should arm themselves and come to him at Megoonloof†, as he wished to send them against an enemy who had robbed him, and who had placed himself in such a situation that the king's troops were of no avail in capturing him, as spears could not be thrown by hand to reach him, and firearms alone could be effectual.

Thomas Halstead, an Englishman, being at the place at the time, volunteered to carry Dingaan's message to the people at Port Natal, and immediately set off for the purpose.

When the residents at Port Natal were acquainted with Dingaan's orders, they made preparations for fulfilling them; and when they had mustered as many as they could bring together, their strength consisted of about thirty English residents, amongst whom were John Cane (who commanded the party), Thomas Halstead, Richard Wood (my father), Richard King, Robert Russell, Thomas Carden, Richard Lovedale, and William Kew; also about forty Zulus, all of whom were armed with guns. John Broer and I waited for them at the Tugela River, and when they arrived we joined company and travelled until we came to the Umhloti River, where we halted, and the rest proceeded on their journey to Ngungunhlovu. We remained at the river until the king sent for us. As it may not be uninteresting to my readers to hear how this affair terminated, I shall, previously to closing this narrative, give a true account of it.

We had been about a fortnight at the Umhloti River when a messenger arrived from Dingaan, who told us that the king wished to see us. We immediately set off, and after travelling for some days, arrived safely at Ngungunhlovu. * * * *

Having arrived at a small hill which rises at the back of Dingaan's kraal, they fired a salute; upon which the king was greatly alarmed, and sent a messenger to ask them what they meant by firing. They said it was customary for all kings and great men to receive such tokens of respect from those who carried arms. This answer dissipated the king's fears, and he sent them an invitation to come into his kraal and refresh themselves, which they did. Next day they started in search of the enemy, reinforced by a large body of

* Tugela.

† Umgungunhlovu.

Dingaan's troops, commanded by Inhlela. Having travelled some days, they arrived in the vicinity of the Umpongola Mountains, where a party of Sapusa's people were posted, and lest these should discover that Inhlela had Europeans with him, they covered the English with their shields while ascending the mountain. Sapusa's people had taken up a very good position on the top of a hill, immediately over, and commanding the entrance to, a natural cavern, in which they had placed the cattle they had captured from Dingaan. By rolling down large stones, they had for some days prevented the approach of a party of Dingaan's troops who had before attempted to recapture the cattle.

The nearest approach which could be made to them with safety was by ascending a small hill opposite. This the party did, and found themselves separated from Sapusa's people by a deep gulph (p gully) at the bottom of which ran the Umpongola River. As they were within speaking distance, John Cane, who commanded the Europeans, spoke to them, and told them to deliver up the cattle which they had taken from the king, or he would fire upon them; adding that it was useless for them to resist, for that Dingaan himself had taken the trouble to come so far to get his cattle, and was determined to have them.

On hearing this, Sapusa's people made no reply, but turned their backs to them in token of contempt. John Cane's party then fired a volley over their heads, and he again begged of them to agree to his demand, and told them that if they delivered up the cattle, he would allow them and their wives and children, who were still with them, to depart unharmed. They still returned no answer, and he then fired at them and shot three or four. Cane repeated his demand, but they treated him in the same manner, upon which his party again fired and shot some more of them. A Zulu woman was then seen to approach the brink of the precipice, leading a boy of about twelve or thirteen years of age by the hand, and having an infant fastened at her back. Looking towards the Europeans, she cried out, "I will not be killed by thunder, but will kill myself," saying which she pushed the boy over the precipice, and jumped in herself after him.

The firing still continued, until the party cried out for mercy, and promised to give up the cattle, which John Cane sent a number of men round to receive. He then distributed a few head amongst them, and commenced his journey to Ngungunhlovu (Dingaan's kraal).

* * * *

The form of Dingaan's kraal was a circle. It was strongly fenced with bushes, and had two entrances. The principal one faced the king's huts, which were placed at the furthest extremity of the kraal, behind which were his wives' huts. These extended beyond the circle which formed the kraal, but were also strongly fenced in. On the right hand of the principal entrance were placed the huts of Inhlela (Dingaan's captain) and his warriors, and on the left those of Dambuza (another of his captains) with his men. The kraal contained four cattle kraals, which were also strongly fenced, and four huts erected on poles, which contained the arms of the troops. At a short distance from the entrance was the trunk of a large tree, which was in a state of decay, and which no person was allowed to touch, being the tree under which Dingaan's father died, and which he valued very highly. Near this tree grew two other trees, which are called by the Zulus milk-trees. The other entrance was from that part of the kraal behind Dingaan's wives' huts, and this was considered private.

The huts in which the Rev. Mr. Owen and myself resided were without the kraal, and facing a hill which had been the grave of thousands.

About sixty farmers,* at the head of whom was Mr. Pieter Retief, accompanied by forty of their servants, all well armed, with a view of convincing Dingaan that they meant him no harm, attacked a chief who was an enemy of the king, and defeated him, taking from him about seven thousand head of cattle, which he had captured from him on a former occasion. With these cattle they approached the kraal of Dingaan, to whom they delivered them: and at the same time expressed their earnest desire that peace might exist between the king and the emigrant farmers, whom they now represented.

Dingaan gladly received the cattle; but his attention was arrested by sixty horses and eleven guns which the farmers had taken from the enemy, and he told them he must also have them. Retief, however, told him that he could not comply with this demand, as the cattle were his property, but not the guns and horses. With this Dingaan appeared satisfied, and, shortly after, told them that the cattle should also be theirs; likewise promising them a piece of land extending from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu. Retief accepted his offer, and a treaty was signed between Dingaan on the one hand and the emigrant farmers on the other.

The farmers had been at Ngungunhlovu about two days, during

* Dutch-African Emigrant Boers.

which they walked about the kraal unarmed, but had taken the precaution to place their arms under the protection of their servants or after-riders, who had taken up their quarters under the two milk-trees without the kraal. On the morning of the third day, I perceived from Dingaan's manner that he meditated some mischief, although from his conversation with his captains I could not perceive that he had given them any orders prejudicial to the farmers. I, however, watched my opportunity to warn them to be on their guard. This occurred when some of the farmers strolled into the kraal, and, having come near the place where I was standing, I told them I did not think all was right, and recommended them to be on their guard; upon which they smiled and said: "We are sure the king's heart is right with us, and there is no cause for fear."

A short time after this, Dingaan came out of his hut, and having seated himself in front of it in his arm-chair, ordered out two regiments. One was called "Isihlangu Mhlope," or white shields, and the other the "Isihlangu Mnyama," or black shields: the former were his best men, and wore rings on their heads, formed of the bark of a tree and grass, and stitched through the scalp: and the latter regiment was composed entirely of young men. These troops he caused to form in a circle, and, having placed his two principal captains on his right and left hand respectively, he sent a message to Retief, inviting him to bring his men, and wish the king "farewell," previously to starting. Retief a short time after this entered the kraal, accompanied by the other farmers and all their servants, with the exception of one or two, who were sent out to fetch the horses; their arms being left unguarded under the two milk-trees without the kraal.

On Retief approaching Dingaan, the latter told him to acquaint the farmers at Natal, as soon as he arrived there, of the king's desire that they should soon come and possess the land he had given them; also to remember him to them. He then wished the party an agreeable journey to Natal, and invited them to sit down and drink some "tywala" * with him and his people, which invitation they unfortunately accepted.

Retief sat by the king; but the farmers and their servants sat in a place by themselves, at a short distance from the king and his captains. After drinking some beer together, Dingaan ordered his troops to amuse the farmers by dancing and singing, which they immediately commenced doing. The farmers had not been sitting

* Kafir-beer.

longer than about a quarter of an hour, when Dingaan called out: "Seize them!" upon which an overwhelming rush was made upon the party before they could get on their feet. Thomas Halstead then cried out: "We are done for!" and added in the Zulu language, "Let me speak to the king;" which Dingaan heard, but motioned them away with his hand. Halstead then drew his knife, and ripped up one Zulu, and cut another's throat, before he was secured; and a farmer also succeeded in ripping up another Zulu.

The farmers were then dragged with their feet trailing on the ground, each man being held by as many Zulus as could get at him, from the presence of Dingaan, who still continued sitting and calling out "Bulala amatakati" (kill the wizards). He then said, "Take the heart and the liver of the king of the farmers and place them in the road of the farmers." When they had dragged them to the hill, "Hloma Mabuto,"* they commenced the work of death by striking them on the head with knobbed sticks, Retief being held and forced to witness the deaths of his comrades before they dispatched him. It was a most awful occurrence, and will never be effaced from my memory. The Rev. Mr. Owen and I witnessed it, standing at the doors of our huts, which faced the place of execution. Retief's heart and liver were taken out, wrapped in a cloth, and taken to Dingaan. His two captains, Inlela and Dambuza, then came and sat down by Dingaan, with whom they conversed for some time. About two hours after the massacre, orders were issued that a large party were to set off and attack the wagons that contained the wives and children of the murdered farmers, which were at a considerable distance from Ngungunhlovu, as Retief and his party had left them there, not wishing to bring their families into any danger.

A large body of men were immediately in readiness, and the captains, previously to starting, approached Dingaan singly, and made a mock attack on him, thrusting their shields and then their spears close to his face, and going through a variety of movements; at the same time giving him various titles and praising him, as all his people who approach him must do; and occasionally calling out, "We will go and kill the white dogs!" A short time after the party set off with great speed in the direction of the wagons. The result of that attack is well known. The farmers who were guarding the wagons were taken by surprise, when many of them fell, and some hundreds of women and children were inhumanly murdered,

* Mustering the soldiers

but not without retribution, as a great number of the enemy were slain, and the remainder obliged to retreat with precipitation.

After the murder of the farmers, Dingaan sent a messenger, named Gumbu, to the Rev. Mr. Owen and me, telling us not to fear, as no harm should happen to us; informing us at the same time that the farmers were "Tagati," or wizards, and that that was the king's motive for killing them. Mr. Owen told me to tell him that he had nothing whatever to do with the transaction, and could not help what had transpired. He then turned round and walked off. Knowing Dingaan's jealous and treacherous disposition, I did not give the messenger the answer of Mr. Owen, feeling assured that it would have caused our deaths; but I told Gumbu to tell the king that we considered that he had acted perfectly right in killing the farmers, as no doubt they would otherwise have killed us, as well as him and his people.

This answer pleased the king, and he sent us a present of an ox. Not long after, we saw between fifty and sixty men approaching the house; and it need scarcely be observed that this circumstance caused us not a little fear. When they came up to the house, they acquainted us that Dingaan wished to see us, and repeated the promise of the king that no injury should happen to us. We went immediately to him, and his first question was, "Are you afraid?" upon which I saw that the opinion which we had formed of the king left no room for fear. He then laughed, and said we had acted as we should do. He then asked, "Do you wish to return to Natal?" but we answered "No." He then dismissed us to our huts.

The next day we waited on the king, when Mr. Owen asked permission to go to Natal, but was refused. A messenger came, however, the same afternoon, bringing the king's permission for us to depart, but not to take our cattle or servants with us. On the following day he informed us that we might take both. We remained four days longer without making any preparations for our journey, in order to show Dingaan that we did not expect any violence from him, and were therefore free from fear on that account, and not over-anxious to leave his kraal. Mr. Owen, who had two wagons, then commenced packing up his things; but in the midst of his work was interrupted by the arrival of a messenger from Dingaan, who told him that he must leave the best wagon, together with his cattle and servants, behind: to which orders Mr. Owen thought fit to submit; and everything being in readiness, we went and bade the king farewell, when he shook hands with us and wished

us a pleasant journey. I must here observe that Dingaan was averse to my going, and told me that during the time I had been with him I had received nothing but kindness; that I had been allowed to do as I liked; that he had given me a herd of cattle, and a number of boys as companions; and he then asked why I wished to go away from him, telling me at the same time that I could do just as I liked, but he would much rather that I should stay. I told him that, having seen the farmers killed, I was so filled with fear that now I could not be happy any longer, and wished much to go to my father at Natal. "Well," said he, "I am sorry you are going; but if you are not happy, I will not detain you."

A small party of Zulus was sent with us to drive the wagon and take care of the oxen; and a messenger was sent before us to the different villages through which our journey lay, with orders that we should be supplied with everything we needed, and that every assistance we might require should be granted to us.

When we had got about four miles from Megoonloof,* Dingaan sent a message to Mr. Owen that he should come to him, and immediately afterwards another came, saying we might proceed.

Having continued our journey to Natal, and not meeting with any further interruption, we rested for two days at one of the missionary stations, and then resumed our journey, being closely watched by two spies, whom we supposed Dingaan had sent after us. We rested at several villages on our way, where we were treated with great kindness; and in due time arrived at Natal, where we found the news of the massacre had preceded us, and active measures were being taken for the defence of the place against any attack which Dingaan might meditate against it.

A fortnight after our arrival, the English at Port Natal came to the determination of attacking Dingaan, and avenging the deaths of Thomas Halstead and George Biggar, who had formed part of Retief's party, and who were their particular friends; and for this purpose immediate preparations were made accordingly. When they were ready to start they numbered their forces, which consisted of about thirty Europeans, a few Hottentots, and fifteen hundred Zulus. The latter had fled from Dingaan at different times, and had settled at Port Natal; therefore the Natal people could depend upon their doing their best, as they well knew what awaited them if they should fall into Dingaan's hands. The Europeans, Hottentots, and

* Ngungunhlovu.

about 200 of the Zulus had guns, but the other Zulus had only their country arms. Previously to starting the Zulus danced, sang, and went through a variety of manœuvres, boasting of what they intended to do with their enemies. One of their songs was something in this style :—" We are going to kill the elephant who killed our forefathers, fathers, mothers, wives, and children, and who deprived us of our cattle. Now we are going to kill him and eat his cattle. And if we catch him, we will cut him in pieces."

The following persons formed part of this commando :—Robert Biggar, who was the leader of the expedition, Thos. Carden, Wm. Bottomly, Richard King, John Cane, Richard Duffy, Robert Russell, Richard Wood (my father), Wm. Wood (my uncle), and Messrs. Blanckenberg and Lovedale. Having started from Port Natal, they travelled continuously into Dingaan's country, in the direction of Ngungunhlovu, and had been only four days on their journey when they fell in with a party of Zulus, having about seven thousand head of cattle. On seeing the party the Zulus fled, and left the cattle in the hands of the English, who then returned to Port Natal, where the cattle were distributed among the captors.

It appeared that, during their absence, the Zulus whom they had left at Natal to protect their property, &c., had taken prisoner a Zulu spy. He had appeared among them dressed in farmer's clothes; and, upon their questioning him, told them he had come from Graham's Town; but, unfortunately for him, he was recognized by one of the people as one of Dingaan's best spies, and therefore they proceeded to put him to death. When he found that there was no chance of escape, he confessed he was what they pronounced him to be, and said: "I have deserved death long ago; for I have been the cause of the destruction of great numbers of people. It will not be long before you will have Dingaan amongst you." When Robert Biggar's party had arrived with the cattle, the above was the information which they received from the Natal Zulus of what had transpired in their absence; and the reason they gave for not keeping the spy until the party had returned was, that they were afraid the English would save his life, and they thought it better to be rid of such a dangerous subject.

Some eight or ten days had elapsed, when the same commando again started from Port Natal, in search of Dingaan, and proceeded as far as the Mavootie* River without meeting any opposition.

* Umvoti.

Having crossed the river, they ascended a hill on the other side, and from thence discovered a party of about 150 men on the brow of a hill further on: on which three spies were sent to reconnoitre. Those spies having stolen upon them, fired a few shots, which apparently so alarmed them that they fled, leaving their food on the fires, and a few assagais and shields which they had dropped in their haste to escape.

The spies having returned, a stronger party was sent to watch the enemy, and came up with them in the ruined huts of the Amapieke, on this side the Tugela River. On firing amongst them, the enemy fled, as on the former occasion, and the spies returned to the main body, who were advancing. When they had arrived at the Tugela River, they sent forward some spies, who soon returned with the information that they had observed the same party of Zulus, who had fled from them twice before, lying asleep in the village of a captain named Zulu. It being late in the evening, the party did not cross the river until the next morning, when they advanced upon the above-named village, where they found the Zulus mentioned by the spies, and, commencing an attack upon them, they immediately fled. Biggar had taken one of them a prisoner, and was in the act of questioning him, when he observed large bodies of Zulus closing him in, and found retreat was impossible. In a short time the battle commenced, and the English had succeeded in driving them off three times in succession, when another large body of Zulus was seen advancing in their rear. It was then a step was taken by the leader of the party which involved the whole in ruin; for he divided his force, and sent part of it to oppose this body which was advancing, which induced the enemy to make a desperate rush, by which they succeeded in getting between the divisions, and destroying the whole party, with the exception of four Englishmen and about five hundred Zulus, who succeeded in making their escape to Port Natal.

There were two of the Natal Zulus who, when they saw the imminent danger in which they were placed, threw themselves upon the slain and counterfeited death. One was quite a young man and the other of a more advanced age. In this situation they heard a spy of Dingaan's, who had arrived when the battle was over, say, to the captains: "The farmers are approaching from that mountain." And the reply was: "What is the use of going up to them? The white dogs have nearly killed us all; and, if we go to the other dogs, they will finish us." The dead and wounded were then examined; and, some of the enemy coming near the spot where the

two men were lying, one of them said : " Some of those are not dead, let us cut them open ; " upon which the young man jumped up, and was immediately killed ; but the other lay still, and escaped to tell the story.

When we who were at Port Natal received intelligence of this shocking occurrence, we kept a sharp look-out, and had our spies on every hill, one of whom at length brought us information of the near approach of a large body of Dingaan's men, who seemed to take their time, and did not travel quickly. When the spy had left they had lit their fires ; and, it appears, had encamped for the night on the banks of the Umgeni River.

Providentially, the " Comet " (brig), Capt. Rodham, was then lying in Natal bay, within the bar ; and on board that vessel all the Europeans got that evening, leaving the Natal Zulus, many of whom had guns, to make for themselves the best shift they could.

The following are among those who got on board the brig :—The Rev. Mr. Owen, Mrs. Owen, and Miss Owen ; Mrs. Champion, Mrs. Adams, the Rev. Mr. Grout, Dr. Adams, Capt. Gardiner, Rev. Mr. Champion, Mrs. Rodham, Mr. Biggar, sen., Mrs. Gardiner, Dr. and Mrs. Towey and child, Charles Adams, Jane Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Dunn and children, Mr. and Mrs. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Pitman, Mr. and Mrs. Heyward and children, Mr. and Mrs. Hull and children, Mrs. Wood (my mother), Mr. Richard King, Mr. Ogle, George Duffy, Jas. Brown, and myself.

The next morning several of us went towards the shore in a boat, and perceived that the Zulus were occupying Natal. Having approached very near the shore, one of the captains called out to us and said, " We have killed the principal people of Natal, and now only want Mr. Ogle ! " Upon which Mr. Ogle, who was in the boat, stood up, and said, " Do you want me ? " And, on being answered in the affirmative, he replied, " Then you shan't get me." The same captain then, addressing me, said : " Who are you ? " " Do you not know William," said I, " who was so long with the king ? " " Yes," he replied ; " Come here, I want to speak with you." To which I answered, " I am not such a fool as that yet ! " We then rowed back to the ship.

The Zulus kept possession of the place for nine days, and then returned to Dingaan, after having destroyed everything that came in their way. Some of our party having landed, sent out spies, and found that the enemy had left the place in earnest. Only eight or nine of us remained at Port Natal, the others thinking fit to proceed

with the "Comet" to De la Goa Bay, whither she was bound, and from thence to the Cape in the same vessel. When we landed we found that some of our Zulus had shot numbers of the enemy. Two we found lying dead, dressed in my mother's gowns, with full sleeves, and in stockings, without shoes. Others had shawls on; some had blankets, others sheets rolled round them; while some had ladies' waist-bands tied round their heads, &c. Sundry articles of provisions—such as flour, coffee, sugar, fat, and plums—were taken from Mr. Ogle's house and thrown on the ground, into which they had poured a keg of French brandy, and having stamped it with their feet, left it for him. We remained but a fortnight longer at Natal, and then my mother and I left it, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Edwards and family, for Graham's Town.

* * * *

1838-1840.

EXTRACTS FROM CLOETE'S LECTURES.

* * This leads me to give a succinct account of the kind of government which they* introduced.†

Once every year the fieldcornet of every division into which the country had been portioned out, sent in to the landdrost here a list of the persons whom the inhabitants of that fieldcornetcy or ward desired to become their representatives for the ensuing year. The district was divided into twelve such wards, from each of which the names of two such persons were thus sent in, forming a council of twenty-four members, in which were vested all the combined, supreme, executive, legislative, and judicial powers. This elective Council or Volksraad was required to assemble here (at Pietermaritzburg) every three months. At each meeting a chairman was chosen from among the members present to regulate the order of the proceedings; but he had not in any other respect the smallest addition of power or authority over the rest. All the members performed their duties gratuitously; but, for the current and indispensable business of government, landdrosts were appointed for this place, D'Urban, and Weenen, each of which exercised a limited judicial authority. At Pietermaritzburg, also, two or three members of the Council, who lived in or near the town, were formed into a

* The Boers in Natal.

† 1840.

Committee of the Council (called the "Commissie Raad"), and had power to decide upon and carry out any executive or administrative duties requiring immediate despatch; but they were bound at the next general meeting of the Council to report their proceedings, and submit them for the sanction or disapproval of the body by which they were appointed.

Independently of the mode now described of governing "this" district, there existed also an ill-defined federal bond of union with the districts of Winburg, and of the Modder and Caledon Rivers, lying beyond the Draaksberg, and now forming the Orange Free State, by virtue of which those districts, upon sending delegates to this place, could join in and become subject to all laws and regulations made in their "combined" councils; but otherwise those districts were not to be bound by any decisions of the Volksraad here. The existence and character of this connection will have to be borne in mind when we come to the latter portions of the history.

* * * *

* * It is a lamentable fact that, upon my arrival here as Commissioner, in 1843, I was informed by the then landdrost that a judgment which he had passed several months before against a respectable inhabitant, living only a few miles from this town (ordering him to return some head of cattle which he had illegally withheld from a Hottentot), was still lying in his office, a dead letter—as this inhabitant had openly declared he would shoot the first messenger or other functionary who should come on his premises; and the landdrost, therefore, could find no one inclined to run the risk of executing his warrant.

Several of the most respectable and worthy inhabitants also assured me that it was impossible for them any longer to live in such a state of anarchy as that into which the country was fast receding.

However, these sad results were not anticipated by the majority of the inhabitants in the year 1840, who were now formed into an independent people, but still felt that the recognition of that independence by Her Majesty's Government was all that was wanting to give stability to their government and institutions. They accordingly addressed His Excellency Sir George Napier, on the 4th September, 1840, in the following terms:

[For this letter, see in its place the address of His Excellency the Governor to the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony, 19th January, 1842.]

EXTRACT FROM LECTURES BY THE HON. HENRY CLOETE, LL.D.,
RECORDER OF NATAL.

PROCLAMATION.

The 14th day of February, 1840.

ANDREAS WILHELMUS PRETORIUS, Chief Commandant of all the
Burghers of the Right Worshipful Volksraad of the South
African Society of Port Natal, and Commander-in-Chief of the
Army placed under my command, &c., &c.

WHEREAS the Volksraad of the South African Society, on account of
the unprovoked war which the Zulu King, or Zulu Nation, has com-
menced against the South African Society, was compelled to incur
an expense of Rds 122,600 for horse and wagon hire, and other
expenses of war: and whereas the Zulu King, according to all
appearance and information, has deserted his territory and crossed
the Pongola, &c.:

I do hereby declare and make known, that in the name of the
said Volksraad of the South African Society, I seize all the land from
the Tugela to the Black Umvaloos; and that our boundary shall in
future be from the sea along the Black Umvaloos, where it runs
through the Double Mountains, near to where it originates, and so
along the Randberg (the ridges) in the same direction to the Draaks-
berg (or Kwahlamba Mountains), including the St. Lucia Bay, as
also all sea-coasts and harbours which have already been discovered,
or may hereafter be discovered, between the Umzimvubu and the
Black Umvaloos mouths.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. STOCKENSTROM
TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR G. NAPIER, GOVERNOR.

Graham's Town, 12th March, 1838.

SIR,—The importance of the subject of your Excellency's
Despatch No. 16, of 16th ult., and its enclosures, as well as the tour
I have been obliged to make into Kafirland and the frontier, will, I
trust, plead for my delay in conveying my opinion upon a question
which you justly consider as involving, in many respects, the interests

and prosperity of the colony; and I heard, and have thought, much on this great question, but would consider it unfair to expect your Excellency to come to any final conclusion merely upon my views. I beg, therefore, after entering upon some of the leading features, to suggest the postponement of more detailed discussions until I shall have the honour of personal intercourse; or at least until Your Excellency's personal local knowledge shall have been increased by a visit to the frontier. With reference, in the meantime, to the leading features above alluded to, I must take the liberty to draw your Excellency's attention to a letter addressed by me to Mr. Spring Rice, then at the head of the Colonial Department, at a period when I had not the least expectation of ever being in this part of the world again, dated Stockholm, 5th November, 1834; and to be found, though with some misprints, among the minutes of the late Select Aborigines' Protection Committee of the House of Commons, 1835. My opinions therein stated have been fully confirmed since my return; and I might almost say that, were I to enter into the matter now, I should only have to weary your Excellency and the Secretary of State with a literal repetition. And here let me state the error—if they will yet, however late, under that plea escape a more merited imputation—of those who ascribe that emigration to Lord Glenelg's policy, which was first thought of at the close of 1835, and adopted in 1836, when the country beyond the boundary had been swarming with emigrants for years. However, as his Lordship has so completely confuted the unfounded assumption, and shown himself so well acquainted with the true causes of the emigration, we need no further discuss that part of the subject here; but one part appears to me to admit of no further delay. In my despatch of 6th June last (207), I stated that it was absolutely necessary that some serious and effective steps be taken by the British Government to control the emigration, to prevent all the blacks in the interior being reduced to the same state in which the Hottentots were lately. I added that I should take care that it should be known that the said Government would never acknowledge any bargain entered into by an emigrant British subject for, or any right to, an inch of land beyond the boundary, unless it be obtained with its sanction, as such bargain or right can evidently only be extorted by violence and fraud in most cases.

It is to be lamented that my efforts to inculcate the latter view of the subject were not backed by a solemn proclamation by the head of the Government, and I trust something of the kind would be

extremely beneficial, even now. Nor do I think the Ministry can avoid having some establishment at Natal (a small post and detachment would suffice) before the emigrants gain a permanent footing there, and embroil themselves with the natives,—a collision which, once begun, can only end in extermination. There is a report that this has already begun.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

P.S.—Would to God, your Excellency, that the reviled policy of the Secretary of State had been supported by those whose duty it was to do so, and I should not have the melancholy task of adding this postscript, to submit to you the tragedy depicted in the enclosed reports of the Civil Commissioner of the destruction of numbers of emigrants by the natives. Now, let those who have brought matters to such a state contemplate the result of their labour, and rejoice if they can. * * * It is easy to foresee what result their defeat will have upon this colony.

[Here follows a description of the massacre (a description given in several authentic narratives that form part of Annals) of the Boers by Dingaan.]

1838.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

SIR,—It has been stated to me on authority entitled to much weight, that farmers who have recently emigrated from the Cape have by fraud or violence carried with them a number of individuals formerly their slaves and latterly their apprenticed labourers.

You will lose no time in instituting a strict enquiry into this subject, and, if it should appear that there is any ground to suppose that these statements are correct, you will, in concert with Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, take such measures as may appear to you both best adapted for rescuing the individuals from slavery, and, if possible, for effectually preventing such outrages on the freedom of Her Majesty's subjects. With respect to those who may have been carried in a north-easterly direction, it will be desirable that a summons should be sent by the Lieut.-Governor to all heads of emigrant parties, demanding the immediate restoration of all apprenticed labourers, and warning them that in the event of their refusing to comply with such summons, they will be held personally responsible

for the violation of the law of the Empire. The course to be adopted for recovering those apprentices who may have been removed to Port Natal will be more simple, and, I think, more efficacious. On your applying to the Rear Admiral commanding on the Cape Station, that officer will, I am persuaded, readily co-operate with you in making arrangements for sending a vessel of war to bring back any persons who may be illegally detained in that quarter. As to the means of preventing similar violations of the law, while I cannot safely prescribe any particular course, I would suggest that a small detachment of troops should be stationed for some time to come at each of the principal outlets of the colony, on its east or north-east frontier, with instructions to ascertain the names and conditions of all persons composing emigrant parties, and stop all whose appearance or declarations may afford reason to presume that they are not voluntarily leaving the colony.

In the event of your being enabled to apprehend any parties who may have been guilty of the offence involved in the statement which I have received, they must be dealt with under the law of the colony. The offence constitutes an infraction of the laws for the abolition of the slave trade, and must be treated as such, whether the parties who are removed from the colony be apprenticed labourers, Hot-tentots, or other subjects or aliens.

In respect to the injured persons, I am of opinion that an Ordinance should be passed for their entire discharge from apprenticeship in the event of their return to the colony before the final expiration of the apprenticeship system at the Cape.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GLENELG.

. EXTRACT OF A DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE
GOVERNOR (CAPE).

Downing Street, 9th May, 1838.

I have in my despatch of 13th November last so fully expressed my sentiments on the subject of the extensive emigration which has taken place from the Eastern Districts, that it does not occur to me that I need trouble you with any further observations as to the causes of that event. It is to its consequences, as affecting directly the peace of the Native tribes, and indirectly the security

of the colony, that your attention must now be chiefly directed; and it is in this point of view that I particularly remark, as deserving of notice, a passage in the statement transmitted by Sir B. D'Urban (and forming enclosure 2 of his despatch) from Mr. Barend Rudolph, of Olifant's Hoek, of the observations which this gentleman had occasion to make on a visit, from which he had just returned, to those emigrant farmers who had left the colony with Mr. Retief.

Mr. Rudolph remarks that the farmers were living in amity with the neighbouring natives, yet that a body of 500 of them was moving off to bring Umsiligazi to a reckoning. "If he will agree to their terms, well and good. If not, they destroy his power, and prevent his doing further mischief."

It is impossible to peruse such a statement without the most serious apprehensions as to the nature of the proceedings which are thus declared to have been instituted against Umsiligazi; and my apprehensions are confirmed by the report to which I adverted in my former despatch as having been made by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom to Sir B. D'Urban (enclosed in his despatch, 11th October) of the enormities committed by other emigrants in different quarters.

Impressed as you will have become by my despatch of 13th November with the urgent necessity of watching the general character of the proceedings of these emigrants, you will, I trust, not fail to issue instructions to institute enquiries as to the nature of their transactions with Umsiligazi. It is important that the natives should be aware that Her Majesty's Government are determined to discountenance and punish by all lawful means the acts of aggression and plunder which, there is too much reason to believe, it is the practice of the emigrants to perpetrate; and the latter must be made to understand that such is the determination of your Government.

With this view I feel myself impelled to call your special attention to the Lieutenant-Governor's report of the outrage which was committed by two Boers, Theunis Botha and Frans Lottering, on a party of Mantatees, near the Wittebergen, and beyond the Vaal, as communicated by the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg, on the evidence of April, a Kafir, and Duiker, a Hottentot.

It appears to me that this outrage, perpetrated within a short distance (comparatively) from the colony, should not be suffered to pass with impunity, and that measures should be taken for arresting, and bringing to justice, the persons inculpated.

(Signed) GLENELG.

DESPATCH FROM SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO LORD GLENELG.

Graham's Town, 18th May, 1838.

MY LORD,—Having now been in the Eastern Districts since 2nd ultimo, visited nearly all the posts and accessible points on the frontier line, and received the various addresses which accompany this despatch, it becomes my duty to lay before your Lordship as fully and clearly as possible my view of the causes which have created so much general dissatisfaction, as well as the emigration of the Dutch farmers.

I shall begin by enumerating the various reasons as I learned them from the farmers themselves in the different places where I met and conversed with them, either separately or in deputed bodies which came to state their grievances and sufferings.

First, then, my Lord, I consider that there has been, is, and ever will be in this colony, more particularly than in any other, a wish on the part of the Dutch Boers, or farmers, as their families increase, to push on beyond the boundaries of civilization, in search of better and more fruitful soil, where they can with greater facility earn a subsistence, and also be free from the pressure of taxation.

Secondly. The almost unprecedented drought of the last two years, which has caused great failure in the crops and fruits of the earth, in a country so destitute of water as this generally is, has operated to a considerable extent in causing migration to other lands.

Thirdly. From the scattered state of the population, when one farmer makes up his mind to remove, his neighbour, who probably depends upon him and his family for society, and does not like the idea of being lonely, immediately determines to follow, and so from one farmer to another the desire to emigrate increases and spreads far and wide.

Fourthly. Great numbers are highly discontented at the abolition of slavery, and the speedy prospect of their apprentices leaving them, as well as considering they were unjustly dealt with by the mother country, in only receiving one-third of the valuation of their slaves as compensation, and from that third being only payable in England, the Dutch Boer, living at a great distance from the seat of government of the colony, has had a further loss of (in the greatest number of cases) 20 per cent. discount on the payment of the compensation; of this I assure your Lordship a vast body makes great complaints, and give it as a reason for emigrating.

Fifthly. The numbers particularly in these districts of farmers and others who complain of not having diagrams of their farms, and therefore no legal title to them, although they have years back paid the expenses for surveying according to the instructions given to the Civil Commissioners by the Colonial Government, before the diagrams or titles can be claimed. The want of these diagrams prevents the sale and transfer of property except at a hazard, and a fear of having to pay a second time for the diagrams, in order to possess a legal title to their land, has been represented to me by numbers of them as a great cause for discontent and consequent emigration.

Sixthly. The losses occasioned by the late Kafir war, which are of two descriptions—one, losses of cattle and horses, &c., taken for the use of the army; the other, destruction of property, and carrying off of cattle, &c., by the enemy. The latter amounts, as your Lordship is well aware, to an enormous sum, and is a source of the greatest discontent, and consequently an additional cause of emigration, as the unfortunate farmer sees no prospect of being allowed any compensation for his losses, over which he had no control, nor could in any way be held accountable for.

Seventhly, and lastly. A general dislike to the present policy towards the Kafir tribes, and a conviction (unfounded, in my opinion,) that the treaties entered into with the Chiefs and Her Majesty are useless, and never can be of any effect as regards the stealing of cattle, and reducing the farmers to poverty. In this I certainly cannot agree, and hope ere long to be able to prove to them that, by an impartial and strict observance of every article of those treaties *on both sides*, the amount of depredations will considerably decrease; while in the meantime peace everywhere prevails along the whole frontier line. The system has not had time to ripen; and from the opposition and negligence which, in various ways, the Lieutenant-Governor has had to struggle with, I am afraid its good effects will yet require some considerable time to be acknowledged by all parties; but I have no doubt, in my own mind, as to its ultimate results being an increase of tranquillity, peace, and prosperity, and a decrease in the present amount of Kafir depredations, which must be acknowledged to have been carried on to a considerable extent for some months past.

Having now, my Lord, given your Lordship my opinions respecting the causes of the unfortunate tide of emigration which still continues to flow, and which opinions will be borne out by a perusal of the addresses I enclose, it becomes necessary that I should

endeavour to point out, with due deference to your Lordship, the remedies which, in my humble opinion, may yet be applied with effect to stem the torrent of emigration, the continuance of which must eventually involve the ruin of the Eastern Districts by sweeping off the agricultural population to more distant lands.

The first thing, in my opinion, to be done, is to calm the irritation and general discontent by an appeal from your Lordship and Her Majesty's Ministers to Parliament to grant, as a boon from the mother country, a large proportion of the claims for loss of property during the Kafir war by the farmers and others. However unjust, wrong, and inexpedient might have been the former system of policy pursued in this colony, there can be no doubt but that it came from the Home Government; and if not originating with it, certainly approved and sanctioned by every Ministry, from our first possession of the Cape, till your Lordship accepting the seals of the Colonial Department determined to alter the old system and substituted, in my humble opinion, a more just and, therefore, more expedient policy as regarded the natives and colonists; but your Lordship will permit me to observe that, although I fully admit and agree that the old system was bad, and the probable cause of the unfortunate war which took place, still it *was* the system, and all the laws were framed accordingly.

The farmers were not answerable for that war, and were subjected to military law, and forced to leave their homes and property unprotected while they were serving in the ranks of the army, without pay, and at their own expense; they did their duty without a murmur, and behaved gallantly and, I fully believe, humanely; and surely, my Lord, it is hard that these Dutch farmers, who certainly are the greatest support of the prosperity of the colony, and the means by which its resources are principally brought forth, should receive no compensation for their heavy and, in a multitude of cases, total loss of property, being thereby reduced to poverty and misery. My Lord, I mean not to dictate, or to intrude my opinions and sentiments upon your Lordship or Her Majesty's Ministers, but I consider myself bound in common honour and honesty candidly to lay before your Lordship what I conceive would be an act of justice as well as generosity on the part of the British Parliament; and I appeal to your Lordship's known philanthropy to plead the cause of the unfortunate Boers and settlers who have suffered so severely, in the ardent hope that, although the amount claimed is far beyond what they can ever expect the Parliament to sanction, your Lordship

will be enabled to make out a case which may call forth the generosity of the British nation, and procure for these men a large portion of the £350,000 which is, I believe, the total amount asked for. If this can be effected, I have no doubt on my mind but that the emigration would quickly cease. Having stated the first and principal remedy for the prevention of emigration, I will now add another, namely, that when the farms are surveyed, which measure is in operation at present, all those farmers or proprietors who have already paid for the former surveys (which were all erroneous) should be distinctly informed that they will receive the new diagrams gratis, as assuredly, let blame be where it may, those who paid according to Government instructions cannot with any semblance to justice be called upon again. In the meantime it will be my duty by every enquiry and investigation to find out where the fault is, and report the same to your Lordship for your commands as to future proceedings.

There is another auxiliary remedy to prevent the emigration, which certainly would have a great and sudden effect, and which I fear must be resorted to at last, namely, the military occupation of Port Natal, in order to protect the natives of that part of South Africa from extermination or slavery by the Boers who are already there and commencing a war with Dingaan, which, end as it may, must be the cause of great slaughter and bloodshed; and as the British inhabitants of Port Natal have dared to enter into this war, and thereby thrown off their allegiance to their Sovereign, it will be necessary to vindicate the character of the British nation by taking possession of the place and punishing those who have thus disgraced the names of Britons.

I would have done this at once, but from the positive instructions I received from your Lordship, both written and verbal, not to have anything to say to Port Natal, I do not conceive myself at liberty to send a force there and take military possession; although I must repeat my convictions that such must be the result of the war at present waging there, as, without some means of preventing the emigration of the Boers, these numbers will be increased from this colony to an alarming degree.

I have now, my Lord, fully, candidly, honestly, and I hope respectfully and with due deference to your Lordship's situation, laid before you a true statement of the state of these districts as regards the emigration of the Boers and the general discontent of both farmers and settlers; and although I am aware the picture is gloomy, it is my duty, as Governor of this colony and as an honourable man, not

to disguise or conceal from your Lordship any circumstance by which you may desire correct information as to the various causes of that discontent and gloom which, I cannot and will not disguise from your Lordship, very generally prevails throughout these districts. At the same time, I must say that party and prejudice on both sides is one great engine in the work of destruction to the tranquillity and prosperity of this colony.

How far I may be able by prudence and temper in the administration of the Government committed to my charge, and the impartial distribution of justice to all parties and colours, to bring things to their proper tone, it would be most presumptive for me to say, but I may, I hope, be permitted to state, that as far as zeal, activity, and honesty can go, your Lordship shall not find me wanting, and that the policy and measures which, according to my instructions, I am ordered to pursue, shall be carried into effect by all means in my power, and that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor shall receive my full support in his administration of these districts.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

P.S.—Since writing the above, a report has come in, and from that I learn, upon good authority, that Dingaan had decoyed a commando of ten English settlers of Natal into an ambush, where his people fell upon them and put the whole to death, except one European, who escaped and got through badly wounded to Natal. A further report states that Dingaan's people followed up this advantage by an attack upon Port Natal itself, and destroyed the whole of the unfortunate people located there! I fear there is every reason to believe this to be true; but the distance and difficulty of communication renders it almost impossible to get early or true information of what is passing in that part of South Africa.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

LORD GLENELG TO GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing Street, 8th June, 1838.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, 22nd March, with the copies enclosed in a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, dated 12th of that month, and of its enclosures, reporting the massacre of a considerable body of emigrants from the colony by natives, in the vicinity of Port Natal.

Much as I lament the fate of the misguided men, I cannot feel surprise at this result of their proceedings. It was not to be expected that the natives of the country adjacent to the colony would suffer themselves to be overrun by these invaders; and still less that those who had quitted home, and in some instances committed themselves in a career of plunder and aggression, could receive at a distance from the frontier that assistance which they had voluntarily renounced. Her Majesty, however, feels it to be of the utmost importance that every practicable measure should be taken to arrest the progress of the evil of which these proceedings may be otherwise only the commencement.

I am happy to observe from your despatch of 19th March, even before you had received the information, you had contemplated the subject of emigration as one of the most important on which you intended to advise with the Lieutenant-Governor on your arrival in the Eastern Districts; and I earnestly hope that you may have found it possible to apply some check to an evil likely to be attended with such lamentable consequences both to the emigrants and the natives.

In the event, however, of your having thought it expedient to detach a small body of troops to Natal, it should be distinctly understood that such a measure does not imply any intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to occupy the adjacent territory, or to make a permanent settlement at that place, but has been adopted merely with a view to present emergency, and for the purpose of affording protection and assistance to any defenceless persons who, under existing circumstances, may stand in need of succour and be desirous of returning to the colony.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GLENELG.

LETTER OF MR. JACOBUS BOSHOF

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

[From the "Zuid-Afrikaan" (Cape newspaper), 17th August, 1838.]

Graaff-Reinet, 2nd July, 1838.

SIR,—Unwilling as I am to have my name in the public journals, I now feel myself called upon to give you some account of the state of affairs among the settlers at Natal, as I found it on my late visit to that part of this continent; the more so as I see that my name is

given as an authority for some accounts now circulating, as well in print as by mouth—some of them utterly false, and others one-sided and partial.

As I can make no claim to erudition, I am aware my simple way of telling a story will be tedious to many of your readers. I shall, therefore, endeavour not to occupy too much space in your journal, but briefly confine myself to such points as I am induced to believe will be interesting to the public to know, and especially the Dutch part of the population; trusting that my narrative will be translated into some of the other papers for the information of the latter, as it would be unnatural to think that they will feel no desire to know in what position their unfortunate, self-expatriated countrymen found themselves placed at the time of my visit there.

In order that no erroneous construction may be put upon events which lately transpired amongst them, it is necessary that I first shortly advert to circumstances which took place from the time of first entering into the interior, as they will in many respects account for the causes of subsequent acts; and, as it cannot be denied that dissensions existed until very lately amongst them, the reader may at the same time be enabled to judge whether these were attributable to a whole community or merely to a few leading and ambitious men amongst them, and also whether they were of such a nature as to be fairly ascribed more to the turbulent spirits of the people in general than to natural consequences.

It is, I believe, pretty well known to the public that Mr. Maritz (from this place) and his party were some of the first of any note who left the colony in search of a place of residence in some part of the extensive unoccupied land in the interior of this country. Soon after, the late lamented Retief followed; and when they joined an attempt was made to establish some sort of provisional government, until they should be enabled to settle permanently. It was their intention at first to proceed far into the interior, with the view to settle in the vicinity of De la Goa Bay, for the purpose of carrying on a trade with the inhabitants of that settlement; but as many of the party never calculated the distance to be so great, and learning, moreover, that the climate was rather unhealthy, they prevailed upon the late Retief to explore the country towards Natal, a portion of which they considered far preferable, and where it had been reported to them there was an immense tract of land in that direction totally unoccupied.

As it was the wish of the emigrants to remain at peace with the

various tribes through which they might pass, as well as those surrounding them, and as they entertained this feeling notwithstanding the attack and plunder upon them by Moselikatze, long before they even reached the boundary, it was resolved, on being informed that the Zulu chief Dingaan claimed a right to all that extensive waste lying between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu, not to approach that country with their families and cattle before they had come to amicable terms with him. For that purpose, the late Pieter Retief, attended by a small party, proceeded to his residence: the result of which is well known to the public. Retief, deceived by the crafty Dingaan, placed such implicit confidence in his friendship, that he doubted not, and soon persuaded his whole party, that Providence had opened a door for them, and that they would be able to live, contented and safe, in the immediate neighbourhood of Dingaan's people. Accordingly, in January last, they descended the Draaksberg, excepting Uys, who, not content with the form of government established by Maritz and Retief, and having had some personal disputes with Maritz, he and his party kept back on this side of the "Draakenberg."

As soon as Retief had executed his commission by compelling the Mantatee chief Sikonyela to restore the property of which he had plundered Dingaan, according to agreement with him, he resolved upon a second visit to Dingaan, intending to take with him a party of two hundred men, supposing that, by the warlike appearance of such a body of mounted men, the Zulu chief would stand in some awe of them, and that he would then have such respect for them as at least to consider it his own interest to keep the treaties which he had in part made, and which Retief was then going up purposely to ratify. On the other hand, he thought Dingaan would look upon it as an honour to himself, he being passionately fond of dances and warlike exhibitions and exercises. Maritz, however, and some others who could not forget the conduct of Moselikatze were inclined, if not to doubt Dingaan's friendly intentions, at least not to give him any opportunity of executing any sinister design: and they therefore told Retief candidly that they disapproved of his intention, and that they feared the Zulu chief would not let slip an opportunity of striking a blow when he found them too confident of safety, trusting themselves in his hands, in his own kraal, and amidst the Zulu nation. Mr. Maritz even went so far as to offer to go himself, attended by only two or three men, observing that if they were destroyed it would be quite enough. By this time they had received some vague and varying

reports that Dingaan had greatly altered with respect to the emigrants after Retief had left him on his first visit. Most unfortunately, however, Retief was not to be shaken in his confidence in Dingaan's friendship and good-will, but as so many objections were made and apprehensions entertained, he declined to issue an order for any one to attend him, but left it to such as might volunteer for the purpose. In the beginning of February he left the encampments of the emigrants, who were already beginning to separate into small parties about the Blaauwkrantz and Bushman's Rivers, his party consisting of the following persons:—Pieter Retief, sen. (chief), Pieter Retief, jun., Abraham Greyling, Pieter Meyer, Johannes Beukes, G.s., Marthinus Oosthuyzen, Johannes Oosthuyzen, M.s., Christian van Schalkwyk, Johannes Scheepers, F.s., Gerrit Scheepers, Stephanus Scheepers, Marthinus Scheepers, S.s., Willem Basson, Jan Roberts, Isaac Roberts, Barend Oosthuyzen, Jacobus Oosthuyzen, P.s., Piet Jordaan, Piet Klopper, Balthasar Klopper, Lucas Cornelis Klopper, Coenrad Christoffel Klopper, Jan de Wet, J.s., Hendrik de Wet, P.s., Jacobus Hugo, P.s., Johannes Breet, Piet Breet, Hercules Malan, Rynier Grobbelaar, M.s., Hendrik Labuschagne, sen., Jacs. de Klerk, J.s., Johannes de Clerk, Abraham de Clerk, Jan Klaazen, Pieter Tante, Jacs. Opperman, J.s., Jacs. Opperman, Stephs. Smit, Stephs. Jansse van Vuuren, Gert Visagie, Frans Labuschagne, Mathys de Beer, Stephanus de Beer, Joachim Botha, Dirk Aucamp, Matthys Pretorius, J.s., Jan Pretorius, J.s., Thys Pretorius, M.s., Marthinus Pretorius, M.s., F. Pretorius, Marthinus Esterhuizen, Samuel Esterhuizen, Pieter Cilliers, Barend van den Berg, Piet van den Berg, Jacobus Joosten, Piet van den Berg, J.s., Charles Marée, Pieter Breet, J.s., Barend Johannes Liebenberg, Daniel Liebenberg, B.s., Jacobus Hatting, Christian de Beer, Jan de Beer, Gerrit Bothman, Johs. van der Merwe, Andries van Dyk, Gerrit Bothma, L.s., Hermanus Fourie, and Christian Bredenbach; also about thirty *achter-ryders** and servants.

Besides their muskets and ammunition, they had with them about 200 horses. On their departure they received the admonitions of several of their friends and relatives to be cautious, and, however apparently well disposed they might find Dingaan, never to be unarmed or off their guard.

It may perhaps be well to state here, with the view of eliciting information, that a report is current that Dingaan, on being apprised of Retief's intended visit, requested the missionary then at his

* (*After-riders*) Grooms.

kraal to write to Retief, to the effect that since he (Retief) had had the Mantatee chief Sikonyela bound, and afterwards set him at liberty, he considered that Retief was favouring his enemies, and that therefore he would rather not see him; but that the missionary did not comply therewith, and left Retief ignorant of this message—pleading that he was afraid to create enmity between Dingaan and Retief, and that he expected Retief would himself explain, and satisfy Dingaan.

It is also believed by the emigrants that soon after Retief's first visit to Dingaan, the latter caused a letter to be written to his friends at Port Natal, informing them of the object of the said visit, and enquiring at the same time who and what Retief was; that upon the receipt of this letter, three of the settlers at Natal repaired to Captain Gardiner, and, after having consulted with him, wrote to Dingaan in reply, that neither Retief nor his party had any king or government, and that they were deserters. On this ground they account for Dingaan's change, and the bloody consequences.

To return to my narrative. Suffice it to say that, notwithstanding the warnings and cautions that Retief and his party received, Dingaan so well knew how to deceive them, and to gain their confidence so completely, that he inveigled them into an enclosure when up-saddling to depart, and massacred in cold blood every living soul of them, not allowing one to escape to tell the horrid tale.

As the time fixed by Retief for his return had elapsed, and rumours were spread about that a Zulu (talking across the river at one of the encampments to another then in the service of the farmers) had said that the white men were dead, as also that a large body of Zulus had been seen on the other side of the Tugela, a small patrol was at length sent out over the Tugela into Dingaan's territory, pretending to be hunting buffaloes, and as they actually took their course towards the spot where Dingaan's army was encamped behind a hill, and had approached within a few hundred yards, an old Zulu met them and enquired what they were looking for; and upon being told that they were hunting, he pointed in a different direction, where he said there were many buffaloes; but as they still persisted in going on, the Zulu went with them and insisted upon their taking the direction pointed out by him. Here, again, they were unfortunate enough, with a view to avoid suspicion, actually to suffer themselves to be turned about. On their return, a report was made, of course, that they had discovered nothing, and the people were once more persuaded that there was no cause for apprehending

danger; nay more, those who were inclined the other way were laughed at and accused of cowardice. Early in the morning of the second day after the return of this patrol, on a Saturday morning, the hour was come when all should be undeceived. The Zulus who by their spies had mixed frequently with the farmers, and who knew their position so well, that they could execute their bloody purpose to their utmost desire, began to attack both the encampments situated at the Blaauwkrantz River and the Bushman's River, about ten miles asunder at the same moment. The attack having been begun a little before daylight, many of the farmers at the outpost were butchered before they awoke, and others only just opened their eyes to close them again for ever. As day began to dawn, the Zulus were perceived at some of the scattered wagons. There they had surrounded them, and the cries of women and children were heard mingled with the report of the few shots that were fired now and then; but the word "mercy" was unknown to these miscreants. Not even satisfied with stabbing their wetted broad spears into the bosoms of unresisting women, or piercing the bodies of infants who clung to them, they cut off the breasts of some of the women, and took some of the helpless babes by the heels and dashed out their brains against the iron bands of the wagon wheels. So perfectly taken by surprise was the encampment, that not a few of the parties in the vicinity, hearing the shots fired, were congratulating themselves on the circumstance, thinking that Retief and his party had at last returned and were firing a salute. No preparation for defence was made, until daylight enabled them to see the approach of the ferocious enemy. Then everyone flew to arms, and a desperate resistance was made. Parties of three and four in their night clothes were seen to defend themselves with success against whole Zulu regiments, the women assisting in carrying about ammunition for the men, and encouraging them. A little son of Mr. Maritz, about ten years old, was repeatedly told by his mother to go and hide himself, but he as often replied: "I see no place where to hide myself. Give me the pistol, and let me shoot too." Parties of three, four, and five were now coming in from all directions; and at the Bushman's River, the savages having at last been repulsed by less than fifty men, fled precipitately across the river, which was somewhat swollen, and being fired upon as they crossed the river, up to their chin and breasts in water, hand in hand, to support each other, many were drowned and shot.

At the Blaauwkrantz they were also repulsed; but the farmers,

after pursuing them a short distance, had to return to the wagons which they brought together to form a close camp, and then to search for and attend to the wounded, which fully occupied them during that day. On the following day Mr. Maritz, at the head of about fifty men, resumed the pursuit of the enemy; but as they had been left unmolested the greater part of the previous day, they had succeeded in carrying off to a safe distance over the Tugela the greater part of the cattle, between twenty and twenty-five thousand head, and also some sheep, and the goods plundered at the wagons. Maritz only recovered what was still on this side of the river; and wherever his little band appeared, the enemy fled without offering any resistance. At the river they found a large body of Zulus endeavouring to drive cattle and sheep across the stream, but upon being attacked they rushed into the water, and here again many were shot, and many more drowned. It was now about dusk; the river greatly swollen, and the few fordable places dangerous in the extreme. Maritz and his party, therefore, with tears flowing over their cheeks, were compelled to leave their property in the hands of the enemy and to return to their wagons. This day search had been again made for the maimed and wounded, and of these many were found, but very few indeed were in such a state as to afford any hope of their recovery. To hear of the number of wounds inflicted upon some who have recovered is incredible. One child, who had received thirty assegai wounds, and a woman who had received twenty-two, are still living, though injured for life. It is believed that about five hundred Zulus fell upon this occasion, besides the wounded and those who were drowned. At one place about eight or ten families, the Rensburgs and Pretoriuses, were driven from their wagons to the top of an adjoining hill, which was only accessible from two sides. Fourteen men here stood on their defence against a whole Zulu regiment, the number of which increased to about fifteen hundred. Repeated attacks were made for about an hour, but the gallant little party as repeatedly drove them back, until at last their ammunition failed, and no hope was left. But, providentially, at this critical moment two mounted men came to their assistance and made their way to the top of this hill, through the line of Zulus, and upon learning there that the ammunition of the party was almost expended, they undertook, at the most imminent peril of their lives, to force their way back to the wagons, from whence they safely returned at full speed, with an ample supply of ammunition. All this was done in less than five minutes, and as the firing now began

with greater vigour than before, the Zulus retreated; and as a few more of the burghers arrived, they were soon put to flight, leaving more than eighty killed at that spot. Several more anecdotes of bravery and resolution on this trying occasion could be told on the part of the defenders, but it would take too much space in your columns. I have now already been more circumstantial than I intended when I began this narration, and as the post is about to close, I must here break off to resume my statement by next post, when I will give you a list of the men killed by the Zulus on that occasion, as also the number of women, children, and servants, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, and some further account of subsequent events.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. BOSCH.

FROM THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL" OF 9TH AUGUST, 1838.

[Vide "Zuid Afrikaan" (Cape newspaper), 24th August, 1838.]

Graaff-Reinet, 31st July, 1838.

SIR,—In continuation of the statement which I transmitted to you last week, respecting the emigrant farmers, I now give you the names of the men, as also the number of women, children, and servants, who were butchered at the Blaauwkrantz and Bushman's Rivers, in the attack of the Zulus, and which I obtained with difficulty, as no regular return had been made:—

NAMES OF THE MEN.	MURDERED.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.
Pieter Liebenberg (escaped) ...	0	1	0
Wynand Bezuidenhout, sen. ...	1	1	6
Roelof Botha ...	1	1	0
Daniel Bezuidenhout (escaped) ...	0	1	1
Widow Frans Smit ...	0	1	0
Adriaan Russouw (left one child, which received thirty wounds, but recovered)	1	1	4
Willem Jacobs, J.'s son (whose wife received twenty wounds, and recovered)	1	0	6
Jacobus Coetzee, sen. ...	1	0	0
Piet du Pré (was out hunting) ...	0	1	7
Nichs. Grobbelaar (was out hunting) ...	0	1	4

NAMES OF THE MEN.	MURDERED.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.
Stephs. Grobbelaar (left two children) ...	1	1	2
Jan Roos	1	1	2
Jan Roos, J.'s son	1	1	2
Charl Roos	1	1	3
Lourens Erasmus	1	1	5
Jan Joubert	1	1	2
Willem Wagenaar	1	1	4
Joshua van der Berg (left two children)	1	1	4
Christian de Beer	1	1	3
Zacharias de Beer	1	1	5
Piet de Wet, sen.	1	1	7
Widow Frederick Oosthuysen ...	0	1	6
Adriaan de Beer	0	0	2
Hendrik Loggenberg	1	1	0
Hendrik Loggenberg, jun.	1	1	3
Cornelis van Zyl	1	1	3
Joachim Prinslo (left a daughter, severely wounded)	1	1	7
Frederick Kromhont	1	1	1
Widow Cloete	0	1	0
Michiel Grobbelaar	1	1	4
Lourens Kloppe	1	1	2
Louw Bothman (a widower)	1	0	1
Frans van Wyk	1	1	4
Louw Bothman, sen.	1	1	0
Abraham Bothman	1	1	6
Jan Botha (a widower, one child survived)	1	0	4
Stephanus de Beer	1	1	6
Wm. van der Merwe, J.'s son	1	1	3
Marths. van der Merwe, J.'s son ...	1	1	0
Gert Engelbrecht, G.'s son	1	1	1
Wm. Engelbrecht	1	1	2
Gert Engelbrecht (a widower) ...	1	0	4
Jan Botha	1	1	0
Abram Joubert (was absent)	0	1	1
Joshua Joubert, J.'s son	1	1	6
Joshua Joubert, sen.	1	1	2
Johs. de Beer, C.'s son	0	0	2
David Viljoen, J.'s son	1	1	3

NAMES OF THE MEN.	MURDERED.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.
Widow Joseph van Dyk	0	1	0
Widow Loggenberg	0	1	0
Christian Loggenberg, C.'s son ...	1	1	2

The following are the women and children of the men who had been previously murdered in Dingaan's kraal:—

Stephanus de Beer	0	1	5
Barend Johs. Liebenberg	0	1	3
Daniel Liebenberg, B.'s son	0	1	0
Jacobus Hatting	0	1	4
Christian de Beer	0	1	3
Jan de Beer	0	1	1
Gerrit Bothman	0	1	1
Johan van der Merwe	0	1	4
Andries van Dyk (one child survived) ...	0	1	10
Gerrit Bothman, L.'s son	0	1	4
Hermanus Fourie	0	1	2
Total ...	40	56	185

Servants, including Zulu herdsmen, and families according to the nearest calculation (absent)

250

Grand Total ...

531

It is possible that some of the whites have been omitted; but I should think, at most, not more than ten or twelve, including children.

As soon as Uys and his party, who were still on this side of the Draaksberg, were apprised of the disasters which had befallen those who had preceded them, he immediately followed in order to afford any assistance he might be able. Letters were in the meantime forwarded to the emigrants about the Modder, Riet, and Caledon Rivers, requesting their aid to recover the cattle taken by Dingaan, as well as to avenge the innocent blood so treacherously shed by him and his people. An answer was sent that prompt assistance would be given; but what was the astonishment of the people at the camp

when, after waiting some time in the expectation that five hundred warriors from the above-mentioned places would join them, only eight arrived—the rest having learned that to keep out of danger was in a great measure the best method to ensure personal safety. They, therefore, requested the eight volunteers to take with them only a wagon-load of excuses and their best wishes for their brethren, who were then in extreme want of their assistance, together with a message that they hoped that for the present their aid would not be absolutely necessary; but if in the course of a couple of months' time they should intend to go on another expedition, they should be sure then to make their appearance—no doubt to reap the fruit of their labours. However, as it could not be otherwise, the emigrants (who then mustered about eight hundred men, young and old) resolved, without waiting for reinforcements, to try their fortune against Dingaan, who by that time had ample opportunity to concentrate his forces, and to watch their movements closely. When the disposable force was in readiness, it was found to consist of three hundred and forty-seven men. Mr. Maritz, who had been successful on a former occasion against Moselikatze, offered to take the command; but to this Uys would not consent, as his men would not place themselves under the command of Maritz, and as he thought himself fully as capable to command such an expedition as the other, &c.; and in point of bravery he was admitted to be fully equal to Maritz, and in some to have excelled him. In other respects the event proved that he was wanting in other qualifications requisite to ensure success. Maritz, when he found himself thus opposed, would not urge his own pretensions to seniority, and submitted in that point to Uys. But there was then still another difficulty. Mr. Hendrik Potgieter, who, by making great pretensions to valour and bravery, as well as wisdom, had been enabled to get himself elected as commandant by a pretty strong party of emigrants, soon after leaving the colony, would not consent that Uys should have the chief command, and there was no reconciliation to be effected between these two chieftains, until at last Uys, in his turn, consented that Potgieter should be equal in command with him. The impolicy of this measure was at once exposed by Maritz and others: but the people, always anxious to maintain a good understanding between themselves and their leaders, and which each party was at the same time equally anxious to support, were inclined to be satisfied, and the march began, I believe, on the 5th April, being the date agreed upon by Uys and the settlers at Natal.

On the third day they were in sight of the enemy, who retreated before them on that day and the next. On the morning of the fifth day, they passed, in their pursuit of the Zulus, through a narrow pass between two mountains, where they were obliged to ride in single file with their led horses. On the other side the mountains formed a large basin, with deep gullies running from the sides of the hills here and there, and which could only be passed at a few places, where they were crossed by narrow footpaths. At the opposite side of this basin they perceived the Zulu army, in two divisions, in columns, ready to receive them. The front division was the white shields or veterans, the other was at some distance to the left. Each division had taken its ground on the ridge of a hill rather difficult of ascent.

After crossing the gullies, Uys proposed to Potgieter to go against the division of the Zulu army on the left, as he himself would commence the attack on that in front, being by far the most numerous. The led horses were then tied together and left in the valley, and the two commandants at once moved forward without any other arrangement. Those who chose followed Uys, and nearly the same number remained with Potgieter, who soon halted to make arrangements for the attack, after having first caused every Kafir garden and ditch about him to be carefully inspected. Uys, who had ascended the hill with his men without wavering or hesitating, found the enemy opposed to him sitting, and in that position they remained until the farmers dismounted, within twenty yards of them. They then sprang upon their legs, and were about to rush forward, when a volley was fired with such good effect that they were disconcerted, and, before they could recover, the firing was recommenced and kept up along the line. This soon caused them to stand, and in less than five minutes they began to fly in the utmost confusion. They were hotly, but rather too carelessly, pursued by the farmers, who soon separated into small parties, the consequence of which was that one of the parties, having charged a considerable body of Zulus, found themselves surrounded and in extreme danger, one man being besides thrown from his horse. Uys gallantly rushed in amongst the enemy with a mere handful of men, and drove a whole regiment before him; but, on returning to join the rest of his men, another large body of Zulus, who had concealed themselves in the gullies on each side of him, rushed upon him and his few brave followers, and killed seven of them. By this time Potgieter had begun to retreat, and Uys and his son, a youth of about fourteen

years of age, had as yet escaped unhurt; but as the former stopped his horse to sharpen the flint of his gun, the enemy approached and threw an assagai at him, which wounded him mortally in the loins. He, however, pulled out the weapon, and after this he even took up another man, whose horse was knocked up, behind him; but he soon fainted from loss of blood. Recovering again, he was held on his horse for some distance by a man on each side of him. At length he said that he felt his end approaching, and desired to be laid on the ground. He then said to his son and the other men about him: "Here I must die. You cannot get me on any further, and there is no use to try it. Save yourselves, but fight like brave fellows to the last, and hold God before your eyes." They here left him, but not before they saw that to remain longer on the spot would be certain death to them. After galloping for about a hundred yards, the younger Uys, looking round, saw the enemy closing round his dying father in numbers, and at the same moment he perceived his father lifting up his head. This was too much for the feelings of the lad: he turned round his horse, and alone rushed upon the enemy, compelled them to retreat, and shot three Zulus, before he was hemmed in by overpowering numbers and despatched.

To return to Commandant Potgieter. He, upon seeing the enemy routed by Uys, began at last to ascend the hill; but, when he had proceeded half-way, he ordered his men to return to the valley, where they remained inactive until some of them began to murmur, and to ask what they were to do. Sixteen or eighteen men, of their own accord, then left the ranks, rode up the hill, and fired upon the enemy. Of course, they did not fly before such an insignificant number of horsemen; and, no doubt, having observed that Potgieter was afraid to commence the attack, they came down the hill with such a noise and rattling of shields that Potgieter and his men sought safety in flight before one of them, except the little party just mentioned, had fired a single shot. One of his men, Joseph Kruger, upon seeing the enemy closing upon them, as they were with difficulty one after another crossing the gullies, rode up to the enemy alone, dismounted within a few yards of them, and fired; but on mounting again the frightened horse threw his rider, who, however, ran and seized another man's horse by the tail. That horse kicked him on the stomach, and before he could recover from the blow he was seized and killed by the savages. His father was with Potgieter, and never knew what had happened to his son until they found themselves in safety. By this time a third division of the

enemy was for the first time seen manœuvring as if to cut off their retreat; and the brave fellows under Uys, seeing Potgieter in full retreat, and themselves entirely cut off by the enemy, now had to fight their way back; and in this they succeeded, with the loss of their led horses, about sixty in number, besides their baggage. They were pursued by the enemy for about two hours; and several attempts were made by Fieldcornet Landman and some others to recover their loss, but the commandant (Potgieter) always taking the lead homewards, they were soon compelled to give it up for lost. A small party voluntarily remained behind to cover the retreat, and after having shot seven Zulus, and one captain mounted on the horse belonging to the late Retief, the whole Zulu army halted, and gave up further pursuit.

The whole force of the enemy is considered to have been about six or seven thousand effective men; and it is believed that Dingaan can bring no more into the field. The number of killed on the part of the enemy on that day is estimated to be between six and seven hundred.

On Potgieter's return to the camp, he told the people there that they never could oppose the Zulus: that they were in such immense numbers as to cover all the hills and valleys; on which two Italians then in the camp, and one woman, immediately took their leave; and Potgieter afterwards sent a letter to the Modder River heroes for help, to bring them back over the Draaksberg; but finding that the enemy had only sent out some spies after them, who also entirely disappeared, after some of them had been shot, he soon decamped, and returned with a hundred and sixty men, their families, and cattle. They are now about the Sand River, on the other side of Maroko's territory, where, I fear, as they are already beginning to separate into small parties, they will again expose themselves perhaps to greater dangers than those from which they have escaped.

The following men were killed in the last engagement with the Zulus:—Pieter Uys, J.'s s.; Cornelis Uys, P.'s s.; Pieter Nel, Louis's.; Louis Nel, Louis's.; Theunis Nel, Louis's.; Jacs. Malan, David's s.; Johs. Malan, H.'s s.; David Malan, J.'s s.; Franz Labuschagne; Joseph Kruger.

After the last affair with Dingaan, two men were despatched from the camp to the Modder River and Riet River trek-boers, to enquire whether there was a chance now of obtaining the long-promised aid; and they everywhere met with such a favourable reception, and obtained such fair promises, that they returned to the

camp with the good intelligence that by the end of May no less than four or five hundred men would make their appearance at the camp of the emigrants, well equipped, and ready to take the field against Dingaan. Not one, however, from the Modder River arrived; and those who accompanied us from other places, principally from this colony, in all 64 persons, were only induced to assist to bring them back within the boundary. Few, however, were willing to return before they had tried their fortune at least once more against Dingaan. They, therefore, resolved upon sending out another commando, but soon found themselves compelled to abandon the idea for the present, it having been ascertained that there were only about 300 or 400 horses in fit condition to be employed for that purpose, the rest having through daily use been reduced to a miserable condition. The commando was then put off till September or October, much against the inclination of the majority of the people, who, tired of living in a camp where they were subject to loss and expense only, were inclined to risk anything, however dangerous. Carel Landman, however, who has since the death of Uys been chosen commandant, wisely observed, that though he hoped, by the experience now gained, they had a better chance of success, yet their horses were of greater use to them than even firearms; and that even supposing they gained a complete victory, these animals would not be in condition for further use, so as to enable them to follow it up with advantage; and on the other hand, in the event of a retreat or of another defeat, what could they expect, when their horses were unable to carry them, but complete ruin?

The emigrants are now encamped at the Tugela and Bushman's Rivers, in parties of from 50 to 100 wagons, and have commenced ploughing at the latter and other places. They must frequently from necessity expose themselves to great danger; and it is feared that, if the enemy should take advantage of their situation, and they should be off their guard, fresh disasters may yet befall them. There are altogether about 1,000 wagons, 640 men, about 3,200 women and children, and, say, 1,260 blacks. It is also calculated that they have still about 300,000 sheep, 40,000 head of cattle, and 3,000 horses, including mares and colts. Consequently, with the exception of those who have been plundered by Moselikatze and Dingaan, and such as had gone there wretchedly poor, after having sustained losses by the late Kafir invasion, still there are many in tolerably good circumstances. But the necessities of the poor already begin to press heavily; and there is not one who has the

credit of having done as much in this respect as Maritz. There are also a great many widows and orphans, and others, who suffer a great deal from want, and the assistance which is now to be rendered them by the subscriptions from the colony will, I am sure, be gratefully received, and looked upon as a boon from Heaven.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. BOSCHF.

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency Major-General GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c., &c., &c.

WHEREAS it has become necessary for a limited period to prohibit the exportation of all goods and articles whatsoever from any port in this colony to any port or place between the mouth of the Great Fish River and Delagoa Bay, both places inclusive, and to prevent the exportation of gunpowder, firearms, and other munitions of war, from any one port of this colony to any other port of the said colony :

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority in me vested, I do hereby proclaim and make known, that until further proclamation shall by me be made, the Collector and all other Officers of Her Majesty's Customs in this colony are hereby authorised and required not to permit or suffer the exportation or shipment of any goods whatsoever to any port or place between the mouth of the Great Fish River and Delagoa Bay, both places inclusive; nor to clear outwards any vessel for any port or place within the limits aforesaid, without leave and licence from me first had and obtained; nor to permit or suffer any gunpowder, firearms, or other munitions of war, to be exported coastwise to any place within the colony, without such leave and licence as aforesaid (excepting the necessary stores for the *bonâ fide* use of such vessel, a list of which the Master is to deliver to the Collector at the time of clearance) :

And whereas the schooner or vessel called the "Mary" is now lying in the harbour of Port Elizabeth, on her voyage to Port Natal,

having on board certain quantities of gunpowder, lead, firearms, and other munitions of war, destined for Port Natal, the Sub-collector at Port Elizabeth and his assistants are hereby authorised and required to cause the said gunpowder, lead, firearms, and other munitions of war, to be landed at Port Elizabeth before the said vessel shall be suffered to proceed on her voyage.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my hand and seal, at Cradock, the 10th day of September, 1838.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

By His Excellency's command,

(Signed) H. HUDSON,
Secretary to Government.

INSTRUCTIONS

By His Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope to the Fieldcornet JOUBERT, and to which he is referred on his mission to the Emigrant Farmers.

WHEREAS the unlawful departure from the colony of many of the inhabitants, as also their abduction of a number of their late slaves, but now apprenticed labourers, has aroused the attention of the people of England, and excited the strongest feelings of indignation of Her Majesty's Government, I have, therefore, deemed it necessary to demand such apprenticed labourers, and, if need be, to have them brought back to those parts of the colony from whence they have been thus unlawfully carried away.

2. To you who, as a public functionary, rightly possess my full confidence, and whose earlier knowledge of many of the emigrant farmers particularly fits you to fulfil the object of the mission for which you are to be employed, I entrust the important task of demanding and receiving back from those emigrant farmers all such apprenticed labourers who may have been taken from the colony either by force or with their own free will.

3. You will distinctly make it understood to the emigrant farmers, as well as to the apprentices themselves, that in case some of the last-mentioned, whether they have left the colony voluntarily or by force, may be inclined *not* to return to the colony, it is not for you to insist upon their doing so; but you will have to require from

the masters that they bring their apprentices before you, and to take from the latter their own declarations that they are indeed *not* desirous to return.

4. In case the masters, or some of them, refuse to place you in the position of convincing yourself satisfactorily on the subject; or if they, or some of them, refuse to deliver to you such apprentices as wish to return; or in case some of the emigrant farmers may carry away by force some of the apprentices who have been delivered to your protection, you will, in such cases, as publicly as possible, make known to them that by doing so in any way, they, as a body, will forfeit all further claim upon the favourable consideration of the British Government, in case adversities and misfortunes should overcome them in the continuation of their present inexcusable undertaking, and put me under the necessity to revoke and repeal my invitation in my letter of 21st May last.

5. If even all the apprentices are delivered to you, and allowed to remain under your direction, you will by no means consider yourself authorised to enter into negotiations on behalf of the Government with any of the different parties or divisions in which the emigrant farmers have collected themselves, with respect to their return to the colony. Nor are you at liberty to enter with any of them into the least discussion concerning their future form of government, in case they have positively determined to carry on their undertaking; because no form of government which they may establish will give them the right to be acknowledged as a separate and independent people. But you are fully authorised to embrace every proper opportunity of declaring to the more intelligent persons, or who have the most influence with them, that their undertaking is one which will never be approved of by the British Government, at the same time admonishing them that if that Government is forced to use its power against their bloodthirsty dealing (*handeligen*), they may be assured that neither time nor distance will protect them from punishment.

6. You will also make the emigrants understand that if they imagine they have only to do with the power and the means of the Colonial Government, they greatly deceive themselves, and will probably discover their fatal error when it is too late; and that, therefore, much of their future welfare will depend upon their own good behaviour.

7. You will, in your communications with the emigrant farmers, take care to treat them in the most friendly manner, refraining from all expressions which can give offence, and as far as is possible avoiding any conversation concerning the causes which induced them to

emigrate, and the circumstances which have occasioned their inconsiderate and desperate step.

8. You will, in your intercourse with these people, make no distinction between those who pretend to consider themselves still as British subjects, and others who have openly confessed to have shaken off their allegiance, which, notwithstanding their inconsiderate conduct, they always owe to the British Crown.

9. In your progress through the countries of the native tribes, you will not conceal from them the fact that the departure of the farmers was not, and has not been, encouraged by the Government; but that, on the contrary, it is committed in open transgression of the laws which prohibit the emigration of colonists over the border without the knowledge and approbation of the Government. You will also impress upon their minds that Government is still inclined to do all that is possible to prevent the emigrants becoming the victims of the inland tribes by whom they are surrounded; while the same Government will certainly not suffer to go unpunished any acts of violence or assault on the part of the emigrants upon the aborigines or their possessions. In short, you will assure them that Government is animated with the most friendly affection towards the aborigines, and that it is the most ardent wish of Government to preserve peace between the sons of Africa, of whatever order or condition they may be.

10. You will, above all things, promptly pay for whatever you may order or require on your journey for your fellow-travellers as well as for the apprentices who may return with you, for which purpose the requisite funds will be placed at your disposal by the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the Colony, at Cape Town, this 16th day of October, 1838.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER, Governor.

DESPATCH FROM SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER TO
LORD GLENELG.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
16th October, 1838.

MY LORD,—With reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 83, of the 8th June last, respecting the emigrant farmers and the occupation of Port Natal by a small body of Her Majesty's troops, as contemplated in my despatch No. 25, I have now to state to your Lordship that, upon my arrival here, I came to the decision of the absolute necessity of occupying Port Natal in Her Majesty's name, and I have accordingly commenced the necessary preparations, and hope in the course of three weeks that all will be ready for the troops to proceed to their destination.

This force, as per margin—[1 captain, 2 subalterns, 80 men of the 72nd Highlanders, 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 10 men Royal Artillery, 3 guns, 1 sergeant Sappers and Miners, 1 assistant surgeon, 1 Commissariat clerk, 1 Kafir interpreter]—I intend to send under the orders of my secretary, Major Charters, who will, after he has erected a fort and placed the troops in a state of security, return to Cape Town, and I shall report accordingly, in the interim not failing to send you every information I receive from that officer.

Your Lordship may possibly be surprised at the amount of force, but in consequence of the information I have received, that there is now a large body of the emigrant farmers under one Landman, in possession of that port, and commencing building, &c., I deemed it necessary to put all idea of resistance, should there be such, out of the question, and I can at any time reduce the force if expedient.

I shall give to Major Charters, for his guidance in communicating with the emigrant farmers at Natal, instructions based upon the two following grounds:—

First. To prevent all supplies and warlike stores from entering the port, by which means alone I can prevent aggressions against the native tribes by these emigrant farmers, and thus put a stop to further bloodshed.

Secondly. To prevent the emigrants establishing an independent government, by being in possession of the only seaport through which gunpowder and other necessary supplies can be insured to them; and I am sanguine enough to hope that all future emigration will

cease; for if once these farmers have a seaport and a village or town in course of progress, the numbers who will emigrate would be far more extensive than at present.

I trust your Lordship will now permit me to call your attention to what I conceive must be the probable result of this widely extended emigration.

These men have in various engagements beat the native tribes, and to a certain extent established themselves in different spots, and in distinct bodies, have already sown seeds for a future harvest, have made gardens, and are preparing to build. One party of them have formally stated that they look upon themselves as British subjects, and are prepared to act under the government of the Queen, as your Lordship will perceive by the accompanying letter of Mr. Parker and its enclosure.

Now, my Lord, after Natal is in possession of Her Majesty's troops, what will be the nature of the emigrants' position?

They must become a part of the colony, or be driven back into the interior among the tribes whom they have already enraged by their conduct in invading their territory, and either perish from want and the assaigais of the natives, or exterminate the natives themselves.

Now, my Lord, it appears to me that the British nation and your Lordship will never consent either to my allowing some thousands of emigrants and their women and children to perish from want or by the sword (however culpable they certainly have been in quitting the colony and daring to throw off their allegiance), or permit my letting them attack and slaughter the natives of the countries they invaded.

What, then, is to be done? To bring them back to the colony is impossible, without the means of providing for their subsistence; and how can that be accomplished? They have no money now, and depend on their cattle for existence till the harvest is ripe.

I see no mode by which to get out of the difficulty but permitting them to occupy the uninhabited country on the coast near and about Natal; the former inhabitants of which having been long since exterminated by Chaka and Dingaan, these fertile lands are now become waste, but capable of supporting all the emigrant farmers—and, indeed, double the number or more.

I am fully aware, my Lord, that all idea of fresh colonisation is repudiated by Her Majesty's Government; and, in my humble opinion, justly so; but this is totally a different case.

There are actually some thousands of emigrants who—no matter by what means—have made their way to the country round Port Natal. These people cannot, if they had the inclination, retrace their steps and return to the colony, where they have neither property nor means of subsistence. What, then, is to be done with them? Religion and humanity forbid our driving them to destruction, or forcing them, in self-preservation, to exterminate the natives.

There is then, as far as I can see, no means of preventing one or other of the above catastrophes taking place than by establishing the emigrants in the uninhabited lands near Port Natal, on the sea coast, as subjects of the British Empire, under a Lieutenant-Governor, and separate establishment, but generally subordinate to the Governor of this colony, as your Lordship must be aware of the impossibility of administering the affairs of a settlement so far removed from the seat of government, and which will only be communicated with by sea.

As all this must depend upon your Lordship's views of the question, I shall not hold out the smallest encouragement, or even permit the idea of a settlement being established to be entertained, till your Lordship's instructions are made known to me.

It has been with great reluctance and diffidence that I have presumed to enter upon this delicate and important subject, which I have no doubt will be as well considered as it will be ably handled by your Lordship; but I felt it my duty not to disguise from you what I think must eventually be the result of taking possession of Port Natal in Her Majesty's name; and although I do so with the approval and concurrence of the Admiral commanding this station, as well as of the Acting Lieutenant-Governor and my Executive Council, I hold myself alone responsible to your Lordship should any blame arise, or should the results not turn out as I expect.

In appearing thus to advocate the cause of these emigrant farmers, I trust your Lordship will not be impressed with an idea that I ever did, or ever can, approve of the lawless proceedings of these misguided men; far from it, I reprobated their conduct from the beginning, and delayed till the last hour (what I had long contemplated the necessity of doing) taking possession of Natal.

I shall be most anxious for your Lordship's answer to this despatch, and in the sincere hope that what I am in progress of doing, when accomplished, will meet your Lordship's approbation,

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency Sir GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c., &c., &c.

WHEREAS Her Britannic Majesty's Government has been pleased to approve of the proposed occupation of Port Natal, in Southern Africa, in consequence of the disturbed state of the Native Tribes in the territories adjacent to that port, arising in a great degree from the unwarranted occupation of parts of those territories by certain emigrants from this Colony, being Her Majesty's subjects, and the probability that those disturbances will continue and increase, so that the whole of that part of Southern Africa may speedily become the scene of the most sanguinary wars of extermination; and whereas Her Majesty's Government will no longer suffer such a state of affairs to exist within the reach or influence of the Government of this Colony, nor such atrocities to be participated in, if not originated by the acts of the said emigrants, Her Majesty's subjects:

I do, therefore, hereby proclaim and declare my determination to seize the said harbour of Port Natal, and to erect a Fort therein, and to seize so much of the territory surrounding the said harbour, in whose hands soever the said Fort and territory adjacent thereto shall happen to be at the time of such seizure, as shall be necessary for the proper occupation, maintenance and defence of the said Fort; and to keep possession of the same in Her said Majesty's name, until otherwise directed by Her Majesty's Government:

And I do further proclaim and declare, that the sole object of Her Majesty's Government in this proposed occupation of Port Natal is to prevent its being occupied by any of the hostile parties, and to secure by such occupation the power of effectual interference in maintaining the peace of Southern Africa by such means, and to such extent as shall hereafter appear to be necessary; and that for such end the said occupation shall be purely military and of a temporary nature, and not partaking in any degree of the nature of colonization or annexure to the Crown of Great Britain, either as a colony or a colonial dependency; wherefore, the said Fort shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, closed against all trade, except

such as shall be carried on under the special licence and permission of the Government of this Colony, any clearance or permission granted by any British, Colonial, or Foreign Custom House to the contrary notwithstanding. And in order to ensure the maintenance of this prohibition, I do hereby authorise and require the officer who shall be in command of the said Fort for the time being to prevent, by force of arms, if necessary, the entrance of any vessel into said harbour for the purpose of trade, or the landing from any vessel of any cargo, of what description soever, on the coast adjacent to the said Fort, unless such vessel be provided with such licence as afore-said, and unless the same shall have been produced to the satisfaction of the said officer in command :

And for the better maintenance of due order and subordination within the limits of the said military possession, I do hereby authorise and require the said officer in command to expel from the said limits any person or persons whatsoever, whose presence within the same shall by him be deemed prejudicial or dangerous to the proper maintenance and defence of the said possession, and, if necessary, to take into custody, and keep therein, any such person or persons, whenever, and for so long a time as, he shall deem necessary. And, further, to prevent any person or persons from residing or harbouring within such possession, in case he shall see reasonable cause to object thereto ; and, further, to search for, seize and retain in military possession all arms and munitions of war which, at the time of the seizure of Port Natal, shall be found in the possession of any of the inhabitants of that place, care being taken that the same be duly kept in proper order, and receipts being granted to the owners thereof.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN !

Given under my hand and the public seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, this 14th day of November, 1838.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

1838.

DESPATCH FROM SIR GEORGE NAPIER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GLENELG, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
30th November, 1838.

In reference to my despatch dated 16th ultimo, No. 58, I now acquaint you that the troops destined to take military possession of Port Natal sailed from Table Bay on the 20th instant, under the command of Major Charters, my military secretary, according to the return of the troops and stores, of which I herewith transmit copies, for your information; and, as the wind was favourable, I am in hopes the detachment will have a prosperous voyage, and reach its destination in the course of sixteen or eighteen days from the date of its departure.

As the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's naval forces on this station from unavoidable circumstances could only assist me with two ten-gun brigs to carry 50 men each, without stores, and as these vessels are not calculated for the transport of troops, being too small, and in bad weather extremely dangerous and incommodious, I decided on not embarking the troops in them, but took up the "Helen," a merchant ship, which had brought down the 72nd Highlanders from Algoa Bay, and is in every particular well fitted for the service. I also engaged the "Mary," a small coasting vessel, by the month, in order to carry the stores, &c., which vessel can go over the bar of Port Natal at ebb tide, as she draws only seven feet of water; and in so doing I hope I shall meet your approbation, as the comfort and safety of the troops is thereby ensured, even should the voyage be continued for a much longer period than I have stated, which at this time of the year may be expected, the prevailing wind being south-east.

I have made arrangements with Admiral Elliot that one ten-gun brig, the "Leveret," should accompany the detachment in order to superintend the disembarkation of the troops, guns, and stores; and also that the brig should remain for about a week off Port Natal, so as to bring me a report from Major Charters up to the date of the "Leveret's" departure, which report shall be forwarded to your Lordship as soon as possible after I receive it.

I transmit, with the returns of the troops, copies of all the

instructions, civil as well as military, given by me to the officer in command; and also copy of the proclamation I have thought advisable to issue in consequence of this measure.

As the distance of Port Natal from hence is nearly, if not quite, eight hundred miles, and Natal itself, as far as our information goes, is destitute of all resources for provisioning the troops, it was necessary that salt provisions and other stores, for at least six months complete, should be provided, independent of those for the voyage; camp equipage, and oats, &c., for the horses, were also indispensable, as well as materials for erecting a fort, cover for the troops and sick, commissariat stores, &c.

You will be aware that all this involves considerable expense; and I have, therefore, directed a schedule of the whole expense to be prepared, which I herewith transmit, and as every care has been taken to keep the expenditure under the circumstances as low as possible, I am inclined to hope you will not disapprove of what I have done.

I shall not here advert to the political causes which have rendered this step necessary in my opinion, having in my former despatch fully entered into that subject, and, I trust, having satisfactorily proved the necessity of taking military possession of Port Natal.

1838.

FROM SIR GEORGE NAPIER, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS FOR MAJOR CHARTERS, FOR HIS GUIDANCE
AT PORT NATAL.

Cape Town, 16th November, 1838.

1. Land the men, and occupy any buildings that may be conveniently situated to afford cover to the men. Secure them from any surprise either on the part of the Boers or the natives. If no such buildings exist, pitch the tents.
2. Land the light guns to secure the position; find cover either by the tents or otherwise for the stores, &c., which may then be landed.
3. Fix upon an eligible position whereon to erect a battery, which shall command the entrance of the harbour, and the anchorage, if pos-

sible. Mount the two heavy guns there, securing its rear from attack.

4. Make a reconnaissance of the port, and fix upon the most eligible position for a field-work or fortified barrack. The chief objects to be kept in view in selecting this point are, easy access to fresh water, the vicinity of timber and firewood, a good landing-place, the absence of swamp or marsh, the easy access by boats to the battery mentioned in paragraph 3, supposing that circumstances be adverse to establishing the post close to it, a commanding view of the country, &c.

5. Endeavour to procure fresh provisions by encouraging the natives to bring cattle, &c., for sale. Take measures for procuring a supply of fish for the men, at least three times a week. Prepare a piece of ground, and sow vegetables, &c.

6. Take the most likely means of obtaining information respecting the emigrant Boers, both at Natal and in the interior, their positions, resources, numbers, intentions, &c. Communicate, if possible, with Joubert. Obtain the same kind of intelligence respecting Dingaan.

7. Commence a military reconnaissance of the port and its immediate vicinity, accompanied by a topographical report.

8. It is reported that there are several deserters from the Colonial army with the emigrant Boers. Offer a free pardon to all such as shall return to their duty, allowing them a certain time for so doing.

9. It must be clearly understood that no lodging money will be allowed to officers at Port Natal. Tents are provided for them until temporary barracks or huts can be built by Government.

10. You will pay every attention to the comfort of the men, and particularly to the sick; and take such means as are in your power to prevent the men from exposure to the sun when off duty.

11. Frequent inspection of the ammunition, stores, &c., and of the military chest should take place.

12. Short divine service to be read every Sunday by an officer of the 72nd Regiment, or other, according to Her Majesty's regulations.

13. You will have a journal kept of all circumstances which may arise.

14. As it is impossible to give minute instructions on local points, which are at present unknown to me, much will necessarily depend on your own judgment, to which I leave you, in the perfect confidence that it will be judiciously exerted for the good of the service and the welfare of the troops under your jurisdiction and command.

15. In no case will you be justified in firing on the Boers, except

to repel any attack made by them on your position, or resistance to your taking possession, or attempting to force an entrance into the harbour, or departure therefrom without your permission previously obtained.

1838.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE NAPIER,
GOVERNOR OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE OFFICER IN COMMAND OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
FORT, CALLED FORT VICTORIA, IN THE HARBOUR OF PORT NATAL, IN
SOUTH AFRICA.

Government House, Cape Town,
18th November, 1838.

1. My proclamation, dated 14th November current, will sufficiently explain to you the general object proposed to be effected by the erection and maintenance of a fort in or adjoining the harbour of Port Natal; and therefore it only remains for me to give you such further directions as may enable you to follow out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in such particulars as cannot with propriety be adverted to in a public proclamation.

2. Your first object will be the maintenance of peace with the native tribes and the emigrant colonists surrounding or inhabiting the countries nearest to the port, but without compromising in any respect the honour of the British flag. Your next, the prevention of hostilities between these parties, and, above all, the positive prohibition of any supplies by sea to either party by means of which they might be enabled to attack and overcome their antagonists.

3. The right of occupancy of Port Natal, if any such right can be said to exist, belongs to the Crown of Great Britain, and is derived from the former Dutch Government of the Colony of the Cape, to which it was transferred by the Portuguese, its original possessors.

The Zulus have no other claim to it than that which any barbarous tribe might pretend to have to any portion of ground which they had once overrun and depopulated, but of which they did not maintain the right of possession. The few British and other settlers who have for several years occupied the port and circumjacent lands, and the

emigrant colonial farmers who now pretend to the permanent possession of the place in the name of their united camp, or any other pretext, are merely unauthorised intruders on the soil, and may be dispossessed by summary process of arms, if necessary, and if gentle measures to that end should fail. These persons, or many of them, British-born subjects, have so greatly misunderstood their real position as to have declared on several occasions their independence, pretending to have renounced, or to be free from, their allegiance to Her Majesty and to form for themselves a separate government. A pretension so preposterous will neither be admitted by Her Majesty's Government nor any other civilised Government in amity with Great Britain; and it will be your especial care to refrain from any act or expression which might be construed into a recognition of those parties, or any of them, as an independent people.

4. But although the emigrants by their own acts have placed themselves in a situation to be annihilated by the native tribes by whom they are surrounded, and are in no wise entitled to receive or be permitted to receive from the colony which they have abandoned, or the Government whose authority they pretend to deny, any assistance of any description whatever, still it is by no means an object with that Government to deprive them of any supplies, except such as, if once in their possession, would enable them to persevere in any hostile designs, which, whether from a spirit of aggression on their part, or a desire to resent any supposed injuries done to them by the native tribes, they might be disposed to entertain against those tribes; and in like manner the Government will still feel sincerely disposed to interfere in their behalf by its good offices, and to allow them the means of defending themselves, in case of an unprovoked attack being made upon them, whilst peaceably settled in and engaged in the cultivation or exclusive occupation with their flocks and herds of any portion of those regions which are not and have not been settled by any of the native tribes now existing as an independent people, and of which the aboriginal inhabitants are known to have been exterminated by existing tribes or incorporated with them, and removed from their native country to that of their conquerors.

5. If any of the settlers or emigrants be desirous to return to the colony by sea, you will permit them to do so at their own expense; but if they be unable from poverty to pay for their passage, you will be at liberty to make the most economical arrangement in your power in their behalf with the master of any vessel about to

return to any of the colonial ports. You are expressly forbidden, however, to entertain any question as to the future disposal or prospects of those who may desire to return.

6. You will authorise and enjoin the medical officer under your command to render every assistance in his power, by advice or medicine, in case of any sickness prevailing among any people within his reach.

7. In like manner, the commissariat stores may be made available, as far as a prudent regard for the due supply of the garrison will admit, for relieving the most pressing wants of any British subjects who might otherwise die of starvation.

8. You are at liberty to hire and employ such, and so many persons as you shall think proper, in obtaining every sort of intelligence of what is passing, or likely to pass, in the interior of the country, as between the emigrants and the native tribes, and it will be your especial care to keep this Government duly apprised of all such intelligence by every favourable opportunity.

9. In regard to any communication which you may find it necessary to hold with the Zulus, or any other native tribes, much must be left to your own discretion and to the peculiar circumstances which may occasion that intercourse. The instructions which I have issued to Fieldcornet Joubert, a copy of which is hereto attached, together with the proclamation to which I have already referred, will, I apprehend, be sufficient for your right understanding of the duties which you are expected to discharge, and any probable aspect of affairs in your command or neighbourhood.

1838.

FROM SIR G. NAPIER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GLENELG,
SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
31st December, 1838.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I have received the despatches and enclosures, herewith transmitted—[12th Dec., 1838; 30th Nov.]—from Major Charters, commanding the detachment of Her Majesty's troops which, by my despatch, No. 77, your Lordship is aware I had sent to take military possession at Port Natal.

I am happy to state that the troops were landed on the 3rd an

4th instant, without any accident or casualty, and, according to Major Charters' report, in perfect health and discipline.

As Her Majesty's brig "Leveret," which accompanied the detachment, left Natal on the 16th instant, bringing the latest accounts from that place, it is out of my power to give you any other information regarding the emigrant farmers, or the commandoes against the Zulus, than what is contained in Major Charters' despatches.

You will perceive that in the letter to Mr. Pretorius [Annexure No. 1], Major Charters has only expressed the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government as conveyed to me by you, and has acted in obedience to the instructions he received from me in his communications with those misguided men, the emigrant farmers. I feel full confidence that your Lordship will approve of that officer's having permitted the rice and other necessaries to be landed from the "Helen" for the use of the unfortunate women, children, and others whom he found in great want of farinaceous food.

It will be impossible to calculate on the ulterior intentions of the emigrants, or what effect may be produced on their minds by the military occupation of Port Natal, until the result of the commandoes now acting against Dingaan becomes known. It would therefore be useless for me to dwell upon that subject; but, whatever may be the consequences to them, I shall not hold out any prospect of Her Majesty's Government permitting a permanent settlement at Port Natal or elsewhere in South Africa beyond the limit of the colonial boundary. To this effect all my instructions and orders to the officer in command are peremptory. The place is held merely as a military outpost to prevent vessels from entering or landing supplies without permission.

I have every reason to be satisfied with Major Charters' execution of the duty committed to him, as well as with the conduct and discipline of the officers and troops under his command; and I must take the liberty of calling your particular attention to the zeal and activity displayed by Commander Bosanquet, of the "Leveret," to whose nautical skill and experience of this dangerous coast, combined with the active exertions and labour of the officers and crew of the gun-brig "Leveret" under his command, may mainly be attributed the fortunate landing of the troops, guns, and stores without a single casualty: and I trust I may request your favourable report of that officer to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Navy.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR GEORGE NAPIER

Port Natal, 12th December, 1838.

Lieutenant Bosanquet, of Her Majesty's ship "Leveret" having notified to me his intention of returning to Simon's Bay as soon as the exigencies of the service will permit, having within these few days past lost one anchor and cable, broken another, and lost the long-boat of the "Helen," I take advantage of the opportunity to inform you of the proceedings of the detachment under my command since its departure from Table Bay.

The Transport ship "Helen" cast anchor off the harbour of Port Natal on Monday, the 3rd instant, at 5 p.m. Her Majesty's ship "Leveret" kept company with us until we made the land near the port; but as the wind was unfavourable, and the "Helen" could do little against it, the "Leveret" made sail and anchored two days previous to our arrival.

Lieut. Bosanquet profited by the interval to reconnoitre the bar, and to ascertain the state of things on shore. He came on board the "Helen" before she let go her anchor, and reported to me that all was quiet, and that no resistance either could or would be made to our landing; also that it would be very advisable to take advantage of the state of the tide and of the surf, in order to land as many men that evening as the boats could contain in safety.

At 5.30 p.m., Capt. Jervis, two officers and forty men were in the boats on their way towards the surf, which looked dangerous from the ship. They passed it in safety and landed at Maynard's store, where they bivouacked for the night. On the following morning, at 4 a.m., the weather continuing favourable, the remainder of the detachment, leaving a non-commissioned officer and ten men and the conductor of ordnance stores on board as a working party, disembarked in safety, and rejoined the party which landed on the previous evening.

I have great satisfaction in thus stating to your Excellency that the whole detachment, with the exception of the working party, was safely on shore on the morning of the 4th instant, having passed without accident a very dangerous surf, which continually breaks more or less violently across the bar. This successful result of our first operations is attributable to the activity and excellent arrangements of Lieutenant Bosanquet, R.N., his officers and men.

On the morning of the 4th instant the hired schooner "Mary" anchored off the harbour. As many stores as she could possibly carry with safety were transhipped into her from the "Helen," but she did not get into harbour until Thursday evening, 6th instant.

During this interval, and also up to the present date, the boats of the man-of-war, and of the ship "Helen," have lost no opportunity of landing stores from the last-mentioned vessel, although at considerable risk; but I am happy to say that as yet no lives have been lost, although the boats have been several times upset in the surf; this happened when they were returning empty to the ship.

The men of the detachment have been constantly at work in landing stores, stowing ammunition, and other duties of the camp, and had it not been for the boisterous weather the whole would have been accomplished several days since.

On arriving at the landing place, I took possession of the building called "Maynard's store," now belonging to Mr. Dunn, of a small adjacent building of two rooms, the property of the same person, and of a wooden store belonging to Mr. J. O. Smith, whose agent here is Mr. McCabe. These buildings were all opened in presence of the proprietors or their agents. Maynard's store contained a small quantity of ammunition and many other articles, which, with the exception of the former, were removed by Mr. Dunn.

Mr. Smith's store contained chiefly ammunition, of which I took possession.

I got intelligence of a quantity of powder in a temporary magazine under the rock at the opposite point of the harbour, which I sent for, and had conveyed to the camp. It belonged to the Boers, and had been lately sold to them by Mr. Dunn.

I have determined not to move from my present position until I receive your orders.

In a military point of view, the position is extremely favourable for defence by a small number of men. Our left flank is protected by the sea, which at high water reaches to within a few yards of Maynard's store. This is a substantial stone building, and will be a good barrack, capable of containing about sixty men. At low water the sea retires to a considerable distance, leaving a firm sandy flat, but the whole of it can be swept by the artillery of the port. Our right flank is also protected by the open sea, which rolls a lofty surge on the beach, and is, I believe, unapproachable by boats. An imaginary line passing from the water's edge on the left, through Maynard's store, and bounded by the water's edge on our right, would be rather

under a quarter of a mile, which is more ground than I could occupy with the small force at my disposal. The tongue of land which I am describing, commencing from Fynn's Point, is formed of loose sand-hills, at first very low, but increasing rapidly in size. At their origin they are bare, but before arriving at Maynard's store they are seen covered with bush, and they soon become rugged and difficult. The bush as it retires from the point is dense and almost impenetrable.

In front of the imaginary line I have mentioned, and within easy musket-shot of Maynard's store, rises a commanding sandhill of inconsiderable surface, and from 60 to 80 feet above it. It looks into the ravines and gullies; and many parts of the sea beach on our right are exposed to its view.

In any part of the ground I have described, and a few feet below the sea level, is found drinkable and—as far as the experience of five days goes—perfectly wholesome water.

My present intention is to construct a stockade round the buildings—to stockade the sandhill strongly, and mount a field-piece on it, which will look into and command the first-mentioned stockade within easy musket-shot, with a palisadoed communication within the two. On the sea shore on our right, and also under the case-shot fire of the redoubt, the two heavy guns will be placed in battery: they will command the anchorage, the entrance to the harbour, and range along the sea beach in every direction. The facility of procuring palisades from the mangrove trees which abound will, I believe, be considerable: and I am inclined to believe that the fortification of our post will occasion little expense either of time or money.

By remaining in our present position, the great expense and difficulty of transport will be avoided; and as the permanency of the occupation is extremely doubtful, I am led to hope that your Excellency will approve of the decision I have come to.

The commissariat officer has as yet been unsuccessful in obtaining tenders for the supply of the detachment with fresh meat, but he has been able to purchase beasts for slaughter at a very moderate price, and I foresee no difficulty on this head. The harbour abounds with excellent fish, and the men have been plentifully supplied by the seine. We have had no case of sickness since our departure from Cape Town.

The conduct of the detachment has been such as does it great honour: and the men have displayed a zeal and willingness to undergo fatigue which will confirm your high opinion of the 72nd Regiment, and of the gunners attached to this command.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Port Natal, 12th December, 1838.

On my arrival at this port, on 4th instant, I found that a commando of five or six hundred Boers had marched to attack Dingaan in his own kraal, beyond the Tugela River, eight days previous to that date, which will make it the 26th ultimo.

Although I have little hope that a messenger from me could overtake them in time to prevent mischief, still I considered it my duty to make the attempt, and on the morning of the 6th instant I procured two Kafirs, who, for the reward of a cow each, promised to convey a letter to Andries Pretorius, the chief of the commando, and they are to receive payment on producing to me Pretorius' receipt. A copy of my letter to Pretorius accompanies this despatch [Annexure No. 1], and I trust its contents convey your views respecting the proceedings of these people. By the same opportunity I sent some copies of your proclamation.

I learn that Mr. Parker, who left Graham's Town some time ago for this country, has been passing himself off as the accredited agent of your Excellency; that he is now in the camp of Pretorius, and, I have reason to believe, misleading them with respect to the intentions of Government. I wrote, therefore, by the above-mentioned opportunity to undeceive them respecting him. [Annexure No. 2.] As far as I have yet been able to learn, the Boers' camps on this side the Draaksberg are as follows:—

1. At Port Natal, a small camp of people, chiefly from the Olifant's Hoek, at present under the charge of Badenhorst. There may be about twenty-five or thirty men there.

2. At the River Umlazi, two hours' ride from the above, a camp a little larger than the preceding, at present in charge of Andries de Jager. These are chiefly people from Uitenhage and Somerset. These two camps are under the superintendence of Landman; but that individual is now absent with the commando.

3. A small party of about fifteen families, belonging to the Umlazi camp, and about three hours' distant ride from it.

4. At the Bosjesman's Berg, to the north of Natal, there are sixty families, chiefly Graaff-Reinet men, under P. Nel.

5. At the Klein Tugela there are three camps, containing 350

families. All these camps have contributed a contingent of men to the commando now out, besides a party of 230 from the other side of the Draaksberg.

The Boers with whom I have conversed estimate the whole effective force of these camps at about eight hundred effective men. I visited the two first-mentioned camps since my arrival. They have suffered great losses in cattle, horses, and sheep, and are very badly off for bread and farinaceous food, having for long eaten nothing but butchers' meat. This has fallen particularly heavily on the women and children. There is at present no prevailing sickness among them, although they have suffered from fever some time since. They have plenty of butchers' meat, and I have no doubt that they will supply this detachment with fresh provisions.

As I could see no object to be gained by withholding the small quantity of rice which is on board the "Helen," I have given Mr. Henderson, the master of that vessel, permission to dispose of it. It amounts to about five hundred bags. There is also on board a small quantity of wine and sugar, which are included in the permission.

I have had a good deal of conversation with them, and after letting them be fully aware of the light in which the British Government views their proceedings, my aim is to gain their confidence by kindness, and by gentle measures; and in this I am well seconded by Captain Jervis, who has recognised many of his old acquaintances among them. Very few of them as yet show any disposition to return to the colony. They say they desire to occupy the country which they now hold—viz.: along the right bank of the Tugela River to the Draaksberg on one side, and that the Umzimvubu River should divide them from Faku's country, and which is all Faku claims.

I believe there was no foundation for the complaint respecting their having menaced Faku's territory. As far as I can learn, the aborigines in this neighbourhood consist of the remains of the tribes who escaped from the fury of Chaka and Dingaan, mixed with fugitive Zulus. At present they are employed by the Boers and other settlers as herds and servants, nor have I reason to believe that they meet with any ill-usage. When we consider the precarious safety of the Boers themselves, it is very unlikely that they would choose to make them enemies. Many of them died of starvation in consequence of the late attack of the Zulus, who destroyed their maize fields, burned their huts, and murdered all of them whom they could catch. This attack of the Zulus seems to have been caused by the two marauding attacks made by the English settlers here, in the

last of which they were, with one or two exceptions, exterminated : but they had led a number of these natives with them, which drew upon them also the vengeance of Dingaan. The occupation of this district by the Boers has at all events the good effect of saving a number of these poor people's lives, who otherwise must inevitably have died of starvation. I have not been able before this date to procure a messenger to send to Faku, the Amaponda chief.

I enclose a copy of a message [Annexure No. 3] which I now have an opportunity of despatching, and which will be explained to him by the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, the head of the missionary establishment at Buntingville.

Until the result of my communication to Pretorius be known, I cannot recommend that this port should be opened to trade.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS TO ANDRIES PRETORIUS.

[Annexure No. 1.]

Having arrived here in command of a detachment of Her Majesty's troops, and having learned that a strong commando of the emigrant farmers had marched under your orders for the purpose of attacking the Zulu chief Dingaan in his own kraal, it becomes my evident duty, in conformity with the instructions I have received, to forward to you a proclamation issued by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in order that you may be fully informed of the light in which Her Majesty's Government views the proceedings of the emigrant farmers.

You will perceive also by the above-mentioned document the object of the Governor in taking military possession of Port Natal.

By virtue of the commission with which I am charged, I must require of you to desist from all offensive measures against the Zulu chief, or any of the native tribes of these regions, to return forthwith and re-occupy the position which you left, and there remain on the defensive until definitive measures be taken by H. M. Government.

In case of your immediate compliance with this order, I will lose no time in using my best endeavours to induce the Zulu chief to leave the different encampments of the emigrant farmers unmolested for the present.

If, however, contrary to my hopes and expectations, you and those under you should continue an aggressive warfare, you must permit

me to point out the consequences of placing yourselves in direct opposition to the wishes and orders of Her Majesty's Government.

You must be well aware of the unvarying perseverance with which the British Government has for many years past protected to the utmost of its power the native tribes of Africa; of the sacrifices which the nation has made to accomplish so great an object; and of its determination to triumph in so noble a cause. Be assured, therefore, that Her Britannic Majesty will never submit to be thwarted in her measures by a handful of her own subjects, who, taking the law into their own hands, and passing the boundary of the colony, carry bloodshed and desolation among the tribes and nations not only at peace with Her Majesty, but which have every claim to Her Majesty's protection.

Assure yourself, therefore, that if you persevere in your present course, misfortune and ruin sooner or later await you.

But I hope for better things. The former character of the Dutch colonial farmer is not unknown to me, and in years long past I learned from experience to respect and admire it. These old predilections and the friendly feelings with which I am animated towards you, as well as my direct duty, command me to use my most strenuous endeavours to restore a right understanding between yourselves and the British Government; but I must strongly impress on you that this can only be effected by submission on your part, and by a reliance on its justice, its wisdom, and its humanity. As I learn that many of your families in this neighbourhood are in want of some of the necessaries of life, I have given permission to the captain of the ship "Helen," now at anchor off this port, to dispose of five hundred bags of rice which he has on board.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS TO MR. PRETORIUS.

[Annexure No. 2.]

Port Natal, 6th December, 1838.

Since my arrival here, I have learned that there is a Mr. Parker in your camp who passes himself off as an accredited agent of the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and charged with a message to the emigrant farmers.

If this information be correct, I have to inform you that the person alluded to is an impostor, whom it is my intention to arrest as soon as I can lay hands on him.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS.

[Annexure No. 3.]

MESSAGE TO FAKU, CHIEF OF THE AMAPONDAS.

The Commandant of Port Natal to Faku, the Great Chief of the Amapondas:

1. The Commandant makes known to Faku that he has taken possession of Port Natal by order of the Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope: that a detachment of Her Majesty's troops has arrived; and that the flag of the Queen of England is now flying there.

2. That the object of the Governor in taking this step is to have it more in his power to protect the black man from all unjust aggression on the part of the white man, and to receive true and correct information of all that passes.

3. His Excellency also hopes that Faku will abstain from all unjust aggression in his own immediate neighbourhood, and that he will live in peace and concord with them: that he will give ear to the Missionaries who live at Buntingville, for they will give him good counsels, and point out to him the right path.

4. Let Faku have no fears that his boundary is to be violated by the English. It shall not take place.

5. The Commandant invites Faku to friendly intercourse with him. "If any of his people choose to visit the English camp, they shall be treated with kindness and hospitality.

6. The Commandant of Port Natal hopes to be able to pay a visit to Faku in two months' time from this date, that he may assure him in person of the Governor's friendship and good feeling towards him.

Port Natal, 11th December, 1838.

Attested by (Signed) T. SHEPSTONE.

JOURNAL OF THE EXPEDITION

OF THE

EMIGRANT FARMERS UNDER THEIR CHIEF COMMANDANT, A. W. J. PRETORIUS
(FORMERLY OF GRÄAFF-REINET),

AGAINST

DINGAAN, THE KING OF THE ZULUS,

In the months of November and December, 1838; undertaken for the purpose of revenging the most cruel and barbarous murder of the late chief of the emigrants, P. Retief, and his sixty companions, and the subsequent inhuman butchery of men, women, and children, committed by Dingaan and his men; and also for the purpose of recovering the goods and property stolen by them from the emigrants on these occasions.

[The journal was kept by an emigrant, Mr. J. G. Bantjes, the Clerk of the Volksraad (Representative Assembly), who acted during the expedition as the Secretary to the Chief Commandant, Pretorius.]

Tugela Spruit, November 26, 1838.

WHEREAS Mr. Andries Wilhelmus Johannes Pretorius has arrived at this place a few days ago, with some of his party, in order to march in war against Dingaan, Chief of the Zulus, with a commando for the purpose of recovering the things which had been stolen by him from our brother emigrants, after he had cruelly butchered them: a general feeling of rejoicing was felt by the whole community on account of this arrival. The appointment of the said Mr. Pretorius as chief officer, or commandant, of the commando about to march, was then proposed to the Representative Assembly, who gladly assented, and, having previously taken the votes of the other commandants, he was unanimously elected. He was therefore appointed under the congratulations of all present, under proper instructions framed by the Representative Assembly; when he, Mr. Pretorius, now the chief commandant, expressed his thanks in a becoming manner, and said that, though reluctantly, yet, as the vote had fallen upon him, and in consideration of the state in which his fellow-travellers were placed, shut up in their camp as in a prison, he would willingly take that important task upon him, and would use all his endeavours to do all that which is requisite for the good of our interests. All this induced me to accompany the commando

for the purpose of noting down the necessary observations, being confident of a prudent command. I therefore lost no time, and sent my wagon the next day, being the 27th November, 1838, amongst the wagons of the commando.

On the day following, being the 28th, I followed, and reached the commando at the Small Tugela Spruit. The chief commandant had already proceeded, and we went on to the other side of the Great Tugela, in the entrance under the rising ground. The camp was then pitched and enclosed by the wagons, fifty-seven in number; and when all preparations had been made the sun was setting.

Here my attention was drawn to the first commencement of the government of the chief commandant; for he ordered that the camp should be properly enclosed and the gates well secured, after the cattle should be within the same, and that the night patrols should be properly set out: all which was executed with the greatest activity and readiness.

After all this had been arranged, the officers met in the tent of the chief commandant, which officers were Carl Pieter Landman (2nd commandant), Pieter Daniel Jacobs (2nd member of the Court Martial), Jacobus Potgieter (successor of the 2nd commandant), and also the other commandants, Johannes de Lange and Stephanus Erasmus, with their fieldcornets. They held an amicable conversation for the purpose of agreeing on the measures of the commando. The chief commandant then requested Mr. Celliers to perform evening service, and the old evening hymn was sung, which Mr. Celliers concluded with a most fervent prayer. The chief commandant further ordered the Commandant Erasmus to go out with a patrol in the night to spy the kraals of Jobi, as he intended to make the first attack on these. This was done. Now the weather was rainy, and it rained by showers.

The next day we rose, and every one was glad. After we had enjoyed some refreshment, the chief commandant requested me to assist him in writing. He gave me to write a strict order or regulation for the commando, which he had framed in a few words. After I had done this, the commandants were assembled, and their approbation thereof asked, which they gave. I then made copies of that order for each commandant. In the meantime the patrol of the Commandant Erasmus returned, but had not traced anything, on account of the unfavourable weather, and had seen nothing but smoke here and there from the kraals.

We were obliged to stay here to wait for the men of Comman-

dant Landman, who had sent a message that they could not be here before the second of the next month. I then resolved, with the permission of the chief commandant, to ride back to the main camp, where I remained until Monday, 2nd December, when I returned to the commando, and I overtook them while they were proceeding; and after having proceeded further on our way, we arrived at the same river, somewhat higher up, where we encamped. Here I enquired in what way the last Sunday had been spent, and became informed that Mr. Celliers had performed divine service with all those who were present; that he had commenced divine service with singing the 1st and 4th verses of the 51st Psalm; that after the public prayers he had sung the 2nd anthem from Psalm xcvi. 6, 7, and had afterwards preached about Joshua, and concluded with a public prayer and the singing of the last two verses of the 3rd Psalm. The evening was spent in prayers, which Mr. Celliers began by singing some appropriate verses, which was followed up by Mr. J. Vermaak; and the service was concluded in a proper manner with prayer.

Our commando in the meanwhile proceeded on. We were rejoiced at the long-expected arrival of the party of Commandant Landman: the number of his men was 123, besides the English and Kafirs. Speedily a consultation took place, and Commandant De Lange was immediately sent out with three men on some further spying expedition. In the meantime Daniel Botma - was brought before the chief commandant for unwillingness to mount his guard, and using abusive language towards his commandant. He also made use of improper expressions before the chief commandant, who was obliged to reprimand him severely for it. The commandant (Jacobs) who lodged the complaint against him used his influence to obtain his pardon, under a severe reprimand, and a promise of better behaviour, which was granted. In the evening the chief commandant held a conversation with the other commandants about his and their duties, with which they had undertaken to comply under the instructions of the Representative Assembly, and about the steps which were necessary to be taken against the enemy, and resolved thereafter to break up the camp and to proceed. On 4th December we continued our journey from the Tugela, proceeding through a plain open field (tho field is rather sour, but may be useful) as far as the Klip River, which we passed. About a quarter of an hour on the other side thereof the field begins to look most beautiful, dressed with sweet grass, presenting a youthful verdure, and variegated by mimosa trees. Having proceeded a little further on, we encamped;

and here we had a beautiful sight of the field, but there was no running water.

The camp having been pitched, the chief commandant again gave me to write an "Ordinance for the prevention of improperly attacking, or interfering with, the free persons of colour;" which I finished: and then, after the evening divine service had been performed, I retired to sleep.

The following day, the 5th December, all was still in good order. Everyone looked out, and was anxious, for the return of the spies who were sent out, as we were to remain here waiting for their report or return. In the meantime the chief commandant, after having assembled all his officers and their men, began in the first place to read to them, for their encouragement and admonition, a letter from a brother and a friend (Mr. Christiaan Hatting), which was addressed to all his emigrant brethren; and the letter was well worth the attention of the audience. The chief commandant then expressed himself to those under his command, which greatly roused the spirit of many, while he himself, speaking with great feeling, was much moved in his heart. He then next read another letter addressed to him by the Rev. Mr. Van der Lingen. This was also most worthy of being read, and everyone felt grateful towards God for receiving such consolatory messages in such a barren wilderness. The chief commandant also performed the utmost of his duty by impressing this circumstance on the minds of his men. He also communicated to them his answer thereon, which everyone lauded. He then further admonished them all to begin this most important task which they had undertaken (and which must be blessed by the Most High, should it be successful) with supplications and prayers to the throne of God, to remain steadfast to the end, and to show obedience to their superiors, as otherwise we can expect no blessing; and our ruin, to the great rejoicing of our persecutors and enemies, will have been occasioned by ourselves.

He then proceeded to read the instructions framed for himself by the Representative Assembly, and to point out to them the great responsibility with which he was charged thereby. He then read the strict order framed by him for the commandants, as also the last mentioned ordinance. He then called towards him the inferior officers according to their rank, the assistant commandants, the field-cornets, down to the corporals; exhorted them to behave with courage and prudence when necessary; reminded them how any design undertaken without God is frustrated; how everyone was to act when

engaged with the enemy ; that we, as reasonable creatures, born under the light of the gospel, should not be equal to them in destroying innocent women and children ; and that we may pray of God everything which is not contrary to His great righteousness. He admonished them, further, to press on the minds of the men under them to submit every morning and evening their duties and their doing to the Lord in prayers ; and to spend the holy Sabbath to the honour of God, and not to use that great Name in vain, nor to calumniate the Most High. He further expressed his great joy in experiencing that peace, reasonableness, and fraternal love were still reigning among so many thousand souls, living together as in one and the same house ; and that this was more than he had expected ; that he had, however, to admonish everyone to join their hands together to remove everthing that might tend to give rise to disunion ; so that we, as one body, might, with the assistance of God, accomplish our intended work ; and, finally, repeatedly reminded us that "unity createth power." Amongst other things, he strictly prohibited anyone to interfere with the Kafir children or women during the conflict, or to take them prisoners.

The successor of the chief commandant also mounted the carriage of the cannon, and said everyone should notice that which the chief commandant had communicated to us ; that we ought to be most grateful to God for such valuable admonitions ; that in all our doings we should give the honour to God : how it was our time now to kneel down and humble ourselves before God ; for that our enemies, like the wolves, were watching our destruction ; that, in particular, we should be grateful to God that He had provided us with such a chief, who was wise in all his doings, and who even shows himself careful as well for our spiritual as bodily welfare. The chief commandant again resumed, and dwelt upon everything which he considered might be ruinous to us, and that we might well acknowledge the truth of what had been stated by his successor, &c. He then requested everyone to unite in prayer, requesting Mr. Celliers to conclude this momentous meeting with a solemn prayer : who first addressed the chief commandant, and in very appropriate language exhorted him to his duty, and so on, all the officers according to their ranks, and all the men, and thereafter all concluded with a solemn prayer. Thus was this moment properly spent ; everyone was affected, and general silence and calmness prevailed. We expected every moment the return of Commandant De Lange from his expedition.

In the meantime I proceeded to take a general return for the

chief commandant of the number of men on the commando, which I found to be, including the persons of colour, 464 men, besides the commandants. A report from the Tugela, by a Kafir, was also received, sent by an Englishman named Robert Joyce, requesting E. Parker to send him a horse, as he could not proceed any further on foot. Said Parker submitted that request to the chief commandant, who gave his consent. At last we were so fortunate as to see Commandant De Lange return from his expedition as a spy, bringing with him a Kafir of the tribe of Jobi as a prisoner, a stout man, more than six feet high. We, however, regretted to be informed that having with his three followers, whilst riding about, unexpectedly got among the kraals, they were compelled to defend their lives, and to fire, so that in a moment they killed three Kafirs, and took one prisoner, while the others all escaped. They brought with them eleven sheep and fourteen head of cattle which they had found there. This was a greater curiosity than to have seen the Kafir when he came riding on horseback—such as no one had ever seen before in respect of largeness and fatness. All the ewes had lambs, and even of these the tails had been cut; while the rams were obliged to drag their tails after them, to the great burden of their bodies, on account of their size.

The commandant, De Lange, having reported to the chief commandant the occurrences, the council of war resolved to break up the camp the next day, and to place it a little nearer for the purpose of attacking the tribes of said Jobi. The chief commandant at the same time took the opportunity of questioning the Kafir prisoner. Whatever we got from him was of no importance, and which it is not necessary to record.

The next day, being the 6th of the said month, we pursued our undertaking, and marched on with our commando to a similar river, when we encamped, and then forthwith a meeting was held about proceeding against the tribe of Jobi. It was resolved to do this, and only to take so many head of cattle with them as might be necessary for provisioning the commando. For that purpose three hundred men were immediately commanded, and they left in the afternoon. I saw their departure, and saw the chief commandant (when they were a little way from the camp) dividing them in five divisions, to the number of the commandants, and issuing the necessary orders to each of the officers. All this having been done, they followed him in a regular way. The chief commandant also gave orders to secure the camp, immediately after his departure, with thorn branches

(mimosas), which was done. The Kafir prisoner went with the commando.

The commandant, Jacobs, having been left behind in the camp, about the evening ordered fifty men to proceed with him that night to the maize gardens, in order to see what sort of kraals there were, which was done. On the next day, being the 7th of the said month, the patrols and spies were duly sent out, and shortly after the commandant, Jacobs, and his men arrived, without having found out anything, whilst all the Kafirs had taken to flight. In the afternoon the chief commandant returned with the commando; but every place was deserted, and Jobi's Kafirs had also fled, occasioned by the alarm of Commandant De Lange on the preceding day, so that they could not be overtaken. They brought with them 27 goats and 7 sheep, not having met with anything else, and having seen only a few signals at a great distance. The general conversation then taking place was about the unpassableness of the road which they had to go to overtake the Kafirs. I thought I might make sure to get some information from persons not residing here, and who may be relied upon, about the state of the field, and received for answer that all over Africa they had never yet seen such beautiful and fertile lands. Now the horses, to our great regret, were all knocked up. It was therefore resolved at once to march towards Dingaan's residence without any further delay. We proceeded the next day, being the 8th of the month on our undertaking, marching on through an open level field, until we arrived at the Zondag's River. We had in the meantime also passed two rivers of the same kind, which by the road had no running water, but according to the statements of the patrols had running fountains near their origin.

The fields along the Zondag's River are splendid and beautiful, overgrown on both sides by valley-shrubs of every description, and as far as we went the grass was quite sweet. We thus proceeded on and crossed another valley, which along the road contained stagnant waters. We went further on between two flat heights, through a sandy passage—a horribly bad road, large rocks and then several deep ditches, some very muddy. Having passed all this we got to an extensive valley, which offered a beautiful view. We went through it, and continued until we came to a river with running water, named by the former commando Bly River, situated under a flat mountain. Here we encamped. The next day, being the 9th, all was well, and we remained over to celebrate the Sabbath; while the previous Saturday evening had been spent in the tent of the

chief commandant, with the singing of some appropriate hymns, and a fervent prayer by Mr. Celliers.

On Sunday morning, before divine service commenced, the chief commandant called together all those who were to perform that service, and requested them to propose to the congregation "that they should all fervently, in spirit and in truth, pray to God for His relief and assistance in their struggle with the enemy: that he wanted to make a vow to God Almighty, if they were all willing, that should the Lord be pleased to grant us the victory, we would raise a house to the memory of His great name, wherever it might please Him," and that they should also supplicate the aid and assistance of God to enable them to fulfil their vow; and that we would note the day of the victory in a book, to make it known even to our latest posterity, in order that it might be celebrated to the honour of God. Messrs. Celliers, Landman, and Joubert were glad in their minds to hear it. They spoke to their congregations on the subject, and obtained their general concurrence. When after this divine service commenced, Mr. Celliers performed that which took place in the tent of the chief commandant. He commenced by singing from Psalm xxxviii., verses 12-16, then delivered a prayer, and preached about the twenty-four first verses of the Book of Judges; and thereafter delivered the prayer in which the before-mentioned vow to God was made, with a fervent supplication for the Lord's aid and assistance in the fulfilment thereof. The 12th and 21st verses of the said xxxviii. Psalm were again sung, and the service was concluded with singing the cxxxiv. Psalm. In the afternoon the congregations assembled again, and several appropriate verses were sung. Mr. Celliers again made a speech, and delivered prayers solemnly; and in the same manner the evening was also spent.

The following day, being the 10th of the month, we again proceeded, crossed the river, and were much impeded by the grass being very high in the road, and dangerous to ride through. We were obliged to set fire to it, and having done this, we passed several ditches and ascended the mountain, which was very steep and covered with large rocks, and it was late in the evening before we got over it. The field in itself is beautiful and good, and plentifully supplied with grass; and several fountains are found along the road, which seemed to have been filled up; and we therefore saw nothing but bubblings.

A short distance from this very steep mountain we came to an extensive valley, which had a beautiful appearance, being overgrown

with clover and valley-grass and herbs of every description. Here we encamped. Several signals were seen, but the patrols which had been out came back, having discovered nothing, but only seen in different directions smoke, which they supposed to come from the van of Dingaan's kraals. The next day, being the 11th, we continued our journey, and some wagons went out of the road for the purpose of loading some elks* which the day before had been shot by the patrols: there were also several which had been killed that morning, which were all put on the wagons. The wagons had not all come together yet, when we received reports that Kafirs had been seen—probably Dingaan's commando. With the greatest speed the camp was pitched on the other side of the Umzinyati (the translation of which is Buffalo River). The chief commandant in the meantime sent some of his people to meet them, and remained behind himself to make personal arrangements in the camp—not being sure himself that it was the commando; but a little while after reports came back that they were merely spies. Those, however, who were sent out on our side crossed their places, where there were several Kafir kraals, and found nine of them, who, having engaged, were all killed. Several fresh tracks were also seen. About the evening a Kafir was seen at a distance passing the flats, but he could not be well distinguished. Two men were immediately sent off. The Kafir had, however, concealed himself in a reed-bush, but Mr. Parker, who had followed them, coming from behind, was the first to find him, having about him a knapsack of maize. He was about throwing his assegai, but said Parker fired and killed him. Having thus passed the day, we remained here during the night.

The next day, being 12th December, the patrols went out early. As it rained, we remained here. A Kafir spy was shot by the patrols. Mr. Parker, having been out with his Kafir spies, had also taken one prisoner, besides some women and children, which latter he left under the protection of his comrades, while he himself went before them to the camp with the Kafir prisoner; but the Kafir, being fastened to the "riem" of Parker's horse, on the way got hold of Parker by his gun and pulled him from his horse on to the ground. He had but his knobkerrie, and could not do much, as his arms were tied; so Parker had the good fortune, as the Kafir was lying upon his gun, which was a short double-barrel, to fire both charges into the arm and shoulder of the Kafir. He thus escaped, and, leaving

* Elands.

one of his companions with the wounded Kafir, reported the circumstance to the chief commandant, who himself repaired thither to speak to the wounded Kafir, but whom he found dying on the spot. The women and children having arrived, the chief commandant gave them liberty to return; but gave them a sign, being a white flag, to show to their king that they had been set at liberty, and to announce to him that we had come to wage war with him; and that, if he were willing, we were ready to conclude peace with him if he will deliver up the guns and horses of our butchered brethren, leaving it, however, to his option; or, if he were otherwise inclined, that we were prepared to wage war with him, even for ten years running. The name of the chief commandant was written on the said flag.

The women were very grateful for their merciful release by the chief commandant, and praised him above their king; for, said they, he never pardons any defenceless woman or harmless child, but causes them, often for pleasure's sake, to be put to death. They thanked him a thousand times for their lives. The chief commandant assured them that they, and even their husbands, might safely bring back a message; that if they only had the sign with them which was now given, no harm would be done to them; and, moreover, told them that no woman or child would be killed by us. They continued to express their thanks, and went to deliver the message.

On the 13th December we proceeded on (the weather being bad) for some time along the river, which runs eastward, to get nearer to the wood. While we were departing the Kafir spies again reported having seen some Kafirs, three in number, who were found by the patrols; and they were all killed. In the afternoon another patrol returned, making report that they had met a great number of Kafirs in a certain place on a mountain, who had many head of cattle with them; but, being only four men together, they dared not hazard themselves any further, after they had killed three of the Kafirs, and the gun of one of them had become useless. We stayed here during the night, and on the next day, being 14th December, 120 men, who had been commanded on the previous evening, went out by dawn of day to attack said Kafirs. I now made enquiries after the number of Kafirs who had been killed up to this morning, which I found to be twenty-three. In the evening the patrols returned, and had again killed eight Kafirs in a skirmish. The next day, being 15th December, we went on further to a spruit, where we encamped, and where instantly reports arrived from one of the patrols that they had fallen upon five of the Zulus, and had killed one of them, while the others

had made away by reason of the impassableness of high banks and ditches. From another patrol there arrived a report that they had discovered an equally great number; and continuing their way had come upon many more, who were in a very dangerous and inaccessible place. This last report was made on Saturday, the 15th, while we were just encamped on another spruit. Having well secured the camp, the chief commandant repaired to said place with part of his men, having also received reports of the Commandant De Lange that it was the commando of the Kafirs which was approaching.

The chief commandant, having arrived at that place, thought it advisable (as it was about evening, and several men were out on patrol in different directions, so that he had too few with him to make an attack on so inaccessible a place; the more so as the Sabbath was at hand) to postpone the attack till the next Monday, even if they were to approach nearer, in order not to profane the Sabbath. The chief commandant ordered the barriers and gates to be properly secured, and that all men should be up about two hours before daylight. Everything was complied with. At the appointed time all men were roused, and we held ourselves in readiness. Sunday, the 16th, was a day as if ordained for us. The sky was open. The weather clear and bright. Scarcely was the dawn of day perceptible, when the guards, who were still on their posts and could scarcely see, perceived that the Zulus were approaching. Now the patrols were altogether in the camp, having been called in the day previous by alarm signals of the cannons. The enemy then approached at full speed, and in a moment they had surrounded the camp on all sides. In the meantime the day began to dawn, so that they might be seen approaching, while their advanced lines had already been repulsed by the firing from the camp. Their approach, although frightful on account of the great number, yet presented a beautiful appearance. They approached in regiments, each captain with his men following him, in the same way the patrols had seen them coming up the day previous, until they had all surrounded us. I could not count them, but it is said that a Kafir prisoner had given the number of thirty-six regiments, which regiments may be calculated at from nine to ten thousand men. The battle now commenced, and the cannons were discharged from every gate of the camp. The battle then became violent, even the firing from the muskets from our side as well as from theirs. After this had been kept up for full two hours by the watch, the chief commandant, as the enemy was continually bestorming the camp, and he was afraid that we should

get short of ammunition, ordered that all the gates of the camp should be opened, and the fighting with the Kafirs take place on horseback. This was done, and to our regret they took to flight so hastily that we were obliged to hunt after them. Few remained in the camp, and the chief commandant in person, after having given the necessary directions, also followed them. His shooting horses had been taken by others, and he himself was obliged to mount a wild horse. He pursued a large party, and riding in full speed he got up to them. One of the Zulus rushed upon him. He, however, discharged one of the barrels of his gun to kill the Kafir, but the horse whereon he was mounted got so frightened that he missed, and wishing to discharge the other shot, did not know that the stopper of the lock had been closed, so that he could not cock his gun. Now no time was to be lost. He jumped from his horse. The Kafir at once rushes upon, stabs at him with his assegai, which he parried off twice with his gun; but the third time, unable to do otherwise, he parried it off with his left hand, in which the Kafir then stuck his assegai. He now falls upon the Kafir, lays hold of him, and throws him on the ground, and holds him fast, though he struggled terribly, until P. Roedelof came to his assistance. He then forces the assegai out of his hand and stabs the Kafir so that he dies. He then returned to the camp to have the wound dressed, which was done. He, however, said that he hoped no one would be terrified, that this wound could do him no harm, and that he was glad of having been the only man in such a serious conflict who had been slightly wounded. The wound, however, was bad. We also ascertained with regret that Gerrit Raath had met with a similar accident, in the same manner as the chief commandant, but he was dangerously wounded in his side; as also Philip Fourie, who had been dangerously wounded with an assegai during the battle at the camp. G. Raath remained in the field, and was fetched away and brought to the camp on a stretcher. Thus the Zulu commando was pursued for more than three hours, when we returned, as we were all short of ammunition. The chief commandant ordered the cleansing of the guns, and that every man should provide himself with ammunition. This was complied with, and balls were also cast. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered to God, and after divine service had been performed, the chief commandant again sent a strong party to pursue the Zulus as far as they could; but they returned in the evening, not having been able to come up with them. The next day we counted the number of the slain; those who had been killed about or near the camp, of

which some have not been counted, with those who had been overtaken and killed, we found amounted to (the lowest certain number) more than 3,000, besides the wounded.

We proceeded on our journey and got to the Umhlatuzi on the 19th; in the meanwhile several spies and Kafirs were killed. I should also mention that Dingaan's servant, in his full dress, was also killed during the conflict near the camp. Being encamped at the Umhlatuzi, the patrols while spying saw Dingaan's town covered with clouds of smoke. We could not form any conception of what it meant; meanwhile we broke up the next day and marched towards it. [N.B.—Two Kafirs were caught after the battle had ended, and these also the chief commandant sent to Dingaan, with the same message which he had given the women and children before mentioned. Another was again caught, and he also was sent to Dingaan. One of the prisoners is now our guide.] We went on and encamped near to his town on the 20th, at a distance of about a quarter of an hour. No sooner had the camp been formed than a commando was ordered towards the town. We went with about 900 men, and found the town deserted, and the palace of the king totally burnt down. The commandant ordered that all that was found should be brought together, and whatever was in the fire, such as iron and copper, should be rescued and taken care of. We went back again, and next day, being the 21st, we fixed our camp on the very hill where the unfortunate Mr. Retief and company had been butchered. The site of the cruel martyring, whereof the dead bones still gave proofs, was indeed horrible to be looked at; while the raw straps with which they had been tied were still fastened to the bones of several of them; and the sticks and spokes with which they had been beaten were found by thousands, and in pieces, along the road which they had been dragged: of these sticks, some were those with which they (the Kafirs) danced, and some were poles whereon they built their houses, or wherewith they plant their fortifications. While other skeletons or dead bones lay there: these were recognised by us by their skulls, which were all broken, and by the heap of stones lying by each of their corpses, wherewith they had received their last sufferings. O, horrible martyrdom! The late worthy Mr. Retief we recognised by his clothes, of which, although nearly consumed, small rags were still attached to his bones, added to which there were other tokens, such as his portmanteau, which was almost consumed, in which there were several papers, some of which were damaged and rained to pieces; but some were found therein in as perfect a state

as if they had never been exposed to the air—amongst which was also the contract between him and Dingaan respecting the cession of the land, so clean and uninjured, as if it had been written to-day, besides a couple of sheets of clean paper, on which the chief commandant wrote a letter to Mr. J. Boshoff the following day. Every exertion was used for the gathering of the bones, and we buried them. This having been done, the chief commandant questioned the Kafir prisoner, and, as he pretended to have been but a spectator of this martyrdom, he related the whole circumstances just as the appearance of the bones vouched to be correct; but, amongst others, that the king, after the treaty had been concluded, had invited Retief and his company to come to his town, that his people might dance in honour of them: and, while dancing, he caused them to be attacked; and though the farmers were without their arms, they however defended themselves with their pocket-knives in such a manner, that when they had already fought their way through one regiment, another had to resume it. One man; he says, of a tall stature could run very fast, and escaped after fighting hard from the town to the other side of the river, which is, I believe, about two thousand five hundred paces; but by their great numbers they outran him from all sides, and overtook him before he got as far as where the horses were; he then defended himself with stones until he could no longer. He further states that twenty of them had died from severe cuts which they had received by pocket-knives, and several were wounded. Several articles also were found which had been buried under ground; and the following day, being 24th December, it was resolved to sell the same by public auction, and to distribute the money arising therefrom among the commando, which was done. The next day, being 25th December, one of Dingaan's captains was caught by the Kafir spies and brought up. He related a great deal, but little reliance could be placed on what he said. However, he related as what occurred about the martyring of the farmers in the same manner as the former. The next day we broke up the camp, and replaced it on a hill towards the seaside, under which place there are wide and rough cliffs; and in these very places the whole Zulu army was assembled. We encamped and secured the camp. The next day about 300 men were ordered to descend. We saw from our camp the Kafirs going backwards and forwards. The commando descended, and the chief commandant went with them, but before they met the Kafirs he was obliged to return on account of the pain in the wound in his hand, for the weather was stormy. The cannon which they had taken with them

could not be taken further, and was also sent back. No sooner had the chief commandant arrived at the camp, when we heard the attack commencing violently, and there was a continuous noise of the firing. I was immediately sent off with some others to the point of the mountain to spy the battle with a telescope, which I did; and as long as I could see the firing continued without intermission. The chief commandant had on his leaving them given the necessary orders to be prudent; but they had notwithstanding descended into the clift, and without any precaution been riding among the Kafirs in the caves and dens; so that they could neither advance nor retreat, and were obliged to fight their way clean through the Kafirs, by whom they were surrounded as so many ants; and not daring to venture to continue fighting for fear of getting short of ammunition, they retreated until they came to a very bad road, where the river was swollen, when the Kafirs had an opportunity of getting amongst them, and they killed another five of us, named Jan Oosthuyzen, formerly of Nieuwveld, Marthinus Gous, of Zwarteberg, Gerrit van Stade, Barend Bester, and Nicolaas le Roux, besides Alexander Biggar, with five of his Kafirs. They returned to the camp, as all their horses were knocked up. The Kafirs pursued them to the open field, when they returned to the same caves.

We remained here for two days, to see whether they still would venture to come to the field, which they dared not, and we were necessitated to return on account of the horses. The chief commandant then caused the town to be further destroyed by fire, and we returned, halting now and then for the purpose of seeing whether they would not follow us. Having again arrived at the "Umzinyate," two hundred men were sent out to see whether they could not get any cattle, and they returned with about five thousand head of cattle, which were herded by a hundred Kafirs, who were all killed.

Thus we returned to the Tugela River, where the chief commandant divided the booty, and the commando separated.

DESPATCHES OF COMMANDANT A. W. J. PRETORIUS.

King Dingaan's City, called Umgungundhlovu,
December 22nd, 1838.

GENTLEMEN,—I send you this to inform you of the particulars of our commando against the Zulus. After the people had by general election chosen me to be the commander-in-chief, we marched out against that formidable foe, not trusting in our own strength in the least, as we could muster no more than four hundred and sixty men; but we had full confidence in the justice of our cause. Our only hope was in God; and the issue has proved that

“Die op den hooge God vertrouwd,
Heeft zeker op geen sand gebouwd.”

(“He who trusteth in the great God,
Has certainly not built on sand.”)

We marched in five divisions, each under the command of a proper officer. Our object was only to recover the property which the enemy had taken from our people. During the next few days we took prisoners several men of the Zulu nation, to whom I gave a white flag as a proof of our amity, and desired them to proceed to their king, and to inform him that if he would return to us the horses and guns which he had taken from our people, we should be willing to enter into negotiations for peace. I sent this message to him twice, but received no answer. In the meantime our patrols went out in all directions, and on Saturday, the 15th December, the Zulu army was discovered, posted on a very difficult mountain.

On receiving this information, I immediately proceeded there with two hundred men, but finding it unadvisable to attempt anything with so small a force, and in such a place, I returned to the camp. The next day being Sunday, we intended to remain quiet; but as soon as day broke upon us we discovered that our camp was surrounded by, as we thought, the whole of the Zulu forces. The engagement instantly commenced on both sides. The Zulus *fired* upon us, and made several attempts to storm our encampments, and, on being repulsed, they only retreated for short distances. They stood their ground firmly for two hours, and then were reinforced by five more divisions.

At this juncture you will scarcely be able to form an idea of the sight presented around us. It was such as to require some nerve

not to betray uneasiness in the countenance. Seeing that it was necessary to display the most desperate determination, I caused the gates of our enclosed camp to be simultaneously thrown open, from which some mounted men were to charge the enemy, at the same time keeping up a heavy fire upon them. The Zulus stood our assault firmly for some time, but at last, finding their number rapidly decreasing, they fled, scattering themselves in all directions. They were pursued on horseback by as many of our men as could be spared from the camp. Having made some necessary arrangements, I started off myself, and shortly overtook a Zulu warrior. At the distance of about fifteen yards I made signs of peace to him, and called to him to surrender, intending to send him with a message to his king; but as he refused to submit, and threatened me, I at last fired, but missed. My horse being restive, I dismounted, and attempted to fire a second time, but the lock of my gun had got out of order. At this instant the Zulu made a furious charge upon me, stabbing at me with his assagai, which I parried repeatedly with my gun. At last he closed in with me, and attempted to stab me through the breast. I averted this by grasping at the weapon with my left hand, but in doing so received it through the hand. Before he could extricate it, I seized him and threw him to the ground, but as the assagai remained pierced through my hand, which was under him as I lay upon him, I had but one hand with which to hold him and use my dagger, whilst he attempted to strangle me. At this crisis one of my men came to my assistance, pulled the assagai out of my hand, and stabbed the Zulu on the spot. My hand bleeding very much, I was obliged to return to the camp, and it was apprehended some of our men had fallen. However, it pleased the Almighty to give us this victory without the loss of a single life on our part, only three of us being wounded, viz., myself, Gerrit Raath, and Philip Fourie.

The following day we resumed our march, and arrived here this day. Yesterday, when we were seen to approach, Dingaan set his capital on fire, and his own palace was destroyed by the conflagration.

We learn from two Zulu women that one captain, who had not been in the engagement, wanted to renew the attack, but all the others refused, stating that they had lost nearly all their men. The result was a precipitous retreat.

After the battle, I caused returns to be made of the number of the enemy killed, and found it to be three thousand and some

hundreds; but that we may make all allowances for inaccuracies, we have stated it at three thousand.

We are now encamped in Dingaan's capital. Here we found the bones of our unfortunate countrymen, Retief and his men, which we interred. They bear the marks of having been cruelly murdered. The sight of them must have moved the most unfeeling heart, and the account which the Zulu prisoners give of the affair shows that they must have fought desperately, though without any other weapons than their knives and some sticks which they wrested from the Zulus. Before they were overpowered, they say that twenty Zulus were killed and several wounded. The Zulus took nothing from them except their arms and horses. We found among their bones, independent of several other things, Mr. Retief's portmanteau, containing his papers, some of them very much defaced, but his treaty with Dingaan is still legible; the following is a copy thereof:—

“Umungundhlovu, 4th February, 1838.

“KNOW ALL MEN BY THIS, that whereas Pieter Retief, Governor of the Dutch African farmers, has retaken my cattle which Sikonyela had stolen from me, which cattle the said Retief now delivered unto me; I, Dingaan, King of the Zulus, do hereby certify and declare that I thought fit to resign unto him, Retief, and his countrymen the place called Port Natal, together with all the land annexed; that is to say, from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu River, westward, and from the sea to the north, as far as the land may be useful and in my possession. Which I did by this, and give unto them for their everlasting property.

“Mark + of DINGAAN.

“Witnesses:

“M. OOSTHUISEN,	+ MOARO,	} Great Councillors.”
A. C. GREYLING,	+ JULIAVIUS,	
B. J. LIEBENBERG,	+ MANONDO,	

We, the undersigned, A. W. J. Pretorius and Carel Pieter Landman, hereby certify and declare that the foregoing is a literal copy from the original found, among other papers, on the 21st December last, at the residence of Dingaan, in a leathern bag lying by the bones of the said Retief. We, the joint subscribers, Hercules Pretorius and P. du Preez, do likewise certify and declare that we found the document above-mentioned by the bones of the said late Retief, and which we knew by pieces of his clothes; the document being

among other papers in a leathern shooting bag, and which we delivered to the chief commandant; Evert Potgieter being also present when we found it. We are ready to verify this our certificate, if required, on oath.

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS, Chief Commandant,
C. P. LANDMAN, Commandant,
H. PRETORIUS,
P. DU PREEZ,
E. T. POTGIETER.

9th January, 1839.

Tugela River, January 9th, 1839.

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to communicate to you the continuation of my account touching our late commando, having now returned to the great camp. My first letter, dated 22nd December, I find still here, so that you will receive it at the same time with this. We all rejoice and feel grateful to God, and I have no doubt but many of you will participate therein.

Continuing my report, I must state that we removed our little camp from the residence of Dingaan somewhat nearer to the seashore, but before leaving it we caught a Zulu, who appeared to us to be one of Dingaan's great captains. He stated that Dingaan had burnt his residence because his people who had escaped out of the battle had dispersed; that he could, therefore, offer no further resistance, and he had no other alternative but to keep aloof, and to leave all the cattle between him and us, so that we, when pursuing him, might take the cattle and spare his life. I, however, perceived that he had no other view but to lead us treacherously into danger. We therefore removed our camp, as we thought, to a secure spot, not far from which the Zulus, without our knowing it, had concealed themselves in an inaccessible stronghold, scarcely a mile distant from our camp, but where we discovered them the next day. Leaving our camp, I marched with about three hundred men to the spot, but was obliged from the roughness of the weather, and as my hand was very painful, to return to the camp, where I had scarcely returned when fighting commenced in the mountains and kloofs. Our men were there soon surrounded by the enemy; they did everything to force their way, when the enemy rushed upon them from all sides, and, as they had to climb over large stones and rocks, the fighting lasted five hours before they were able to extricate themselves; and being

ultimately obliged to descend a steep crag, in order to find an outlet through the river to the field, they got intermingled with the enemy. The fighting was severe, and we are sorry to say that Mr. Biggar, from Natal, and five of our men were killed on that occasion.

As soon as they had left the place, the enemy returned to their stronghold. As our ammunition was much diminished, and our horses mostly knocked up, our men were obliged, without doing anything more, to return to the camp. It was difficult to state how many of the enemy were killed in this rencontre; many are the conjectures. I have, therefore, only confined myself to the best ascertained number of killed, being upwards of 1,000.

We remained three days in that spot, and attempted several times, by sending out patrols, to inveigle the enemy from their strongholds, but in vain. We then deliberated to renew our attack upon them there; but, finding that our best horses were unfit for further active service, we departed, and retreated very slowly in hopes that the enemy would have the courage to pursue us, and afford us an opportunity again to fight them, and to finish the war. But not perceiving them, we remained a few days on the spot, sending out patrols, who found about 5,000 head of cattle, on which occasion they had again to fight 100 Zulus, most of whom were killed. We further thought proper to take no further pains in the recovery of cattle, as we shall be obliged to send another commando to scour the country, when we trust, should it please God, to find them. We arrived here yesterday, and divided the cattle amongst those most in want of them.

The people in the camp are now as united as can be wished. I intend to return to my family and property at the Sand (or Modder) River, and to commence our march thence as soon as possible to this place. The wound of my hand is nearly cured.

I enclose this short outline of our proceedings, and assure you that I am, &c.,

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS.

P.S.—Major Charters is at Natal with a detachment of troops. He has taken temporary possession of the bay, with a view to make peace between us and the Zulus, which we will gladly do, if it can be effected with security to ourselves, and by getting back the cattle not yet recovered. We have sent him copies of some documents relative to the land. We are not acquainted with his instructions; but whatever measures Government may find necessary to adopt, we

hope they may not tend to compel us to penetrate further into the interior. To ask us to return to the colony will be useless.

The goods which we found near Dingaan's residence have been publicly sold for upwards of Rds. 6,000. Some of our very poor people will for a time re-cross the mountains in order to get game, as the booty captured by us was not sufficient to provide them enough food, but the others will commence ploughing and gardening.

(Signed) A. P.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

THE expedition to Port Natal under the command of Major Charters arrived off that port on the 3rd instant, and the troops landed immediately, occupying a position of defence within the harbour. There were but few of the emigrant farmers at that place or in the neighbourhood, a commando having gone forth against the Zulu chief on the 26th November.

The emigrants who remained in their camps are in good health, having an abundance of animal food, but almost entirely without any other nourishment. A quantity of rice and some other articles of supply had been landed for their use.

The detachment of troops was in excellent health, and no accident had occurred in their landing.

Communications had been made to the emigrants on commando, and to the neighbouring Amaondo chief; but no reply to either had been received up to the 16th instant, when Her Majesty's ship "Leveret," by which this intelligence was received, left Port Natal.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

Colonial Office, 28th December, 1838.

SECTION III.

1837—1840.

RECORD OR JOURNAL OF OUR MIGRATION FROM OUR MOTHER COUNTRY TO PORT NATAL.*

THIS record is written for the sake of my relations, children and grandchildren, now still residing in the interior, in order that they may know for what reason their parents and grandparents have forsaken their mother country, and what anxiety and anguish, grief and pain, destitution and distress, by reason both of foes and fire, have befallen us, and have been the cause of many a sad sigh and bitter tear; whilst, nevertheless, amidst these trying circumstances, we were being guided and guarded by our faithful God, our Father.

The reasons for which we abandoned our lands and homesteads, our country and kindred, were the following:—

1. The continual depredations and robberies of the Kafirs, and their arrogance and overbearing conduct: and the fact that, in spite of the fine promises made to us by our Government, we nevertheless received no compensation for the property of which we were despoiled.

2. The shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our slaves: and yet it is not so much their freedom that drove us to such lengths, as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity.

* "Cape Monthly Magazine," September, 1878.

3. But it is unnecessary to mention anything further just now about these questions, as I am aware that you are acquainted with these matters; but I shall rather relate to you what occurred to us on our expedition. Two bodies of people had left before us. The foremost were the Taljaards and Liebenbergs, among whom the first sad massacre was perpetrated by the great Kafir king (Masilikatzi*). At this battle, Potgieter with forty men defeated fully a thousand Kafirs, but we were ourselves not in that band. The rumours of this massacre, however, were the cause of our leaving the colony all the sooner, in order to hasten to the assistance of our brethren. The massacre committed by Masilikatzi took place on 2nd September, 1836. Another troop under the leadership of G. Maritz, as well as my aged father, François Retief, departed from the colony on 15th November, 1836, and I and my family had to stay behind, as my husband was very ill; but on 5th May, 1837, we also left the colony, alone with our children, servants, four wagons, and cattle. Our departure from Zeekoe River was accompanied with many troubles; for I had a sick husband and a sick child to attend to, and was myself suffering from a bad cold. The most difficult part of all still was, that we had to bury our lead and gunpowder under ground every day, and to send for them by night with a wagon. The reason of this was that we had a great deal of ammunition, and there was a prohibition against leaving with it. At length with great danger and much trouble we crossed the Orange River, and there I offered my thanks to God, because thus far He had helped us. Then to our misfortune we arrived among the Bastards, who received us very brutally, saying they had the right and orders to rob and despoil us of everything: for this tribe has since long ago been known to be the greatest thieves and robbers in the world. Our servants deserted us, and the girls, although weak and delicate, were obliged to lead and drive the wagons, nay even to drive the cattle on through all these ungovernable tribes. Our company was not increased: we were only with four wagons. Nevertheless we were cheerful, cherishing the hope of better days, consoling our hearts and longing for gladder times. We had, however, still to travel through two kinds of Bastards, the Korannas and Boschjesmans, with the loss of a number of our cattle and horses. With joy and gladness we reached the Riet River, and there we found a multitude of people, who were the first Christians whom we had seen on our long journey. Here we delayed

* Umailikasi.

twenty days on account of my husband being too ill to proceed further on the journey; but scarcely was he better than we set out with our four wagons. We then came into a desolate country, without any wood or manure (for fuel), where the grass was so high that we could hardly find the children and the cattle. Here also we had bitterly cold weather, and heavy rains.

At last we reached King Maroko, and the Kafirs came to meet us by hundreds, surrounding our four wagons like two walls. At the mission-house we delayed a little, and the great King Moshesh, with his servant and the clerk of Maroko, came to look if we had any slaves or apprentices by us, in order to take them away from us. After we left Maroko we had to experience severe trials, as we could find no road, and for that reason we had to wander hither and thither, and could find no one to show us the right way and give us instructions; but we saw abandoned kraals and encampments, and our cattle died in great numbers; and above all we were in a country destitute of wood, but full of deserted kraals, and here and there heaps of bones of tribes murdered and destroyed by Masilikatzi. Here there was an abundance of game of all kinds.

At length after four months' travelling we reached Sand River; but as we were quite on the wrong road, my son rode forward on horseback to see whether he could find anybody to show us the way, and to our great joy he succeeded on 24th August, 1838, to meet people; and on 25th I was delivered of my youngest child. Herein I perceived the truth of the word of the Lord, that when our needs are sorest He is nearest. Nevertheless we had not yet found the formed company of which Maritz was the leader, nor my father; but three days after the birth of my child, 28th August, Commandant Potgieter proceeded on his journey with all his company, and then we all came together.

It was, however, still too troublesome for us to travel forward with so many people, and for that reason we were compelled to pass through a burning country, where we were in great anxiety lest our children should be burned. A number of our cattle, and of others whole herds, were burned. In the course of our journey we travelled through the country of two kinds of Bastards, Korannas and Bushmen (Maroko and Moshesh). Now we had to go through the country of the great Masilikatzi, but as his power had been broken by Mr. Maritz we had nothing to fear from him.

When we had left the Sikonyela behind us, we met Mr. Piet Retief in the neighbourhood of Drakensberg with the first emi-

grants, as well as my aged father, François Retief, and the Rev. Mr. Smit. This caused us great joy, as we had in the first some one to execute our existing laws, and in the last-mentioned a minister to give instruction in God's word, to administer baptism and the holy sacrament, so that our religious service flourished. Every Sunday and every evening there were public services, and this made our journey through the wilderness pleasant, seeing that the Lord had not forsaken us.

Mr. Maritz had gone on with a part of the emigrants; but we soon after left, under the command of Mr. Retief, as far as the great Drakensberg; and from there Mr. Retief departed, with five men, for King Dingaan, to get the land from him, by purchase or by exchange, and in this he succeeded.

I must now relate to you something about Sikonyela. Whilst we remained on the Drakensberg, Sikonyela was found guilty of theft and robbery; for he had sent his people, on horseback, with guns and clothed, to Dingaan to steal cattle. We were not aware of this; but when Mr. Retief came to the king, the latter asking him whether he was not afraid to visit himself, as he had stolen his (the king's) cattle, Mr. Retief replied, "No; I have not done so." "Then," said the king, "you have fired on my people; they tell me it is the Malungus (white people) who have done so." After Mr. Retief had cleared himself of guilt, Dingaan entertained him in a friendly manner. This was mere hypocrisy, as you will see from the sequel.

Mr. Retief then started for the Bay. When he left King Dingaan, the latter gave him two chieftains and some of his people to see if any of his cattle were with Sikonyela. Mr. Retief then rode with the Kafirs and a portion of his men to Sikonyela, and found the cattle with him, and delivered them to the two chieftains to hand them over to the king.

With great difficulty we passed over the Drakensberg, and we encamped before the Great Tugela, when the emigrants under Mr. Maritz had collected together. Then the council resolved that Mr. Retief, after having convinced the king of the above-mentioned robberies, should go to acquire the land from him, which was done. He left us, accompanied by sixty-three men and three children, besides the "after-riders."

When Mr. Retief came to the king, the latter willingly gave him, as he had found the cattle at Sikonyela's, the country from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu as a present, according to the contract

which was afterwards found with the persons who were murdered. Nevertheless, all the friendliness of Dingaan proves that he intended carrying out a cruel and fearful murderous design, which he actually accomplished on 11th February, by the tyrannical murder of Mr. Retief and sixty-six other men; and on 17th February, the Kafirs attacked us also. Oh! dreadful, dreadful night! wherein so much martyred blood was shed; and two hundred innocent children, ninety-five women, and thirty-three men were slain, and hurled into an awful eternity by the assagais of those bloodthirsty heathens. Excluding the servants, the number was over four hundred souls. Oh! it was unbearable for flesh and blood to behold the frightful spectacle the following morning. In one wagon were found fifty dead, and blood flowed from the seam of the tent-sail down to the lowest. Ah! how awful it was to look upon all those dead and wounded. The following day we fled altogether to another encampment at Doornkop, between the Tugela and the Bushman's River. The massacre was perpetrated between Blaauwkrantz and Bushman's River. Mr. Maritz was at Doornkop with the first emigrants. The Kafirs came in in force in the daytime, but were gallantly repulsed and driven off by Mr. Maritz; and as the river was full, and the Kafirs had to go across, a large number was killed, so that the river ran as red as blood.

I must also tell you, my dear children, how it was that the Kafirs could so easily perpetrate the massacre that night. It was on account of disobedience and imprudence: the greater portion of the people were on the mission, and others engaged in buffalo-hunting; others, moreover, were on the road to the Drakensberg to assist their families in coming down: so that the Kafirs found the women and children quite alone, and sleeping peacefully. Mr. Retief had cautioned us at Doornkop to remain by each other till he came back, as he was ill at ease. He also wrote to us afterwards that we should not separate from each other; but the trouble we had with the cattle obliged many to proceed down the river with their families in small troops. We were alone, feeling secure and contented. Mr. Retief left his wife at Doornkop with Mr. Smit, and the Kafirs did not come there.

The day after our arrival there, the wounded (the women and children who were left) came; some on foot, some on horseback, and a portion in wagons. Our field-commandant, Mr. Piet Greyling, carefully provisioned and strengthened our encampment. He also took back our cattle from the Kafirs; that is to say, our sheep, as the oxen were across the river, which was full.

The commandant had the dead buried and the wounded attended to. On all sides one saw tears flowing, and heard people weeping by the plundered wagons, painted with blood; tents and beds torn to shreds; pregnant women and little children had to walk for hours together, bearing the signs of their hasty flight. Oh! how weary and fatigued were those women and children, and how terrible it was to see unborn children rent asunder by the murderous Kafirs. When the women came up to us, they fell upon their knees and thanked God for their deliverance out of the hands of the cruel tyrant. In our encampment there was nothing but lamentation and weeping. Every day we had to bury the dead bodies of the wounded. This spectacle, and the terrible circumstances, cannot be described by my pen.

In April our encampment was at Blaauwkrantz. There Field-commandant Piet Uys arrived. He went out with a commando, and perished with ten other men on the 10th May, 1838. The men who betrayed us, Stubbs and Blanckenberg, also went out on a marauding expedition to the Bay at the same time that our commando left; but the Kafirs flew round and murdered seventeen Englishmen, a number of Natal Kafirs, and also Stubbs; so that our betrayers fell into their own toils.

Thereafter, our whole force was assembled at the Blaauwkrantz River. Oh! my children, to live in so large a "laager" of a thousand wagons is hard, and it is also injurious to cattle. In July our laager went as far as Bushman's River. Listen now, my children, to my sad misfortunes.

On 2nd February your beloved younger sister died. On the 11th February the commission was murdered, amongst whom were my uncle Retief, his two sons, and other relations. On the 17th February the great massacre occurred. On the 10th May Piet Uys, with ten of his men, perished. On 23rd July your dear father died, and many other of our nearest relations and acquaintances. The last cases of death were probably caused by the dampness of our encampment, for nearly every day we had rain, and we could wear no shoes on account of the mud.

On the 10th August we were again attacked by the Kafirs at Bushman's River. Their bands were stretched out by thousands as far as the eye could see. It was a terrible sight to witness. I cannot describe their number, for one would have thought that entire heathendom had gathered together to destroy us. But thanks and praise are due to the Lord, who so wonderfully has rescued us out of the hands of our numberless and bloodthirsty foes, and

granted us the victory. Their foremost band wore clothes and had the guns of the killed, and swarmed down upon us, whilst the others surrounded us. Our number of fighting men was considerably diminished, for a portion was with Maritz at Tugela, and another portion had gone ahead to Port Natal, so that our strength consisted of only two field-commandants and two field-cornets, with their men. The names of the field-commandants and field-cornets were Joachim Prinsloo, Jacobus Potgieter, Johannes du Plessis, and Johannes de Lange. Thirty of Plessis' men and also a portion of Prinsloo's were with our cattle at the Drakensberg, so that we had only a few men capable of bearing arms at our laager, and the heathen had entirely overwhelmed us had God suffered them to do so. Now you may imagine, my dear children, in what a state of anxiety we women were when we beheld the onslaught of the enemy. The majority of the women consisted of widows and orphans. For we could not imagine that so few people would gain the victory; but the Lord strengthened us and weakened our enemy. They rushed down on us in a circle till almost within range of our guns. Then they attacked us at different points, so that our men were obliged to walk one behind the other to shoot down the enemy, now at one and then at another corner of the encampment. We had arranged our cannon so that they could not break into it. The Kafirs kept us busy for two days and two nights, and constantly fired at us, but not one of our men received any injury from their bullets, and seeing that a multitude of theirs were killed in that conflict, and that they were severely defeated, they left us with a war-song, and fired charges as far as we could hear them. The second day our men went in pursuit of them with the view of recovering our cattle, but the horses were too few and almost too famished in the encampment, so that they were obliged to return, and the enemy retained our cattle; but we thanked God for the preservation of our lives, with the exception of the loss of one man, who was murdered whilst with his sheep, and my faithful female slave who had fled from the encampment. After this occurrence we departed for Tugela, as Maritz wished his men to get out of the mountain. We remained together, however, for six months. In the meanwhile your brother, François Marthinus Hattingh, had left for the interior in order to collect a commando, and also to get horses in order to take away our cattle from the enemy, for there was famine among those who had been ruined by the enemy; but we assisted each other until we were entirely deprived of means of subsistence.

I was also married a second time to a stranger, a widower, named Thomas Engenaar Steenekamp. Mr. Maritz died; Mr. Retief had been murdered; Mr. Uys had been slain. All our leaders had been killed, and we were as sheep without a shepherd. On 10th November my son arrived with his uncle, Andries W. J. Pretorius, who was then by the general vote appointed head-commandant. He thereupon collected a commando, and had a fight with the Kafirs. Through God's blessing the Kafirs sustained a defeat, whilst a large number of them perished, and five of our men were killed. After the battle we left the Tugela in January, 1839, and arrived here at Pietermaritzburg. I must tell you what occurred to me on this last journey.

We left on the 20th January, and on the 23rd of the same month, my son, François Marthinus Hattingh, was killed by lightning during a violent thunderstorm, while he was with his cattle, at the age of twenty-eight years, and left a widow and two children behind to deplore his loss. Oh! what a blow it was for me and his whole family when he was snatched away by death. He was a peaceful man, respected and esteemed by everyone, and deplored by all. But the hand of the Lord doth what He willeth, and with death there is no respect of persons.

Since our arrival here we lived a whole year in laagers, and in the last of them a sad misfortune occurred to us. On the 28th August, 1839, at nine o'clock in the evening, our encampment caught fire through a little servant girl lighting a candle; and some had already gone to bed when the fire broke out, but we were still busy, teaching the children. Suddenly a cry was raised of "Kafirs!" and we did not think otherwise than that our enemies had put the encampment on fire. As soon as the first house stood in flames, all the rest caught fire. The laagers were plentifully supplied with lead and gunpowder; for our father, Steenekamp, alone had a barrel containing six hundred pounds of powder, and the other houses were full of the same article, so that it was very dangerous to remain within the encampment. I fled with my twelve children out of the gate, as I was afraid of the fire and of the reported Kafirs, and went as far as the first hollow; further I could not go. Afterwards the other women followed me, and there we remained until the fire was burned out. Then I received information who the persons were that had perished in the fire; and people also told me that my husband was amongst the number: but this message gave me no anxiety, as I thought that it was impossible that the whole of us should have our

lives spared. That night I had still more terrible thoughts : it was, in short, like unto the Day of Judgment ; and the words of St. Peter occurred to my mind, when he says : " The day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night : in which the heavens and earth shall pass away with loud noises, and the elements shall burn and be destroyed ; and the earth and the works which are within it shall be burnt." The most terrible part still of that night was to see when the gunpowder caught fire, and the pieces of the wagons around us flew about in all directions. As soon as the danger was passed, we betook ourselves again to the laager to assist the injured and bury the dead. When the first house caught fire, there were ten men to quench the flames, and when the gunpowder ignited three of them were killed, and the others severely injured. A trading wagon containing a large quantity of powder also caught fire. Two men attempted to save it, whereby one was so severely injured that he died immediately afterwards, and the other lived a short time. The gunpowder wagon was in the middle of the encampment. Two white children and two little Kafirs were burned to death in the house. The following day we found nine dead and twelve wounded, lying in the ashes. The heat was so intense that we could not take out the dead that night. Everything belonging to us was roasted and broiled : four wagons, nine " salted " fat oxen, as also fat, soap, salt, sugar, &c., were consumed, for we were wealthy, and provided with everything. Thirteen houses also were burned down. We had to sit by the fire the whole night, without clothing or bedding. Some of the wives and mothers were weeping, for they had seen their husbands and sons perishing in the fire. We, poor women and little children, had to struggle through many serious trials on account of the cold and the enemy, as we lay by night beside the houses ; but to remain by so great a fire, wherein so many people were burned, was a still greater hardship ; and the night was bitterly cold. In the morning of the following day, we bound the bones in a counterpane and buried them in a hole. There were three Steenekamps, two Potgieters, one Deventer, two children, and two Kafirs burned : and two Steenekamps severely injured, of whom my husband was one, but by God's goodness he recovered.

Here now, my dear children and friends, you may see with what sad misfortunes I had to struggle in my journey of twenty months before we had a home or a shelter. Shortly after the fire we were visited by measles, through which a great many deaths occurred. My old husband and myself had alone to provide for twenty-three

children and grandchildren who were laid up, and who had to be attended by us, without house or tent, in only a wagon. Several days I was so weak through these exertions that I could hardly endure it; but God be praised, who has strengthened me in body, so as to bear the burdens which He has laid upon us; so then I was able to perform my duties.

For about two years after this we lived quietly, securely, and at peace with all the surrounding tribes, so that every one was again beginning to acquire the means of subsistence; for the country is very fertile, so that one could very well make a living, if not visited by wars or other misfortunes. But to our grief and sorrow the peace was again disturbed, and all our dreams of prosperity and happiness vanished; for on 6th May, 1842, Captain Smith arrived in the bay of Port Natal, and on the 25th of that month he attacked us. He came along the shore of the sea with pieces of cable twisted round the axles of his gun-carriages. Here, also, my darlings, I wish you to see how the Lord has visibly assisted our men; for in spite of all the treachery displayed in this war, and all the heavy ordnance brought to bear against us, five men only were killed, whilst two were murdered by the Kafirs. Women and children were stripped of their clothes, and had to fly naked. Farms and lands were laid waste by the heathens, and again much cattle was taken from us by the Kafirs, so that we, through the unceasing thefts of the Kafirs, again fell into poverty. On 15th July, the first Cloete arrived at Pietermaritzburg, and made peace with eleven persons, and fixed that day to be celebrated as a festival of happiness for us and for our children. On 9th May, 1843, the second Cloete arrived here, and we were fated to be deprived of the land which we had earned and bought: that was the satisfaction promised us.

But, my dear friends and children, I may finally mention, that if everything remains in the same unfortunate position as it is already, we shall be completely ruined; and it is possible that, after a few months, you will meet with very few of your kindred at Port Natal, for we are entirely impoverished, and wish to travel inland, if God grants us health and His blessing.

Your affectionate Mother and Grandmother,

(Signed) ANNA ELIZABETH STEENEKAMP

(née RETIEF).

THE ZULUS.

[VOYAGE DANS L'AFRIQUE—AUSTRALE. DELEGORQUE.]

AFTER having lived nearly a year among a people so interesting as the Zulus, I have summed up what I have learned of them, and am about to place my observations accurately before the eyes of the reader.

The Zulus inhabit South-Eastern Africa. Their country is bounded on the north by the River Umpongola, which discharges its waters into De la Goa Bay; on the south by the Tugela. It is washed on the eastern shore by the Indian Ocean; and on the west the mountains of the Kwahlambda separate it from the country of the Mantatees.

The climate of Zululand is generally warm, that which from the first gained for it from the Boers the name of the "Warmeveld" (Warm Field). In fact, it lies between the 27th and 29th degrees of south latitude; and its elevation above the waters of the Indian Ocean is not sufficiently great to make the winter rigorously cold. For this reason the Zulus differ in their customs from other natives more to the west, though both live in the same latitude.

The Zulus are the men of best shape among those of Kafir race. Their stature, less than that of the English, and much less than that of the Boers, is equal, in my estimate, to that of the French: but it is more graceful in its general proportions: it is light, elegant, and firm: the muscles are strongly developed, without indicating leanness. We find in them strength combined with grace, power with agility, suppleness throughout, and never any constraint as to deportment in their attitude. Their features have, indeed, something of the negro type: thus, for instance, the width of the mouth, the thickness of the lips, the size and whiteness of the teeth, the shape, far from bold, of the nose, the angle of the edges of the nostrils, the woolly hair, the brownish-black colour of the skin, and its smell. In all that, a certain analogy may be found, and yet nothing at all in the exaggerated degree, common to the negro. Frequently even, and that has always surprised me, the general aspect of their physiognomy more nearly approaches that of the Europeans.

In order to be better understood, I will say that I have often found in myself a sympathy with the Zulu physiognomy, whereas I

never felt anything but repulsion for that of the negroes, whom I have long known, whether at Senegal, the Gambia, the Gulf of Guinea, or the West Indies, whether French, English, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, or Swedish, all which I have visited. I would add that the children sprung from the intercourse of the blue-eyed, fair-haired English with Zulu women are perfect in shape; that their features, without being regular according to our idea, are nevertheless very handsome, and that the expression of sweetness noticeable in them is infinitely agreeable. Now, such are not the mulattos of our colonies whose mothers have been negresses from Congo or Guinea.

It frequently happens that Zulus are seen with aquiline nose, thin lips, clear complexion, long beard, who have no European blood in their veins, and seen in profile these men have exactly our features. Their eye, dark as our own, is the reverse of open, its form is lengthened, and it shines much: expression constantly animates it, and makes it in great degree possible to guess the disposition of each, if however we except men in high station, who have learned in early life to deceive by their look. Panda, King of the Zulus, whom I have long known and observed, possessed above all the faculty of never permitting his eye to betray his thoughts. A frank and very engaging smile beautifies, besides, the physiognomy of these people and predisposes in their favour.

The Zulus, in spite of the cruel thorns of the mimosa, which everywhere beset the footways in the wooded tracts, in spite of sharp and wounding stones, have resigned themselves to giving up their sandals and walking barefoot: Chaka, the contemporary of Napoleon, the organizer of the tribe, who knew how to impose severe discipline, would have it so, being convinced that warriors without shoes* are more active and ready. The Zulus have their heads shaved and bare; a single circle of hair of elliptic form, five inches in diameter, bare within, is reserved as a head-piece. It serves as a base for several twists of straw, sewn together and firmly fixed, which is covered with a layer of dark wax. It is for the purpose of fixing

* Before Chaka, the Zulus were not numerous. They wore sandals, and in their battles they hurled the assagai, as the Amakosa Kafirs still do. Above all, they charged in a mass, and without observing any orderly arrangement. Chaka formed regiments of a thousand men each. He did away with the sandal, and enjoined on every warrior that he should take but one assagai, which was to be exhibited after a fight, stained by the blood of an enemy. The struggle then could only be hand to hand, and in the encounter every Zulu warrior broke the shaft of his weapon to handle it more easily. This new way of fighting, unknown to the neighbouring nations, and which seemed to speak of something desperate, facilitated Chaka's conquests to such a degree, that in the twelve years of his reign he succeeded in destroying more than a million of men. This is the number estimated by Capt. Jervis, who, during my stay at Natal, busied himself with the history of these people.

upright the dress feather, needles of wood or iron, their snuff-boxes, made of the cocoons of the bombyx, their ivory snuff-spoons, little blown bladders of birds, tufts of the turaco or the widow-bird, many little matters of usefulness or ornament, that the man is thus crowned. It is, moreover, the distinctive mark of the warrior, the "abafana," or young people, wearing their hair in its natural growth.

In consequence of this state of bareheadedness (the Zulus know how to shave very well with the blades of assagais, made by themselves, and not in any way tempered), the bony case of the skull acquires a very remarkable thickness. This observation, which I had many opportunities of making, is corroborated by that of the Zulus themselves in their wars with the whites. The warrior who, by the thrust of his umkonto (assagai), has pierced and overthrown his antagonist, immediately changes his weapon; he takes a small club or knobbed stick, made of tambootiwood or of the horn of the rhinoceros: his object is to shatter the skull, so as to be certain that his adversary shall not rise to his feet again. Every time, then, that the Zulus had to do with people of their own kind they had to deal a very violent blow for the attainment of their purpose; whilst, on the contrary, in fights with the English and Dutch, a slight stroke sufficed to make the skull fly into chips; and this astonished them, and they assumed it as a reason for undervaluing white men.

Being essentially warriors, the men never go about unarmed. The armour consists of a large shield made of ox-hide, of five or six assagais, and of a knobbed stick ("tonga"). This is a useful precaution, and specially so because their country abounds in herbivorous animals, dangerous when bounding up suddenly, such as buffaloes, rhinoceroses, and elephants, which are more formidable by day than lions or leopards. I would not, however, be understood to mean that these weapons are powerful enough; but an armed man feels greater confidence, and, besides, it is customary, in order to avoid the risk of a charge by wild animals, to make those that are in cover run off by making a noise. Now, the Zulus make this noise by striking their shields with the shaft of their assagai.

The Zulus do not practise circumcision; they have even an excessive repugnance to it, and despise the races distinguished by the custom. So that their "mutyas," or garments worn for modesty, are rather made with a view to ornament than for concealment. They consist simply of a dozen strips of the fur of the wild cat, which, kept in position by a slight girdle, start from the groin, fall

elegantly, are lifted from below, and support a small capôte of skin that covers the prepuce. At the back, from the middle of the croup, five or six false tails, two feet long, float easily, giving a very picturesque effect, either when these men run or walk. * * *

The ordinary costume of the Zulu is simply composed of the "mutyas" which I have described. The rest of that seen on their persons consists only of some object of use or luxury. About the neck one sees collars of glass beads, the teeth and claws of the lion, leopard, or eagle; bits of root, or little satchels containing simples (pounded) that serve as medicines, but never of "gris-gris," for the Zulus have no knowledge of the value of talismans, so prized by the negroes of Guinea and Senegal. Their arms are also sometimes adorned by straps or rings of leather, or with rings made from the entrails of animals; but their ears, pierced in large holes, always support segments of Spanish reed, closed at the ends, and containing tobacco dust.

When evening comes, and the cows are being milked, when the ground becomes cold, everyone wears his night cloak or dressing-gown; but this cloak has nothing of gracefulness, and indicates only a manufacture in its initial state. It is usually an ox-skin of which the thickness has been reduced, and rendered supple by the application of grease, and, above all, by the help of the leaf of the thorny aloe, which they use as a stalk for tearing away the inner tissue, the hairy side being that which touches the person.

One who has only seen their ordinary dress is greatly astonished at the spectacle of a number of armed men in their war-dress. This I experienced to a great extent; but I fear that I should not be able to describe with exactness, or rather, I doubt whether any one can represent, all that there is of picturesque in the dress, so original and graceful, of the Zulus. In fact, here is a warrior ready to give the parting salute to his king:

His head is decked with a pad of otter-skin, resembling a lady's boa; but this pad, solidly constructed, passing over the forehead and secured at the back, has a useful purpose. It has to blunt the effect of a blow from the "tonga," or club, at the same time that by its gloomy colour, and the dimness which it throws over the features, it imparts an implacable air to the wearer. From the front of this pad rises straight up a feather of the Numidian crane, the long and delicate tip of which bends in the wind, as if trembling with impatience, whilst behind it, tufts of feathers of all colours, grouped as in a bouquet, are fixed to the back of the Kafir crown. At the right

and left two bits of jackal-skin, cut square, six inches in the side, drop from under the pad covering the ears. The Zulus say that these ear-covers have a very useful purpose : that of making the warrior incapable of hearing either the maledictions or entreaties of his enemies, so that he is out of the reach of the influences of fear or compassion.

From the neck to the waist, both in front and behind, the man is wholly covered with strips of ox-skin ; his right arm has to be similarly decked, but the left, required for the shield, is naked. From the waist to the knee, drops the graceful and costly "simba," a war-frock made of four hundred rolls of the skin of the civet, a thick garment, which adapts itself to every movement and readjusts itself. Lower down are seen white tails, fastened as from a garter, and of which the hair protects the calf of the leg and the shin. About the feet, in the region of the ankle, are ruffles, also made of ox-tails, but cut short, and intended to protect the upper part either from thorns or from being bruised in an encounter.

This description is precisely that of the picked regiments. Others do not wear the "simba," but the everyday "mutya." They seem to wish to make up for the want of it by tufts of feathers fixed on the fore-part of the crown, and leaning against the forehead, and also by waving bunches of tails of "*Emberiza longi-caudata*" (the widow-bird), which have an admirable appearance in the swift run of those who are sent as heralds or envoys, whom one follows with the eye as one would an arrow in its flight. Then, too, the ruffles on the ankle recall very exactly the wings that fancy has lent to the feet of Mercury.

I also saw regiments that have adopted the ostrich plume ; but either because amongst us it is part of the female garb, or that their whiteness was questionable, it did not appear to me to suit the warrior. Others distinguished themselves specially by a bunch of the feathers of the widow-bird attached to a twig, worn horizontally, and having a length of three feet. When a dance takes place, or a war-song is chanted, at a certain indicated part the line of men bowing down raise the gigantic ornament, and thus add generally to the appearance of height. The effect was prodigious. But, apart from this, the savage aspect of this feathery ornament seemed to weigh down those whom it ought to have decorated or made formidable in their appearance.

The slave-dealers have never found their way to these people, probably because the Zulus had a reputation of unusual ferocity, and

also because of their ideas regarding war. They think it absurd that a conqueror should spare the life of his adversary, and they kill any they meet in fight. The women, even the young girls, to whom they attach so much value, in consideration of their cost, are not always spared.

Among them the man looks on himself as born to be a warrior or hunter, and if it falls to his lot to build huts and to cut wood, the reason is that male strength is required for the purpose; but as for the hoe, which is the implement of agriculture, a Zulu Kafir would think himself dishonoured by touching it. To hoe, to sow, to weed, to reap, to prepare food, to carry water or wood, to keep neat order in the hut, all these occupations fall to the lot of the women. Any man who, being deprived of his wife and family, should be under the hard necessity of handling a hoe, receives the nickname of "umfogazana;"* but he is not the only one. Others would equally deserve it who might eat meats interdicted by stupid prejudices, however wholesome and even dainty the meat: such as that of the rhinoceros ("simus"), of the wild boar ("sus larvatus"), and, above all, fish, without exception of kind. Anyone who should have used the inner fat of the eland (*bucephalus oreas*) infallibly loses, according to their belief, all power of procreation. A woman would even refuse to let her husband come near her if his fingers had touched a boa-python, a crocodile, or hyena; but this at least is more reasonable.

Married women have usually no other dress than an "ingubu," made in the same way as the man's night-mantle, but with more of art. It is of darkened otter-skin, often greased and perfumed, and has the appearance of black cloth with a long nap. At night this "ingubu" serves as a coverlet; by day it is attached below the waist, where the part protruding forms a thick border, whilst the greater part, which forms a petticoat, descends to a length, less or greater, according to the rank of the wearer. Thus, in the women of quality, it reaches and covers the extremities of the feet. This same garment folds over and is open in front. These ladies wear as an ornament a girdle made of bark or straw, placed immediately above the fold of the "ingubu;" on the neck collars of glassware, eggs, blood-coloured beads; on their arms circlets or large rings of brass polished by frequent rubbing. Their heads, shaved as those of the men are, retain only at the crown a small tuft of hair, which they

* "Umfogazana," a man who does not respect himself, a clown, a poor devil, a sorry fellow, a pariah.—*Delegorgue*.

take care to cover with a pomatum coloured by the admixture of red ochre: the coquettes have this set in order, pinned and garnished every day. For this purpose, the one whose toilet is to be attended to, lies flat on a mat, her face downwards, whilst the lady hair-dresser, on her knees, attends to her office with the most serious attention.

When a woman is pregnant, she covers her neck with an "ndwangu," which comes down on the person to meet the "ingubu." It is most frequently made from the skin of an antelope (*cephalopus mergens Burchellii*), skilfully worked, and probably worn to avoid the risk of chill from exposure to free air. After child-birth the mother girds herself with an apron, reaching from the loins to a fastening on the fore-part of the neck, and covering the shoulders. It serves also to secure the infant on its mother's neck; for, notwithstanding her assiduous industry, she will not separate herself from her nursling.

The costume of the young girls is still more simple. A girdle* of fringes three feet long elegantly surrounds the person; besides this only a necklace of beads. If questioned as to the scantiness of their attire, these young women reply that a girl (*intombi*) must show herself such as she is in order to find a husband. Nevertheless, scanty as it is, the covering answers every purpose of modesty; for the carriage of these girls so adapts itself to their want of clothing, their attitude, resulting from the consciousness of exposure, is so much conformed to it that the man of the greatest severity notices nothing that would call for censure.†

Children wear no clothing of any kind until they reach the age of seven or eight years. In this unfettered state they frolic about in the broad sunlight, and their bodies develop themselves with all the freedom intended by nature. It is not surprising that they grow up to be men strong, active, and above all robust.

Some trace of tattooing is found among the Zulus, but only among the women; it is usually in the shape of two squares, joined at opposite angles, as on a draft-board. These squares are made by numerous incisions effected with the sharp point of a weapon, and the scars of these rise in relief of a darker colour. The young girls

* Worn above the hips.

† The thing will be better understood if I say with confidence that nothing is revealed to sight that ought to be concealed, and that these unclad beauties find in the simple modesty of their gestures and movements a veil far more impenetrable than the ball-dress of European ladies: but to be convinced of the truth of this, one must have personally noticed it.

thus marked on one side only, above the region of the loins, have a greater value when a bargain has to be made for their acquisition by a suitor.

Polygamy exists among these people in every sense of the word—for among the Zulus the number of wives is the only real wealth; but under the reigns of Chaka and Dingaan it has been forbidden to the chosen troops, the warriors not being allowed a claim for a single wife. * * * *

A Zulu finds a girl whom he admires; he addresses himself first to her—then to her parents. The custom is for the latter never to offer any hindrance to the match. There is then some parley as to the price to be paid by the lover, in order to indemnify the parents for the expense of bringing up the young girl. The agreement is made for the payment of ten cows, to be handed over at once, or at specified intervals. Strictly speaking, ten cows in calf suffice for the bargain; and the friends insist at once that the day shall be fixed for a dance.

When the day comes, the gathering takes place in the neighbourhood of the “muzi” of the bridegroom, who holds himself aloof, surrounded by a company composed of males only. Groups of young girls take up positions, here and there, under shady tufts of trees, keeping in the midst of them the betrothed, whose toilet takes place in the open air, assisted by very many officious hands, and whose wits are disturbed by the thousands of good wishes which her companions emulously offer her. Soon the clash of shields resounds from the middle of the “muzi.” This recalls the idea of warriors engaged in battle or the chase. Expectation is on the watch to see them appear; but, instead, an indescribable sortie takes place: the old women of the “mnzi,” the matrons with faces blotched with white and red, their heads decked with clinging foliage, escape in confusion, armed with spear and buckler, uttering sinister shouts, and affecting terror. They go to some distance, separate, cross each other in every direction, and return to the point from which they set out: real bacchantes, they raise cries that are astonishing, repeated by echo to a distance—until, when they cease, silence announces that the dance is about to begin.

The several groups draw near each other after this singular summons. The men go down to the middle of the enclosure, and the band of females is not slow in following; then songs are commenced, amidst clapping of hands and stamping of feet. Bodies move, faces become expressive, the limbs soon shine with grease and

perspiration. From time to time beer is served out in large vessels; beer, having some relish of wine, sparkling and palatable, and diffusing a joy of frankest character. The cow destined for the fare of the guests falls bellowing under the blade of the assagai. Immediately after, and without interruption, the meat smokes on burning coals. Men and women eat, drink, and dance, all at the same time; until the fatigue of the pleasure constrains even the most ardent to rest themselves. At these weddings, beautiful in their simplicity, no one of sacerdotal character is present. * * *

Now, if anything deserves our admiration, assuredly it is the conduct that will be evinced by the first wife to the Zulu husband. All her efforts are henceforth directed to make her husband rich enough by her work to acquire a second wife—that is the first triumph, the result of which is to open up for her a future of more extensive views and greater ease: for the proceeds of the labour of the two wives are to bring about, without long delay, the acquisition of a third wife; and the greater the number of wives, the greater becomes the ease of their condition, and the higher the consideration of the first wife. Magelebe, a captain whom I knew, had sixty wives—the first had the title and rank of “Inkosikazi,” or princess.

The most perfect harmony reigns in these households; all these wives of a single husband love each other even more, I venture to say, than sisters. They never quarrel; and how, indeed, could a quarrel arise since the women are absolutely unconscious of such a sentiment as jealousy? But, a strange thing! the children of one of them are the children of all. A son has as many mothers as his father has wives. “These are my mothers,” said my full-grown Kafir servant, Nanana, to me when four old women embraced him with equal warmth. “Four? No, that is impossible; every human being has but one: show me your real mother, so that I may make her a present.” “I have a great many more than four,” replied the great grown-up fellow, who never satisfied my question, because, loving them all equally, he would have feared, in naming only one, to hurt the others in their family affection.

Assuredly polygamy, if generally understood to be what it is among the Zulus, would be preferable to monogamy, since it corresponds more to the dictate of nature, and results in good to the race; but I have no right to insist on these considerations. But it is right to mention how the Kafir women conduct themselves during the time of nursing their infants. From the time of the child's birth until it is weaned, a Zulu woman holds herself aloof from her husband—all

her care, all her being, is devoted to the development of her child : for the child alone she seems to live. The husband then foregoes all claim to her ; and thus it happens that a Kafir, having ten wives, thinks still that he has too few, and all his aim is to become the possessor of twenty.

The character of this people has many points of resemblance to that of the French. If a parallel be drawn between the Zulus and the several tribes of the Mantatee Kafirs more to the west, it will be found that the Zulus are the French of South-Eastern Africa, while the hard-tongued Mantatees, divided into a hundred different principalities, represent in that region the Germanic race. It should be understood, too, that under Chaka the part played by the Zulus in these countries has been very similar to that of the French in Europe under Napoleon. They then carried their victorious arms in every direction, wiping away from the face of the earth races who are remembered at this day only by enclosures of stone in ruins ; the structure, however, being only a piling-up without cement.

The Zulu is born haughty, and possesses a feeling of nationality in a high degree. He is valiant and brave in war, and would even be generous to his enemies if his system of warfare were different. In peace he is kind, ready to oblige, and very hospitable, though very distant with strangers. But, his confidence once gained, he is ready to place himself at the disposal of the traveller, excepting always in regard to any task which he may look upon as ignoble. On the other hand, he readily accepts presents offered him—often he begs for them and becomes importunate. He possesses a great fund of gaiety, to which he gives vent with relish in amusing conversation. He gives himself up, body and mind, to the dance and the song : he is not less fond of the war-dance, in which women take no part. He loves to exhibit in it all his warlike propensities. Music works all its effect on him ; but he is poor in musical instruments.

The Zulu is easily excited to enthusiasm. One sees him bound like a lion under the influence of political passion. Then blood flows in streams. The brother spears his brother, in disregard of the cries of his relatives. He becomes fanatical, frantic : devoted to the service of his chief, he boasts of excesses committed for his sake. Besides this, discipline is respected by him far more than by any European people. He walks in the direction of death without hesitating or flinching, and this equally whether he is to inflict or to undergo it ; for, according to his ideas, nothing is more beautiful than to die for the service, or at the bidding, of his king.

He is too eminently a warrior, too disinterested to have a disposition to trade. He remains impassive at the sight of advantage in a bargain. He sometimes accepts, but never puts himself out of his way for the attainment of any gain. Gifted with very clear judgment, and a penetration that astonishes, he accepts with the greatest reserve all that may be said to him about things of which he has no knowledge. If they are vague, if they do not address themselves to the senses, he seems to acquiesce for want of anything to oppose; but many hours of discourse leave him as really sceptic as ever. The Zulu has a brilliant varnish of urbanity: he has a politeness and ease of manner that contrast singularly with the rudeness and dulness, not only of certain Kafirs farther inland, but of the Boers. He has a very high opinion of himself, which he sometimes allows himself to exhibit by a kind of contempt for everything European. Luxury is looked upon by him as folly. Really useful things, but of which the use requires little or no courage, are rejected as tending to enfeeble distinguished qualities. For that reason he will not have firearms—the arms of a coward, as he says, for they enable the poltroon to kill the brave without awaiting his attack. His ideas as to wounds received in war resemble those of a Spartan: he is proud of pointing to those received on his chest; but a Zulu warrior attaches great importance to not having his back marked by a scar—even more, perhaps, than a pretty French woman would do.

Every Zulu is very jealous of his rights over his wives, who, moreover, are very virtuous. The young girls are much more free, but they are held in check by the fear of not contributing ten cows to their relatives; and this reason for restraint quite suffices.

The government of the Zulus derives its form from the patriarchal. This of all systems is the most natural. But susceptible as it is of extension, it soon assumes exaggerated proportions, and wraps itself in all that is most hideous in despotism. The eldest son of the king's first wife succeeds his father; but there are such a multitude of sons, that not unfrequently an ambitious one among them kills his brother and climbs on to the throne in his stead. Chaka, Dingaan, and Panda have all followed this course: all three the sons of Senzagakona. All three have ascended to power over ruins, after an assassination or a war. Chaka had killed his father Senzagakona. He was assassinated by Dingaan with his own hand, and Dingaan was expelled by Panda. Each of these, when seizing the reins of government, promised to exercise power with moderation; but each of them, as soon as he believed himself to be firmly seated, set him

self to rage in the most cruel manner, in order to spread terror everywhere, and to reign grandly by dint of terror. Thus Panda, the present king, who had saved himself from the death with which he was threatened by Dingaan, once invested with the royal power, no sooner felt that he dared to do it, than he gave orders for the massacre of his brothers, as well as of any of the principal men of the nation who were obnoxious to him. And, unhappily, in these political assassinations, all the people living in the "muzi," in which the men of rank dwell, marked as his victims, perished indiscriminately.

The king, in the daily discharge of his functions, is constantly assisted by three councillors, to whose expressions of opinion as to what should be done he listens. Unfortunately, under the immediate will of the despot, these men never dare to offer any opposition. I have seen them quail under Panda's glance, and always speak eloquently as he would wish, applaud the conclusions arrived at by him, and flatter him in every way afterwards. The king would indeed find it much for his interest to surround himself with upright and outspoken men : he would do well not to intimidate them : he should even leave them quite free in discussion ; for, notwithstanding the exercise of the most absolute despotism, there are three days in every year when the nation has the right to call the king to a severe account for his actions.

It is at the general meeting of the warriors, when the maize is ripe, that lively discussions occur ; there are free interrogations, to which the king is bound to reply, and so as to satisfy the people. I have seen simple warriors rush out of the ranks, transform themselves into orators full of warmth, energetic to excess, not only withstand Panda's scorching glance, but even denounce him in presence of all, blame his acts, stigmatise them as infamous, as cowardly, oblige him to explain, destroy the reasoning in his answers, dissecting them and unmasking their falsehood ; then threatening him proudly, and ending with a gesture of contempt. I have also seen, in consequence of such discussions, the king's party and that of the opposition on the point of rushing on each other. I have seen the voice of the despot disregarded, and that a revolution might have broken out on the spot, if only a single ambitious man had taken advantage of the indignation of those opposed to the king. But that which did not less surprise me was the order which ensued after the termination of this kind of popular tribunal.

When the question arises of declaring war against a neighbouring

State, or when some provision has to be made for general security, the king calls together all his captains, not fewer than 3,000. He excludes none, ascertains the prevailing opinion, and adopts it as his own. He is free to take the command of his armies himself, to inhabit any of the royal residences which he may prefer, or to proceed to any point at his option. Governors, who have the title of great captains, divide the control of the territory. These officers sometimes have under their rule as many as sixty or eighty "muzis." They represent the king, and give judgment in civil cases. It is through their agency that Panda acts in all that is going on. They are responsible for the spirit animating their subordinates, and the smallest negligence exposes them to a sentence of death. It is true that they have no right to inflict punishment, because, death being the only mode of repressing crimes and offences among the Zulus, the king reserves to himself the right of pronouncing it. Notwithstanding this state of things, the governors of a province are obeyed as implicitly as the king himself. A somewhat numerous guard is always quartered at the king's residence. It is maintained by the monarch, who takes care to levy from the nation taxes equal to twice the amount of the charge. The receipt of the tax is established in a variety of ways, but very irregularly. The tax is always proportioned to the king's wants, without any due regard to the circumstances of the population.

The women, who live at no great distance from the royal residences, are bound to devote several days every year to the cultivation of the king's lands. The men living in the neighbourhood, who are not in a position to contribute in any way, either in cattle or grain, are bound to render to the king any services he may require. Those who live at a distance, if iron ore happens to abound there, acquit themselves of their part of the impost by supplying a certain number of assagais and picks forged by themselves, the latter being for hoeing the land. Those who live near forests, and are much addicted to hunting, send to the king a supply of furs.

When a locality is known to produce a superior quality of Kafir-corn or maize, the king knows how to give the inhabitants to understand that they have to cultivate a greater extent, so that, without any stint to themselves, they may furnish a stated quantity of fiscal grain. If the resident population is not sufficiently numerous, the king orders the owners of certain kraals to dislodge and settle themselves on the suitable spot.

The Zulus are specially dependent for their living on the increase

of their cattle: milk and meat constitute their chief food. In peace the cereals are very valuable to them; but for many years war has been so constantly undertaken or carried on by them, that herds are always regarded as the main resource. It is probably for this reason that the women only busy themselves with agriculture.

In respect to cultivated plants, those most commonly found in the Zulu gardens are the Indian-corn, the Kafir-corn, the varieties of millet, gourds, watermelons, the calabash, the small black haricot bean, the round haricot, which grows underground, and has some resemblance to the ground-pistachio, native sugar-cane, growing here and there, and a variety of roots, none of which are like the "igname," so useful in Senegal and Guinea. Some gardens also produce the small sweet "patata," which is excellent; but the potato is not known to these people. One also sees plants of "gwayi" (tobacco), which are allowed to grow to a height of twelve or fifteen feet, the leaves of which are pounded to dust, and used as snuff; as also plants of "sangu," which is only the European hemp, and raised for smoking, the smoke being inhaled through water in horns.

It calls for remark that the Zulus do not cultivate a tree of any kind; these woody growths, requiring the lapse of long time for their development, have always been neglected. I can think of no cause more just for their not being cultivated. The Zulus never manure the soil: a spot becoming exhausted by cultivation, the kraal is removed to some other; it would then be necessary to sacrifice good and useful trees, which wild animals would destroy in preference to others. And, besides, there are an abundance of wild trees and shrubs, of which the fruits, though acid, suffice to suit the taste of the natives. I would, however, point out that the vine and fig-tree would be of very great value to them, if they could be introduced; and, in like manner, the native fruits of this country would not be without advantage to Europe, if the trees were transplanted and acclimatised there. To do this, skilled men should be specially sent, as the only means likely to be attended with good result. Have we not at the present day our colony of Algeria, so similar in climate? Would it not offer, preferably to other localities, all the conditions favourable for the acclimatization of the vegetable growth of Kaffraria? It seems to me that success would be certain. I thought this, whilst on the spot; but the fortune, or, to express it otherwise, the means greatly too limited, that an individual has at his command in travelling did not permit me to venture on such experiments.

When food fails—when, by reason of wars being waged, harvests

have been ravaged by hostile cattle, when the corn-pits (a kind of silos) have been cleared by the conquerors—the Zulus have recourse to the store provided by nature. If they are in season, wild fruits are gathered and dried by them; if the season is too far advanced, the bulbs are sought out for the consumption of the day, and of some weeks to come. Later on, they must have recourse to the roots of woody vegetables, which have the toughness of firm bushes. These have them widespread, of a brownish black exteriorly and whitish yellow within, the substance of which forcibly and patiently pounded serves for a boiled compound, by no means very nutritive, and somewhat resembling that of which pasteboard is made. It is not a little bitter, but as albumen prevails in it, the stomach is able to derive sustenance from it, although it rejects it after some days of constant use.

I have myself on occasion been obliged to accept these products of nature and use them, for want of any animal substance in places where no other sustenance could be offered me. As to dry bulbs, I found that mastication did not suffice, the "residuum" did not satisfy the stomach, whilst if I had to satisfy myself with roots bruised in a mortar, I felt that mastication was not required indeed, but that the stomach took in a food which exercised it without any beneficial result, and even detrimentally, by reason of the contracting effect worked by the tannin. The bark and gum of the "*Mimosa Nilotica*" are used in a case of distress; but nourishment of that kind does but delay the approach of death from inanition. In other circumstances I had the wild date cut down; and sometimes I procured from the simple "*gladiolus*," at a few inches above the neck of the root, a white and soft inner part, resembling the celebrated palm-cabbage, and found that it did me good, notwithstanding a tickling in the throat; but this nourishment is not found everywhere or in abundance: it must be at some distance from the sea, or on the edge of a lake, and there, if the hunter is not without skill or ammunition, necessary sustenance may be found in nearly the requisite quantity.

The Zulus build, for their abode, huts of hemispheric shape, which they invariably arrange in circles, in positions with sufficient slope for the water to run off. From afar one sees these circles on the mountain's side, surrounded by fields—green, yellow, or bald, according to the time of the year. In the centre the cattle are penned at night, a circular hedge preventing them from running against the huts. The huts are also protected by an enclosure round each to keep off hyenas and panthers, creatures bold enough to venture, notwith-

standing the presence of man, to enter his dwelling, and, almost touching him, snatch away the dog at his feet. It is in the cattle-fold that the produce of the harvest is buried. There is nothing outwardly that indicates exactly the position of the pits in which it is stored, but the distance is calculated from fixed points—the direction is observed by the owners—and it is at the known points of intersection that excavation is made. The earth, laid bare at a foot from the surface, shows large flat stones or pieces of wood closing the somewhat narrow orifice of a hole which goes on increasing, circularly, in dimensions to a depth of eight or ten feet. Usually the inner margins of the pits are plastered with earth taken from ant-heaps—the same that serves to form the floor of the huts; water cannot penetrate this coating, but there is always a moisture that acts more or less disagreeably on the cereals that are cast into the pits indiscriminately.

It is true that the air being shut out, the weevil, that scourge of *Kaffraria*, is less rapidly propagated, so that the Zulus can reckon on their store. The same precaution keeps out the rats, who would require only a few weeks to demolish the harvest completely, for the Zulus obstinately refuse to admit the cat as a domestic animal.

Whenever it happens that the royal herds are diminished by a too rapid consumption of beef, in excess of the natural increase, messengers are sent to the wealthy captains to demand in the king's name that they will part with a specified number of cows. Hesitation is not permitted. Refusal would result in the death of the recalcitrant subject. The rich man must affect a gracious and well-pleased air, and leave the royal purveyor to choose from his best possessions. In pressing emergencies, the king causes anything that he thinks suitable to be seized at once, but ordinarily it is on the rich only that the tax is imposed. As a set-off for this, at the conclusion of a successful campaign, when the king has chosen his share of the booty, the surplus is divided in large lots among the *grandeesh*, and in more diminutive portions among the people.

In the leisure of peace, when the mind of the chief, not outwardly distracted, turns to matters that are internal, the fear of death, and not by slow degrees, besets the minds of the more powerful and wealthy men of the nation. In fact, the king, whose only mental resource is to have exhibited before him and to count his herds, to inspect his warriors, to listen to the songs of his wives,—the king who can take no part in hunting elephants except that of looking on from some commanding height,—the king becomes subject to *ennui*. Surrounded by flatterers, unable to rely on a single friend, he con-

jures up a host of anxieties: such or such a captain, who lives grandly, gives umbrage to his power. He fancies that this man may have designs on his life: his sleep is disturbed by the vision: a frightful nightmare weighs on his breast. Waking up, he points to the victim, adding the terrible sentence, "Kill the evil-doer." A body of armed men sets off at once. It encircles the kraal of the doomed man: every one is put to death. Then the cluster of huts is wiped out by fire; their position seen from a distance has the appearance of a black circle. A report of the expedition reaches the king, who not till then is conscious of breathing freely. Some days after, the cattle that have been seized are brought to him: no one disputes their possession with him, for to him alone belongs the wealth of those whom he has consigned to death. In this way it is often sufficient for a man to be rich, and the king constitutes himself his heir in this execrable fashion.

I have known Panda, when he had it at heart to requite the services of some of his favourites, decree without hesitation the death of men who were lukewarm in his regard, and thus gratify his partisan by the gift of the property carried off. The sailor describes this kind of dealing very aptly by the familiar phrase: "Rob Peter to pay Paul." Far from feeling any self-reproach at such acts, the Zulu chief seems to be vain of them: and, as I have already said, does he not claim the titles of Great Master, Great Destroyer? He is great only in so far as he inspires fear.

The Zulus have absolutely no religious belief, and therefore no worship; and if the name of priests has been given to the "inyangas," it is because these doctors assert their ability to cure the distempers of the mind as well as those of the body. Some superstitious ideas are indeed found amongst them, but they stand in no relation to religion. Some ceremonies that have been looked upon as worship are only the consequences of the same ideas. Thus the "inyanga" always ascribes to a dead brother, whose abode is underground, the malady suffered by the one who claims his medical advice. He pronounces that it is urgently necessary to appease the dead brother by the sacrifice of a cow, on which the bystanders make a much-relished repast. And this mode of treatment really means that distractions are the best means of dispelling uneasiness, or to turn away the mind from pain.

It was by intercourse with white men, brought by Farewell, the first who visited them, that the Zulus heard of the existence of a God; but the thought of a divinity does not disturb them, and to

describe him they have as yet only a compound word, Inkosi-pezu, the first meaning "Lord," the second "on high;" and this clearly shows a knowledge quite recent. The first man, they say, came out of the rushes—a Kafir, a black man. Notwithstanding all my search, and questions which they eluded, I could learn nothing more. They are, moreover, wholly careless in regard to things that do not directly affect their existence and their material well-being: wiser than the Kafirs of the interior, they do not admit that any one has power to draw down rain from heaven, although they sometimes talk of it. On the occurrence of a death, the relatives and friends of the dead man raise him by means of robes or branches, taking care not to touch him with their hands. They carry him to the distance of some hundreds of yards from the homestead. Usually they deposit the body in a ravine or bush. On the following morning the body has disappeared: the hyenas have had a meal. Five or six weeks after, a skull, whitened by the action of the sun, may be seen. It is the only part of the man that has been respected by the ignoble beasts of prey.

The male children alone inherit from their parents; community of goods continues not the less among the wives who survive the husband. It is usually on the son who has not separated himself from the "muzi," that this succession devolves; the mothers then treat him with as much deference as if he were the husband.

To these general remarks on the Zulus, I shall add a few, to complete, as far as I am able and in another mode, a picture of this interesting South African nation.

Whenever I have endeavoured in my mind to compare Kafirs and Europeans, and tried to fix some parallel between them, I have always been surprised to find that among these uncivilized people there is a kind of mean line, above which, it is true, they do not rise, but below which they do not sink.

Physically these people, well made in person, have a physiognomy in conformity with it. Their features never show the elegance, the purity, the refinement of the most beautiful European countenances; but never will one find among them the faces of repulsive ugliness, that one discerns in our towns in which misery and bad habits prevail.

In respect to mental faculties, the same thing is noticeable. They have no sentiment in excess, if we except that which is developed by war; and even then the passion is collective, excited above all by martial songs, which are raised at the will of the chief. Even love, that private passion, the motive amongst us of so many noble actions

as well as of so many odious crimes, among these people has no result for good or evil. Love, too, among them is a gentle passion, such as filial love. With them it is a physical condition imposed by nature: a condition which at maturity they fulfil, without permitting to their thoughts the foolish exaggeration of which among us it has become the object. Never, so far as I know, has death been a consequence of love among the Zulus. There has not been an instance known of a man having become mad by reason of despairing love, still less that a suicide has occurred from such a cause; for they have the advantage of being ignorant of that sad resource—or, rather, they are more philosophic, and understand better how to reconcile themselves to present evils and accustom themselves to the thought of the future.

Let no one expect to witness among the Zulus acts that bespeak immense devotion mingled with heroic virtue. A Kafir understands how to die admirably in battle: a prisoner, and condemned to the fatal stroke, he has no terror of death; but a Kafir will never devote himself to death to save his captain. Warlike courage is eminently possessed by the Kafir; but he appears to know nothing of courage as the result of reflection and virtue.

Their affection as shown in their lives amongst their relatives, their friends, and even in intercourse with strangers, has a reserve, even the most natural affection, even that which takes its direction from family ties. They love their parents, their wives, their children; but the feeling never degenerates into weakness. They love reasonably, and more lastingly than we do; they love with less of ostentation, because they are satisfied with the natural limits within which the feeling is contained; and as they never raise it to a higher elevation, so neither do they break out into the violent quarrels which, alas! are so common in civilized nations. A Kafir may have from one to fifty wives; he often has ten. His home breathes peace. There is no instance of a husband, or a head of a household, striking one of his wives. A mother does not know that white women allow themselves to slap their children; nor do they understand the possibility of a woman in health giving up her suckling to be nursed by another. They attach importance to devoting themselves to the end to maternal duties, the severe tasks of which they take a pleasure in increasing and prolonging; their children are neither wayward nor tearful; they grow rapidly, and soon become firm and valiant.

When the Zulus have vowed hatred against any one, they wish him evil: it cannot naturally be otherwise; but they do not kill him: and this, not exactly because they are themselves indifferent to such

a fate, but because they do not carry resentment so far. There are exceptions, I know, but they are rare. The assassination, which is not committed by the king's express order, is an act that would scarcely be heard of once in five years.

Love of property is not a passion as amongst us. In the first place, having regard to the extent of the country and the scantiness of the population, land is common property; every one cultivates that which is suitable, without any temptation to encroachment. Immovable property is, therefore, almost unknown among Kafirs. But the things strictly regarded by them as property are first their wives, then their cattle, and, in the third place, their crops. They show themselves very jealous as to the first, however numerous they may be; they are very much attached to the second, and deal with their cattle very economically; as to the third, they share their crops with any stranger, even a white man, who may require their assistance, so long as they are in a position—something more than what is absolutely needful. Hence they are hospitable: they like others to visit them, even without a prospect of claiming any reciprocal exchange of visits. Hospitality is a sacred usage among them, as old as themselves. In their view, it is a duty that men mutually owe each other. They make no merit of it, because it is a good and useful practice, purely natural, and quite general. Civilization, laying it down as a basis that everything troublesome deserves to be compensated, has destroyed hospitality, the virtue of the patriarchs. In this respect we differ essentially, and to our disadvantage. Egotism destroys the civilized man, and, at the risk of wounding our self-love, we must confess that civilization takes from the human being qualities, virtues, and practices which, simple as they may be, are neither less beautiful nor less to be commended, for they touch directly the happiness of the human race.

Whilst occupying themselves with material interests, private or general, these people show clearness of perception and of perfect common sense, nor do they fail to attend to their moral interests, in which they desire no change. Thus they are constantly on their guard against the influence of European ideas, which would destroy their force; and they will not tolerate teachers or missionaries, nor even the simple intercourse with white men: they know that such intercourse is a source of misunderstanding and collision; they endeavour to avoid it. This resolution on their part is a measure of prudence; philosophers, or those supposed to be philosophers, impute this as a crime to them. Whether the Kafirs allow themselves to be

misled, or yield to force, let war follow, let it be maintained with so much more of obstinacy, because it is waged by white against black, on what reason can one rely that will suffice to prove their wrongs ?

Caring little for things that are somewhat indefinite, or vague, or doubtful, their mind is averse to the lessons that are proposed to them : their understanding does not consent to be impregnated with new ideas ; they show great scepticism as to what they are told ; they constantly call for proofs, and, being unable to adduce them, we are looked upon by them as false. " The white man is deceiving us unworthily," they say laughingly, as if they had been made the butt of some pleasantry. The high opinion they have of themselves, the kind of contempt they express for Europeans, stand in the way of their accepting any part of our ideas or systems. In their view it is the misery and sterility of their country that have obliged the whites to seek to settle in Kaffraria. Now, according to their reasoning, a poor and miserable country can only produce and maintain poor and miserable men ; and as poverty and misery can only beget wickedness, it cannot fail to follow that the whites are wicked. In fact, on account of prejudices, the Kafirs do not love them. They regard them as their natural enemies, and fear, they say, that the whites will contaminate their minds. The Kafirs make no secret of this opinion, and more than this, circumstances leading to it I gathered from their many confessions of this kind.

Generally the Zulus, whom I have here taken as typical, have an open countenance. The pleasant smile on their lips has its effect, and gives to their eyes—beautiful black, deep-set, half-closed, and fringed by long curved eyelashes—a softness that wholly modifies the severity of their forehead and warlike demeanour. They wish to inform themselves without saying much, and this serves to show curiosity moderate, discreet, and disinclined to concessions. Far from besetting the traveller with questions, a course which would oblige them in their turn to satisfy him by details that concern themselves, they are on the contrary men of a disheartening reserve. Their answers are well weighed ; on any serious subject they are prepared with a great deal of skill, and put the questioner off the track which he intended to follow. But if the conversation be on ordinary matters, their replies are full of fitness and wit ; often they raise a smile by their originality, to such an extent that I was often disposed to look on the Zulus as resembling the French in the cast of their minds. Thus, they are gay at all times ; the love of war occupies them very much : and, by understanding their interests, they

have, willed to submit themselves to very severe discipline in order to attain to greater power than their neighbours. In addition to this they despise trade, and moreover, as compared with other Kafir tribes, they have an exquisite politeness, that may well put the Dutch Boers to the blush. Their language, harmonious and noble, and which they have the power to utter on occasion with incredible rapidity, not only leaves far behind the dialects of other Kafirs, but, even by their own admission, the jargon of the Dutch; and if no Englishman has ever confessed a similar inferiority in his natural idiom, which is so full of consonants, of words devoid of harmony, and syllables more or less harsh, it is because I have never met an Englishman who was not English.

Often during the wars between the subjects of Dingaan and the Boers (1837-1840) the Zulus have been taxed with cruelty. It is very notorious that in the camp at Bushman's River, and in several other places, the Zulu warriors showed themselves most cruel. Everyone knows that similar acts at a period not yet remote are to be met with in our own history, in the heart of our towns which claim the most advanced civilization, where the motives which would serve to excuse the Kafirs could not be adduced in exculpation of the whites. Everyone knows that in a host of men acting together and fighting for a principle, the fury of one excites the fury of another; that, under such circumstances, he who should remain cool would be subject to suspicion; and that the most reasonable would receive an impulse in spite of themselves. Such a result is even more invariable among the Kafirs than among ourselves, for on them the smallest suspicion brings down a sentence of death. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they should have done what they did, more especially as they sincerely believed that they were extirpating the white race, of whose number they knew absolutely nothing, and because, in their own wars, they never make any prisoners, for prisoners are always an incumbrance, and may upon occasion betray by their cries: besides this, the Kafirs do not know the use of manacles, and cannot comprehend that a man should acknowledge himself conquered and surrender to an enemy whilst he still can draw breath.

Heaven forbid, however, that I should undertake the rude task of exculpating them in all the wrongs of which they may be guilty. But I cannot refrain from saying that these acts are transient, that they are the result of exceptional circumstances, and that they are to be imputed to the character of the chief who commands, and not on that of the nation that obeys; for the chiefs of the Zulus have

been wholly bloodthirsty, and from the time but exclusive of Senza-gakona, each of them has given proof that he has been imbued with the conviction that he could reign only by terror. Lastly, as it sometimes happens that an opinion is formed in error on the observation of a fact isolated or ill interpreted, and reflects on the character of the masses, I think it right to state here how the opinion of an Englishman was arrived at.

"See," said this man to me, "here is one of Panda's indunas, who is arming himself to kill an ox for him. Come and see, and then tell me if the Zulus are not of those who rejoice at the sight of blood." Curious to notice, I followed the Englishman, thinking that he who had thus addressed me might perhaps be right. The induna directed the ox to be driven, and the animal took up a position with its back to a bush. Then the induna, making his appearance on the left side of the ox, pierced him by a wound with the spear in the region of the upper ribs. The beast made off, but some young men armed with sticks drove it back to the same point. The induna had returned. As in the first instance, he repeated the blow with his weapon, and the ox ran off bellowing. I attributed the inefficacy of the stabs to the awkwardness of the Kafir warrior, and proposed to him to lay the victim low by a single bullet from my gun. "No, no," said he, "that is useless." And the blood flowed freely from the wounds of the suffering creature, brought back again and again to the bush. The induna waited patiently, as if he were counting the minutes rather than thinking of killing his victim. "Well," said the Englishman, "are you satisfied that I was right in what I told you a little while ago? Is not this man sating himself with the sight of blood? He might have killed the ox with a single thrust, and more than a quarter of an hour must pass before it is dead."

In fact, the Kafir took twenty minutes to complete the operation. When he had finished, I took him aside and questioned him as to the cruel pleasure he had taken in bringing about death so tardily. "But," replied the man, whose look showed great astonishment, "you are mistaken. This was not done for any pleasure of mine. Of what consequence is the blood of an ox to me? That is our mode of slaughtering the animal, and the meat is very superior by reason of the process, whilst it would be good for very little if the animal were struck down at once."

I felt obliged to impart the knowledge I had gained to the Englishman. "Bah!" said the man, who was incapable of modifying his opinion, "that is a sorry excuse, one of the thousand that Kafirs

always have ready." As many as twenty times afterwards I saw the same operation. It is a custom based on certain knowledge, a usage that has the warrant of antiquity—nothing more.

MAJOR CHARTERS TO SIR G. NAPIER.

5th January, 1839.

SIR,— * * * The reports of the operations of the Boers have reached me in no very authentic form, and it is only by comparing different accounts and private letters that I can give it in an intelligible shape. That which I believe most worthy of credit I received from Mr. J. Uys, who resides at the Umbaas Camp near this, and which he received from his brother who is serving with the commando.

It appears that on Sunday, 16th December, at daylight, the Boers found their wagon camp surrounded by dense masses of Zulus, who had concerted their measures during the night. As day broke they assailed them in their position. The combat lasted two hours, when the Zulus retreated, leaving 3,000 dead on the field. The Boers pursued for a short distance, and then returned to the camp. This took place four days' march from Dingaan's residence, which is said to have been a town of two or three thousand inhabitants. On the 21st the Boers reached this town, which Dingaan had burned, and he with his people had retired more into the interior. The Boers had found here the bones of Retief and his party, and were still able to recognise them. On the day following they occupied themselves in burying these remains.

Sunday, 23rd, they were still on the same ground, when they sent out a patrol of 300 men to reconnoitre. They got into difficult ground, and having crossed one ravine got entangled in a second one, where they were attacked by the hitherto unseen Zulus. Six Boers were killed, and among them an Englishman named Biggar, who had joined with a band of Natal Kafirs, thirty of whom were killed here.

The Boers succeeded in extricating themselves, and the whole commando retreated out of Dingaan's country. In the first attack on the major camp, where so many were killed, the loss on the part of the Boers was three men slightly wounded.

Such, Sir, have been the proceedings of the commando, and most of the accounts I have heard tally pretty well with this description.

It is possible, however, that I may get something more authentic before the "Mary" sails.

We must hope for the sake of humanity that the carnage of the Zulus is much exaggerated. No prisoners seem to have been taken. What, then, became of the wounded? The Boers have not succeeded in capturing and bringing away any cattle. A very few horses and about thirty firelocks seem to constitute the amount of their booty. In my Despatch No. 7 (separate), I had the honour of stating to your Excellency that I had sent two Kafir messengers with a letter to Andries Pretorius, the chief of the commando, requiring him to march out of Dingaan's country and re-occupy his previous positions. A duplicate of this letter was sent from the Boers' camp in this bay. The Kafir messengers returned and said the letter was taken from them at the Boers' camp on the Tugela, and they brought me a letter signed by certain individuals calling themselves the Volksraad, which I transmit; also a copy of the examination of the Kafirs on their return. By these documents, it appears to me that, even if the Kafirs had been allowed to proceed, they would hardly have reached Pretorius in time to prevent the mischief, even if he had chosen to give ear to my injunctions; but the Boers secured the impossibility of his being interrupted by taking possession of my despatch.

Some days since, I received a second letter from the same Volksraad, requesting that the means of defence might not be withheld from them by seizing the munitions of war. This letter, with my answer, accompanies this despatch. An Englishman who is settled here within the military district, of the name of Robert Dunn, received a letter from Mr. Parker, who is serving with the commando. Mr. Dunn came here yesterday and volunteered to read to me the letter. In this letter, Mr. Parker boasts of having shot two Zulus singly, and in having assisted in destroying them at the general attack. This letter had been previously read to Captain Jervis.

Whatever pretence the Boers may put forward in excuse for their proceedings, there is not a shadow of any in favour of Parker: and I consider it to be a case of unqualified murder.

I have directed Mr. Dunn to hold the letter at the disposal of the Government, should it hereafter be called for, and bound him over in a penalty of £50 to produce it if required within a period of eighteen months. I have also endorsed the letter with my signature to prove its identity. I fear it will be very difficult to get evidence to prove the fact, but my endeavour shall not be wanting to accomplish this. The documents touching this event are herewith sent.

There is a rumour that the Boers intend organizing another and stronger commando to invade Dingaan's country.

I lost no time in sending a letter to the Volksraad at the Tugela, warning them as strongly as I properly could do against such a measure, of which I send a copy.

On 16th ultimo Her Britannic Majesty's flag was hoisted at Port Natal, under a royal salute and *feu de joie*, and I read the declaration of martial law to the troops, and sent copies of it to the Boer camps. A copy also accompanies this despatch.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) S. CHARTERS, Major.

THE POPULAR COUNCIL TO MAJOR CHARTERS.

[Annexure No. 1.—Translation.]

Tugela, 12th December, 1838.

SIR,—We received your packet addressed to Field-commandant Pretorius yesterday morning, and in the absence of that gentleman it was opened by us as representing the popular council, by whom also he was appointed the commandant.

We found in that packet a letter addressed to Pretorius, and several proclamations of His Excellency the Governor, which shall be forwarded to Pretorius, who, having left us with the commando, will not be able to give you a satisfactory answer immediately. A memorial was forwarded by us (by Mr. G. Joubert) in the preceding month, which we learn had been received by His Excellency previous to your departure; and that you had been sent here instead of the proposed military expedition to Port Natal. We have no objection to submit our case, which we consider to be just, to an impartial inquiry, which we stated also in our memorial.

It has been our wish from the beginning to this moment to live upon good terms with the Government, as well as with our countrymen in the colony. We perceive by the proclamation that orders have been given to seize all arms and ammunition which may be in the possession of the inhabitants. We have informed His Excellency of our perilous position, and that we are obliged to lay encamped continuously, and we flatter ourselves that had our memorial been received by His Excellency previous to your departure, such an order would certainly not have been issued, as it is impossible for us to

preserve our lives without arms and ammunition, being continuously surrounded by bloodthirsty savages. We are thankful for your offer of 500 bags of rice, if we should receive them at a reasonable price. We shall have no objection to let you have anything you may want from us for a reasonable consideration.—We have, &c.,

(Signed) J. S. MARITZ,
L. S. MEYER,
P. H. OPPERMAN.

EXAMINATION OF THE MESSENGERS SENT FROM PORT NATAL TO THE
BOERS' COMMANDO WITH DESPATCHES.

[Annexure No. 2.]

Q. What did Mr. Shepstone tell you to do ?

A. To go to the Boers who had gone out on commando.

Q. What occurred on your arrival at the Boers' camp ?

A. A lame Boer met us before our arrival, and asked us whether we came from Natal, and took the letter from us.

They asked us if it was written by the English Commandant at Port Natal; to which we answered, "Yes." They inquired the number of ships and men that had arrived at Port Natal, which we told them as near as we could. They then showed us a man who, they said, was the chief, who would give us a letter, so that we could return early.

Q. Was it your intention to have gone on, had not the letter been taken from you, in search of the commandant ?

A. Had not the letter been taken, and had the commando been within reach without risking our lives too much, we should have gone forward in search of the chief; but we considered we had fulfilled our instructions by delivering our letter as we did, as on our enquiry for the chief, a person was pointed out to us as the individual we sought for. Our first instructions were received from Mr. Toohey's managing man, and were that we should take a letter from Natal to the Boers' camp on the Tugela, and deliver it to the chief of the Boers. The Boers pointed out to us the person whom they considered their chief, and the man who would answer the letter—and, moreover, hurried us back to this place as soon as the letter was written; so that we had every reason to believe that he was the proper person to whom the letter ought to be delivered.

A true translation :—(Signed) T. SHEPSTONE.

FROM J. S. MARITZ AND L. J. MEYER TO MAJOR CHARTERS.

[Annexure No. 3. — Translation.]

Tugela, 15th December, 1838.

This is a letter of remonstrance on the seizing of the Boers' ammunition.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS TO MESSRS. J. S. MARITZ AND L. J. MEYER, CAMP, TUGELA.

[Annexure No. 4.]

Expresses surprise and regret at their having intercepted his letter, and states that he had intended to recommend the Governor to open the port—but now must wait, &c.

As regards their application, the means of defence shall not be wanting to them, so soon as he observes a willingness to act in obedience to the wishes of the Government.

FROM MAJOR CHARTERS TO THE BOERS.

[Annexure No. 7.]

"Her Majesty's Government will learn with regret the slaughter of the Zulus and the unwarranted invasion of their country," and he warns them that any hostile aggression of the kind in future will assuredly be followed by the strongest marked displeasure of the British Government. "I herewith enclose a copy of a declaration of martial law and of the military occupation of Port Natal by Her Majesty's troops."

(Signed) S. CHARTERS.

PROCLAMATION OF MAJOR CHARTERS TAKING POSSESSION OF NATAL.

[Annexure No. 8.]

PURSUANT to the orders of His Excellency Sir George Napier, K.C.B., Governor, &c., &c., I hereby take possession, in the name of and on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty, of the Port of Natal and adjacent territories, the boundaries of which are now to be described:

A curved line following the sinuosities of the bay, every point of which shall be two miles distant from the high-water mark of the bay or harbour, will define the boundary of the military occupation:

And I hereby declare the whole of the boundary thus defined to be under martial law according to the English articles of war, without prejudice, however, to the aboriginal tribes who may be at this date inhabitants of the territory above described, which tribes shall not only be suffered to pursue their quiet occupations, but be directly protected in their persons and property in so far as it shall be in the power of the military powers at Natal to protect them. It is clearly to be understood that there is nothing in this declaration which shall be in any way construed into an intention of Her Majesty's Government to colonize or keep permanent possession of this country, unless it be Her Majesty's pleasure so to order:

Be it known, therefore, that this military occupation has taken place in consequence of the orders of His Excellency the Governor of the Cape, for the purposes set forth in his proclamation of 14th November, 1838.

I also make known that it has been the pleasure of His Excellency the Governor of the Cape, for the better protection of the native tribes, to invest me with magisterial authority under the Act of Parliament William IV., entitled an "Act for the punishment of offences committed by Her Majesty's subjects within certain territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape," 13th August, 1836.

The above declaration shall bear date from the day Her Majesty's troops landed at Port Natal, viz., 4th December, 1838.

(Signed) S. CHARTERS, Major Commanding.

MR. T. SHEPSTONE TO MAJOR CHARTERS.

[Annexure No. 9.]

February 7th, 1839.

SIR,—Having in compliance with your directions proceeded to the Umgeni River for the purpose of examining a Zulu (Pakati) said to have deserted from Dingaan, I have the honour to state that I failed in finding the man himself, but discovered his attendant, from whom I elicited the following particulars:—

1st. That the loss of the Zulus as reported by the Boers, in their first action with him, is as correct as may be from his observation.

2nd. That subsequent to this action, Dingaan sent messengers, with three men, as a token of truce, and that he requested a deputation from the Boer camp to meet him, to come to an understanding

and bring about a peace. This, however, the Boers disdained listening to, and sent the messengers back, demanding the number of cattle Dingaan had taken from them, together with a certain number for each person who had fallen by their hands from the commencement. The invitation to a parley they considered but an attempt at treachery on the part of Dingaan, and consequently refused it.

The man represents Dingaan's power as very much broken, and his situation as desperate. He also says that they had not heard of the arrival of British troops, a few days after the action with the Boers. The above are the sum and substance of the communication to me.

(Signed) T. SHEPSTONE.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR STOCKENSTROM TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Extract.]

12th January, 1839.

The all-important question of the emigration of the Boers into the interior calls for some decisive action.

The British Government and nation will not, I am confident, listen passively to the complaints on the one side, and the exulting boasts on the other of the extermination of whole tribes of blacks by Her Majesty's subjects which is now going on.

I shall not trouble your Lordship with all that appears in my communications on the subject to Sir B. D'Urban, but merely state that the military occupation by a small detachment of troops of Port Natal appears indispensable; the first step towards further arrangements for arresting the system of encroachments and usurpation, oppression and bloodshed, which, though familiar to the history of South Africa, is even there unparalleled in atrocity and extent.

I must beg, however, your Lordship to understand that, in speaking of military occupation, I do not in the slightest degree mean to mix up that suggestion with the question of colonization, and the claims of individuals to the soil, which has of late been agitated in this metropolis.

The above subject leads us as a matter of course to the causes of emigration; the false ones which have been alleged to cover the culpability of some, and conceal the private ends of others, have

been so completely confuted, that even the unceasing repetition of the disappointed and deluded would not excuse the waste of more time thereon. But the fact still stares us in the face, that by far the greater number of the land emigrants who are now from necessity carrying on the above work of extermination in order to preserve life and the bare necessities of existence, are good men, and would be, as they have been, loyal subjects, and that many of them have real and serious grievances to complain of, which, though often not the real cause of their withdrawal from the protection of the laws, afford, nevertheless, a pretext for doing so.

I shall not here enumerate the various frauds, through which they have become the dupes of their ignorance, whereby their property has fallen into the hands of private impostors, and over which the Government could have no control. But there has been much undoubted suffering, for which the public administration is accountable, and which, therefore, I am satisfied your Lordship will not allow to remain unredressed. Such are: first, the unsettled claims on the Government, by which much distress has been occasioned; second, the great injustice and partiality shown in the distribution of lands, which has shaken to its foundation all confidence in the Government on the part of those who naturally charge upon the supreme authority the errors of its subordinates; thirdly, the withdrawal of title-deeds to lands, by which improvements were prevented, property was rendered insecure, and designing men were enabled to render the views of Government suspected, and to possess themselves of that property at depreciated prices; fourth, the confused state of accounts connected with the survey of lands, and the many instances of extortion which have been exposed, whereby the whole machinery has become obnoxious to the most dark suspicions: the unequal and often oppressive assessment of quitrents calling, in many instances loudly, for modification.

All these evils, I take it, I have it in my power to remedy, in so far as it is still possible; and I only mention them here in order that, if your Lordship see fit, provision may be made, if I have not that power. But the following really distressing source of discontent I have not the means of removing, viz.:—Fifth: many persons (though the fact has been suppressed in order to throw the responsibility from the shoulders it belonged to) have, during the late frontier war, suffered as much, if not more, through the acts of the Government than those of the enemy; and many more innocent, peaceable, and loyal individuals have been altogether ruined by the

latter. Relief to the former class appears to me an act of justice, and to the latter one of charity ; and in neither of these qualities has this nation ever been found deficient. It is superfluous to add that, in the distribution of such relief, the greatest circumspection will be necessary in guarding against fraud and perjury.

The direct assessed taxes, as well as the mode of collection, require revision. The amount by no means justifies the expenses of the collection, while these latter render the system vexatious. This being a question of legislation is, of course, beyond my control.

* * * *

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope,
28th January, 1839.

THE schooner "Mary" has brought intelligence from Port Natal up to 7th instant.

The Boers' commando which went against Dingaan on the 20th November last had returned, but no authentic account of its proceedings had been received. Major Charters' letter to Pretorius, who commanded the expedition, endeavouring to dissuade him from the commission of hostilities, had been intercepted by certain persons calling themselves the "general council" at the camp on the Tugela, and was not by them transmitted to its destination.

It is stated that the camp of the commando was attacked on 16th December by a force of 10,000 Zulus, 200 being armed with muskets—thus the attack was repulsed with the (improbable) loss of 3,000 men to the Zulus, whilst the commando had only three slightly wounded ; that Dingaan retreated in consequence, after burning Umgungunhlovu, his principal residence—to which place the Boers having advanced, they found there and buried the remains of their comrades who were massacred with Retief ; that after some days a strong patrol was sent out, which, on the 23rd, having got entangled in difficult ground, was suddenly attacked by the Zulus, who had up to the moment remained unobserved, and that the patrol retired with the loss of six men on the side of the Boers, and from 20 to 30 of a party from Natal, of whom an Englishman, named Biggar, was one.

Whatever may be the truth, it is at least certain that the retreat

of the commando was the result of the affair of the 23rd, and that one of the chief objects of the commando, viz., the recapture of cattle, was not effected; for a few horses and twenty-five muskets seem to have been the only spoils.

A second and stronger commando was spoken of; but as there appear to be differences of opinion among the emigrants, it is to be hoped that the attack will not be made. It has been announced to them that if they persevere in these attacks they will be deprived of all supplies by sea; but should they, on the contrary, content themselves with the quiet occupation of the country where they now are, not only will food and other necessaries be permitted to reach them, but they will be allowed such means of self-defence as may be requisite.

The country is reported to be unfavourable for raising grain—wheat in particular. There is no want of animal food and millet or Indian corn, but flour, rice, &c., are very scarce. Unfortunately, the supply of rice in the “Helen” could not all be got on shore on account of the state of the weather. Part of what was landed got damaged, and became useless. The remainder was readily sold at high prices by the importers.

Some of the emigrants express the most ardent desire to get back to the colony on any terms, as they entertain gloomy forebodings of what must be the eventual state of a community where “all is out-going and nothing coming in.” It is impossible to contemplate what may be the final result of this emigration without feelings of sincere commiseration for those who have so unadvisedly placed themselves in a situation of suffering and danger, with apparently but very slender hopes of being able to maintain themselves to any beneficial purpose in their present possessions; but in the meantime every assistance in the power of the Government will be readily afforded to such of them as desire to return by sea: for by land they seem cut off from return from want of means; and the distresses of those who remain will be alleviated in as far as the declared object of the military possession of the port and its shores will admit.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

SIR GEORGE T. NAPIER TO LORD GLENELG,
SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape Town,
4th February, 1839.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit copies of despatches, dated 5th January, received from Major Charters, commanding the troops at Natal, by which your Lordship will perceive that the commando sent by the emigrant farmers against Dingaan in December last had a severe encounter with the Zulus on 16th December, and the number of natives said to have been killed has been exaggerated beyond belief. A detached party of the commando was afterwards defeated, and in consequence the whole retreated from Dingaan's territory, without having effected its object, viz., the retaking of the cattle, as not one head was captured.

Major Charters' message to Commandant Pretorius was intercepted at one of the emigrants' camps by certain persons calling themselves the "general council;" but the Major is of opinion that even if his message had been allowed to proceed, it could not have reached the commandant in time to prevent the encounter which took place.

For all further details I have only to refer your Lordship to Major Charters' report, with whose conduct I am confident you will be as fully satisfied as I am, and that he will receive your Lordship's approbation.

As Major Charters considered his presence no longer necessary, everything being in as complete a state of forwardness as possible, he had determined upon giving up the command, according to my previous instructions, to Captain Jervis, 72nd Highlanders, an officer in whose temper, zeal, activity, and prudence, as well as long experience in this colony, I have every confidence, and proceeding on or about the 20th ultimo through the territories of the powerful chief Faku, accompanied by the officers of artillery and engineers, and Lient. Napier, my A.D.C.

This journey will probably occupy a month or more, but will be very serviceable by affording Major Charters an opportunity of explaining to Faku the object of the British Government in taking possession of Natal, and also by the information that officer will obtain of that part of the country, particularly as the Kafir inter-

preter, Mr. Shepstone, well known to these tribes, accompanies him. I have sent orders to Captain Jervis to adhere strictly to the tenour of his instructions, and on no account whatever to hold out any views of future colonization or settlement, the place being merely held as a military or temporary post to prevent any supplies being sent by sea to the emigrants. I shall be obliged to keep the "Mary" schooner in Government employ for some time, as she is the only vessel that can cross the bar, and the necessities of the troops must be provided for. Till I receive instructions from your Lordship as to the future occupation of this post, I have directed the officer in command to do all in his power to open a regular communication between Natal and Graham's Town, by which intelligence may safely be sent of all occurrences, as well as to transmit every information regarding the emigrant farmers. From Major Charters' report, as well as his private letter, I cannot come to any other conclusion than that, except a few of the most respectable, the emigrants will never return to the colony in any considerable numbers, and what their future fate may be it is impossible for me to say: and as your Lordship is already fully acquainted with all my opinions respecting this important though perplexing question, I shall not presume to reiterate them, feeling confident I shall at the earliest possible moment receive from your Lordship replies to my despatches, with distinct and positive directions for my future guidance as regards the occupation of Port Natal.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. NAPIER.

MAJOR CHARTERS TO SIR G. NAPIER.

Port Natal, January 5th, 1839.

SIR,— * * * The chief obstacle to our progress has been the difficulty of procuring palisades for the stockaded fort. We first endeavoured to cut them in the bush adjoining our position. * * Should it ever become an object with your Excellency to assume a more imposing military aspect in this part of the world, I believe it would be very easy to enrol four or five hundred Kafirs and train them to the use of arms. They are a docile, honest, and easily-attached race, very similar to the Fingoes, and I have no doubt that with good management they would become excellent infantry, and, with the present detachment to support them, fully to be depended on. * * * * *

CAUSES OF DISAFFECTION ON PART OF BOERS.

LETTER OF MR. J. BOSHOF TO EDITOR OF "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

Graaff-Reinet, 17th February, 1839.

SIR,—In compliance with my promise made to you last week, I now take the liberty to acquaint you with the causes of emigration of our farmers from the colony, in so far as the same have come under my observation during my intercourse with them, as well in the colony as at Natal. Much has been said and written on the subject, but it appears to me that the whole truth has never yet appeared before the public, and that His Excellency the Governor himself, during his late stay in the Eastern Province, has not been able to get full information thereon, undoubtedly owing to the reception the deputation of the Port Elizabeth people met with, which deterred others from venturing to see His Excellency on subjects on which he seemed to have already formed his opinion, or which might perhaps subject them to similar treatment.

In making this communication, I only regret that my defective knowledge of the English language necessarily obliges me to be as brief as possible. I trust, however, that should, from your own experience and judgment, the following statement appear to you to be deserving of some consideration, you will make such use thereof as may tend to the welfare of this colony, or perhaps to enlighten the Government upon some points which may not yet have been made sufficiently clear to them; though I must own that I do not feel myself under any obligation to our present Governor for having treated me exactly in the same manner as the colonists in general (that is, the whites) have been dealt with—that is, condemned, degraded, or punished, in their absence, and before they had an opportunity of saying a single word in their defence.

It is an erroneous idea that all the emigrants have been moved by the same reasons to quit the colony, as owing to the great distances between the residences of many of them in the colony, and the different local circumstances in which they found themselves placed, each formed his resolution in consequence of such grievances which he found more immediately pressing upon him. I am confident, however, that the causes hereunder enumerated have on the

whole worked together to cause the emigration to the extent to which it is now generally known to have taken place.

No one, I believe, pretends to be ignorant of the fact that the first migration took place in consequence of the want of pasturage for the cattle and flocks of the frontier farmers, it being well known that for a long period our frontier farmers were in the habit, during seasons of heavy drought, to go over the boundaries of the colony in search of grass, not to lose all they possessed in the world. The more the colony became occupied and stock increased, the more frequent was the necessity of these migrations towards the interior, where extensive unoccupied and superior pasture lands were to be found, that a few months' residence there caused a considerable improvement in the condition of their cattle and sheep, and such an incredible increase in their numbers that the farms in the colony from time to time became less capable of supporting the stock of their proprietors, independent of such as had no lands of their own. In addition thereto the seasons for the last eight or ten years became gradually worse and worse. Springs and large pools dried up everywhere, so that the farmers in many instances were compelled to migrate, from want of water, where pasturage was still to be had. These migrations at last became with many such an absolute necessity that they had to cross and re-cross the Orange River more than once a year, which in some instances was attended with such severe losses to them, particularly in sheep being drowned, that not a few of them resolved upon remaining on the other side, at first chiefly consisting of those who possessed no farms within the colony, and having in their expeditions fitted out to hunt, or from curiosity explored the interior to a great distance,—these parties gave such a flattering account of the fruitfulness and beauty of the country they had seen, and which was totally waste and unoccupied, that several within the colony, as well as without the same, began to feel a desire to migrating towards these lands, in the hope of prospering there better than in the colony, or near the boundaries, where they were not seldom annoyed by the Griqua bastards who had been settled there by Dr. Philip.

Some families, viz., of Liebenberg, Potgieter, and Triegard, and others, were the first to venture far into the interior. Mr. Maritz, of this town, a man of some property, actuated by some of the above reasons, and perhaps, too, by ambitious motives, soon made up a party; and other causes, such as dissatisfaction with and distrust of the Government, &c., having in the meantime begun to operate, and the

people seeing a door open for them to fly from further vexation and oppression, the number of immigrants daily increased; yet I believe they would have failed in their object, had not the unfortunate correspondence between Lient.-Governor Stockenstrom and Retief taken place, which caused the latter to resolve upon a similar step. Many, indeed, who were doubtful before, now began to make active preparations for their departure; and had the Government even by this time taken some steps from which it might have appeared that it was willing to secure to the people some protection against all robbers and thieves, or in some measure alleviate their sufferings, a change would still have been brought about, since many of the ruined or half-ruined farmers were yet anxiously looking forward upon Stockenstrom's promises for an entire change of measures, and entertained some hope of compensation for their losses by the Kafir invasion. But Lord Glenelg's despatch to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and the Lient.-Governor's treaties with the Kafirs, removed the last spark of confidence which yet remained in the Government. Uys and his party now quitted; and since that time all the disasters which have befallen the emigrants, together with the threats of the Governor, have not been able to put a stop to emigration, which is still going on, and not likely to cease for a long while yet.

The various grievances which I know to have caused the majority of the emigrants to quit, may be classed under the following main causes:—

I. Distrust in the Colonial, but more particularly the Home, Government; and under this head may be enumerated:

First. The reduction of the value of colonial currency; and though this has not been felt by the farmers, yet the impression remained that Government, acting faithlessly, in an arbitrary manner seized upon part of our property, which in justice ought not to have been done; second, the emancipation of the slaves, or, rather, the manner in which it has been effected. There did exist, indeed, at first an objection against emancipation itself, because the people could not see how this measure could be accomplished without serious losses to the slave proprietors and injury to the colony at large; but when it was announced that the British Parliament, when passing the Emancipation Act, had at the same time pledged themselves to make full compensation to the owners of slaves in cash, they were struck with the magnanimity and generosity of that Government, which had actually surprised them with an act of justice so unexpectedly, and if any doubts still remained, the measures which were then adopted

removed them. Appraisers were appointed to visit every farm and house, and to value the slaves individually. This certainly could have no other meaning than that every slave proprietor should receive compensation in fact, not in name; and so satisfied were they that, had two-thirds of the value appraised been paid to them by the Government here, never a word would have been heard against the act of emancipation. But the colonists soon began to see that they were mistaken. The amount awarded to each proprietor was not in consideration of the individual value of his slaves, but indiscriminately according to certain general classifications, without regard to age, defects, inferior or superior qualifications of slaves, in consequence of which in some few instances more than the amount of the appraisement was awarded, whilst the greater part of the slave owners saw themselves declared entitled to no more than a third or a fourth part of the real value of their slaves; add to this the vexatious and expensive method of receiving the sums due to them from England, and the deduction of from 15 to 25 per cent. by the merchants who purchased their claims, the most interested of whom were appointed assistant commissioners. The people considered themselves defrauded and robbed of their lawful property, and openly accused the Government and the Parliament of having done so.

At the time the Emancipation Act was promulgated, the Acting Lieutenant-Governor announced to the public that Government would immediately, or in sufficient time, make the necessary provisions to secure order and protect the people against vagrancy, &c., the effects of which were then already much complained of, as caused by Hottentots. The successor of Colonel Wade, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, actually brought the question before the Council, supported by memorials from the people throughout the colony. The ordinance passed. But to the astonishment of all who saw the necessity of such a law, the Governor, upon the representation of Dr. Philip, had turned round upon the measure, and it was rejected in England: showing that we were not to be protected against vagrancy, the greatest encouragement to all more serious crimes.

Third. From the several laws forced upon the colony from time to time, chiefly upon slave owners, some of which were actually so vexatious that they in a body refused obedience to some of their provisions. The colonists clearly saw that the Government in England acted either upon gross misrepresentation, or intentionally to oppress the white inhabitants, as every new law or ordinance in which the black population was concerned betrayed the most tender

and paternal care for them, and a disregard of the interests of the whites. Some of the magistrates, or perhaps a single one of them, ventured slightly to punish vagrancy, but the others actually refused to do so. Property became more and more unsafe, murders increased, the peaceable farmers on the frontiers found themselves robbed by Kafirs, Bushmen, Korannas, &c., and were not allowed, even under the orders of the fieldcornet, to pursue the thieves over the borders, or there to recapture their cattle: the use of firearms was declared unlawful, except in the most undoubted cases of self-defence. The Attorney-General himself only recommended a hue-and-cry as the only lawful method of expelling thieves and vagrants; and it became doubtful at last in how far one would be justified to use his arms in self-defence so as to prevent his being put upon his trial for his life. Not a few farmers were indicted and tried for murder, where they had shot some natives either in the protection of their lawful property or in self-defence.

Fourth. To this was also ascribed the inattention shown by the Government to the complaints against thefts committed on the frontiers, and the inefficiency of the military force to protect the frontiers; and that therefore Government found itself unprepared and taken by surprise at the Kafir invasion of 1834. But when this took place, it was believed that *now* the eyes of the Government here, as well as in England, would certainly be opened: the sufferings of the people had now reached the extreme point of human endurance or forbearance; but Sir Benjamin D'Urban's conduct re-animated them, and inspired them with hopes of at least a better protection in future, whilst they were at the same time made to believe that they would receive compensation for their losses. Again, however, they found their confidence ill-placed; for what was now wanting to confirm the suspicions which they had long entertained, that the total ruin or annihilation of the white population would be looked upon with indifference. When the despatch of Lord Glenelg to Sir Benjamin was made public, in which they saw the cause of the Kafirs pleaded in the most false and erroneous assertions, and themselves accused of having, as it were, deserved their sufferings, by provoking the Kafirs to take such a step, which was only a just retaliation, the eyes of the people were then opened, and they at once concluded that to live or exist longer in this colony under such *paternal* care and protection would be an utter impossibility, since Lord Glenelg himself actually praised the Kafirs for what they had attempted, and consequently encouraged them to try

another chance, as soon as a fit opportunity should offer. Bitter were the complaints of many of the emigrants at Natal on this head ; and some of them expressed themselves to me in the following manner :—“ What confidence could we longer have in such a Government ? Our consciences acquitted us of the charges brought against us by Lord Glenelg. The commandoes on which we were ordered out for the protection of this country, upon pain of fine or imprisonment, at our own expense, not to mention bodily sufferings from cold, rain, hunger, fatigue, as also losses there and at home in our absence, were put to our account as our own voluntary acts, with the view of enriching ourselves by Kafir cattle and territory ! Even in the last Kafir war, we were not allowed to protect our small remnant of property which the invader had left us, but under promises of full compensation we were ordered, destitute as we were, again to march out in defence of our territory, and to re-capture what had been taken from us. We complied with this sacred duty (as we thought), took our last horses, left our families and remaining property unprotected behind ; several then lost what had yet been left them, and the result was, that what was recovered from the Kafirs, of our own property which we identified and could swear to, was laid hold of by Government and disposed of, we know not how. Peace was made : the Kafirs agreed to give up an immense number of cattle, horses, guns, &c, taken from the colony. They never complied, and we, the sufferers, remained destitute, impoverished, neglected ; and at the end we were calumniated and insulted. What human feeling can stand this, and why are we blamed for leaving a country where such a Government existed ? ”

Fifth. The withholding of the grants of land which had been many years measured, and the expenses of survey paid for, caused, indeed, suspicion of some other design prejudicial to their interest. Many inconveniences were also caused thereby, as estates remained unsettled, and as no transfers could be made or obtained of such grants as were sold ; but to my knowledge I have never heard this alleged as a reason for quitting the colony. I am aware, however, that the high rent charged upon some of the grants which were at last issued, were the cause of the proprietors disposing of their farms at very low prices, and they have quitted. At this moment, the “ *Uitvlugt* ” farmers are anxiously looking out for the long-promised reduction of rent on their places, and some of them express an intention to quit should this be ultimately refused.

II. As a second main cause assigned by several who have quitted

the colony, and of many who still speak of intending to do so, I can confidently assert the insecurity of life and property, owing to the prospect that the colony will be more and more infested by robbers and vagabonds, and that in the event of another Kafir invasion, the defence of the colony must entirely depend upon the military.

These conclusions they have come to for the following reasons :

1. Very few farmers have at present, as formerly, servants to whom they can entrust any part of their property in their absence ; and the frequent changes of such servants, in consequence of which their characters are seldom thoroughly known, make it dangerous for the farmer to leave his place and family for any length of time in time of peace, and still more so in time of war.

2. The facility with which vagrants can roam about the country unmolested, and provide themselves with what they can easily subsist upon, the difficulty of apprehending or convicting thieves, unless they are taken in the act or found in possession of stolen property, causes nine out of ten to escape the hands of justice, by which the farmers sustain losses of which the Government can have no idea, because it does not take the trouble to ascertain. The quarterly returns, which might be easily obtained from the fieldcornets, to whom the inhabitants of the wards would gladly report the cases, under a promise of confirming their statements by oath if required. Should such returns be furnished to Government of cattle, horses, and sheep that have been stolen, where the thieves could not be detected, the circumstances fully favoured the theft, also where the robbers were known, but could not be apprehended ; of houses broken open and goods stolen therefrom, and of the number of sheep, &c., lost through the negligence of the herdsmen, from whom the owners can get no compensation ;—it would then be found a matter of utter astonishment that the farmers could bear such losses from time to time with so much patience.

3. That the punishments inflicted upon offenders of the above description are by no means calculated to deter them or others from the commission of crime, as a few months' imprisonment in a gaol—where they are kept as comfortable as they could wish, that is, in company of each other, without employment, and furnished with clothing, bedding, and provisions far better than they were accustomed to when wandering about the fields ; or that even the hard or rather the easy, labour to which most of them are kept after conviction, can have any good effect upon such miserable wretches, since the shame of public whipping is to them no degradation, and the

punishment of the crime forgotten as soon as the effect of the stripes is no more felt. Crime is therefore on the increase, though convictions may be less in number, and with the emancipation of the slaves it is apprehended the evil will grow worse: appearances already begin to justify such apprehensions; and the farmers are too often, from want of servants or other assistance, and owing to the difficulty of detecting thieves, compelled to abstain from pursuing them, although the last ox or cow may have been stolen.

III. Another reason assigned by the emigrants is that in the colony they have no control over their servants, that is, no authority whatever to make them attend to their work. To turn them away would often be depriving themselves of the only herdsmen on the farm, while they cannot themselves herd the flocks without neglecting their other farming pursuits. Besides, those who may be obtained in their stead are sometimes worse than those discharged. To complain to a fieldcornet is useless: he cannot interfere, or exercise any authority in such matters. To complain to a magistrate is such a vexatious proceeding, that the farmer finds it more profitable to rest satisfied with the loss of ten, twelve, or twenty sheep, though he should moreover be abused by the herdsman upon being upbraided for his negligence, than to take him before a magistrate, at a distance of from twenty to eighty miles, attended by witnesses, and after all have to employ an attorney or agent to conduct his case, he not being himself acquainted with the rules of court, or capable of examining his witnesses according to legal practice, and perhaps have to provide himself with an interpreter, the courts being English, and not bound to understand him; and having complied with all these rules, what is the punishment of his servant? Two or three days' confinement in the gaol, perhaps on spare diet; or otherwise a lecture from the magistrate to behave better in the future. Now, what is the natural result? The farmer the next time takes the law into his own hands, gives his servant a blow in the face, or, perhaps, a few lashes with the sjambok: a complaint is lodged against him: and now look at the difference of the legal proceedings. Her Majesty's prosecutor interferes; the defendant and witnesses, perhaps all the people from the place, are summoned at the public expense; the assault is proved, and, whatever the provocation may have been, the law has been transgressed, and the offender is fined and imprisoned. He returns home, finds himself minus a considerable number of sheep or cattle lost in his absence—his servants sulkier than before: he either gives up farming or quits the colony.

There are a few other reasons of minor importance sometimes given, but I have upon inquiry invariably found that they have not alone sufficiently influenced to quit. As for instance :

1. An idea that it is the object of the Government to encourage the intermarriage of whites and blacks.

2. That the blacks are encouraged to consider themselves upon an equal footing with the whites in their religious exercises in church, though the former are heathens and no members of such church or community, because they have already been married by the ministers of the reformed congregations in church at the same time with members of that congregation, and by the same forms, thereby showing a disrespect for the religious institutions of the people.

Finally : I am not ignorant of the fact that when a person of influence or extensive family connections quits the colony, not a few may be found to follow him, though otherwise they would still have hesitated for a time.

I have thus endeavoured shortly to point out to you the real causes of emigration, only in so far as they have come under my notice. If I had any influence with the Government, I would advise them, even at the eleventh hour, to take some decisive steps towards restoring, if possible, its long-lost confidence with the people. Thus further emigration would not continue to such an extent as to be injurious to the colony. But, on the other hand, should Government continue to show all partiality to the blacks, by listening to private, or missionary self-interested representations, or decline to take the most active or vigorous measures towards suppressing vagrancy and crime, the colonists will desert its jurisdiction, whatever may be the obstacles and difficulties. The Zulus once subdued, they will find themselves safe, at least for a considerable time ; and the only difficulty which existed against emigration being thus removed, hundreds who have yet tarried behind will join their countrymen. One unwise or unjust step of the Government towards them will drive them all into the heart of Africa ; and despair may convert them from being most sincere and useful friends, if not protectors, of the colony to the most dangerous and powerful enemies it has ever had to contend with.

I was in expectation that Mr. Joubert's mission to the emigrants at Natal would tend in a measure to effect a reconciliation, and I hear that on his return to the colony he was in hopes that the people would return to their allegiance and obedience to the Colonial

Government, though not to the colony. But as soon as he heard of the measures adopted by Government during his absence, he found his good expectations vanish; and, indeed, these measures can have no other effect than to re-open all the wounds, and to confirm them in all the suspicions they formerly had against the Government.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. BOSHOF.

FROM CAPTAIN JERVIS, COMMANDING DETACHMENT AT PORT NATAL, TO
SIR GEORGE T. NAPIER, GOVERNOR OF THE CAPE.

Port Natal, 30th March, 1839.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of 29th January last, confirming me in the command of this post, and calling my attention to other points connected therewith. In reply, I can only assure your Excellency that nothing shall be wanting on my part to follow out the instructions, &c. * * * Major Charters delivered over this command, and left this with the party named in the margin—[Lieuts. Napier, Fuller, and Levinge, Mr. Shepstone, Private Bruce, Civil-servants Rose and Moll]—on 20th February last, to return to the colony. He proposed visiting the Chief Faku, and I have no doubt will be able to establish a communication with Graham's Town. However, I wrote to Mr. Jenkins at Bunting, and expect to hear by the first opportunity.

I shall now endeavour to put your Excellency in possession of what has fallen under my observation or come to my knowledge since Major Charters' departure. * * * With respect to the state of the country, I am happy to report that the whole line of occupation has remained perfectly tranquil.

The following are the movements which have taken place in the Boers' camps under Van Rooyen:—

Van Staden, Potgieter, and Büchner are still on the other side of the Draaksberg. Combined they may amount to 700 men. It is expected they may move south as soon as things become settled. The camp on the Tugela broke up and joined the Bushman's Rand on 7th February last. This camp was about 120 miles off.

I send your Excellency a specimen of the coal I found in this neighbourhood on the surface. Coal of exactly the same quality is spoken of as abundant on the other side of the Draaksberg, likewise in Dingaan's country at the same distance from this port.

Mr. Pretorius, whose camp was on the Sand River, re-occupied the Tugela Spruit about the 18th instant. He will likewise join the Bushman's Rand party shortly. It is now the strongest, and will, it is said, compose a community of 2,000 persons of all ages when Pretorius arrives. It is about 70 miles from the port. I am indebted to Lieutenant Sherson, 72nd Regiment, for the accompanying sketch. They are, I am informed, measuring the ground, and laying out a village, preferring this situation to the other camps, as being cooler, the land better adapted for agriculture, and their having sustained little or no loss from sickness among their cattle.

The only deficiency spoken of is wood, though plentiful at some little distance. They have led water some 5,000 or 6,000 yards, and have already beautiful gardens. Some two or three parties have already detached themselves from this camp, and are located on or near the road leading to this port, having departed merely on account of grazing for their cattle.

Of the three camps in the vicinity of the port at Umlaas, they have led out water and sown pumpkins and Indian-corn, but delay sowing the little corn seed they have preserved till better acquainted with the seasons, the wheat crops having as yet wholly failed.

At Congella little or nothing has been done in this way, they depending on the natives for pumpkins and Indian-corn. Many of the farmers in this camp speak of moving on account of their cattle being so pestered with flies, but no precise spot has as yet been fixed upon. The Umgeni has been deserted since the last commando went out. I have heard that some intend to re-occupy it—that is, when a party of twenty families can be collected; they being afraid to occupy it with less.

The loss of cattle at these three camps is spoken of as great, but the cause no one can account for. As to defence, the camps are surrounded by a kind of palisade fastened with riems, or by a fence of thorn-bushes—the wagons and huts inside. At the Bushman's Rand they are a little on the alert against surprise, but in the camp last named they seem to live in the greatest security.

At all the camps the cattle run day and night guarded by Kafirs, nor do they speak of ever sustaining any loss.

From the huddled state of the huts in the camp and the total

neglect of cleanliness, sickness might be expected, but the only disease is sore eyes, and that confined entirely to children.

With regard to provisions and necessaries, scarcity reigns everywhere; and were it not for the abundance of pumpkins and Indian-corn, many would be distressed for food. When the troops arrived there was scarcely a particle of meal, rice, coffee, sugar, or tea, amongst them. Their money, also, I am told is getting low. Notwithstanding all these privations, the men seem to have suffered little, but nothing can be more wretched than the state of the women and children. The "Mazeppa" and "Louisa" arrived here on the 15th instant, but have effected no great sale in consequence of the price being too high, most of the Boers preferring to wait for later arrivals. The "Mary" arrived on the 24th, and landed everything on the 25th. Respecting their affairs, from the determined resistance and success in some measure of the Zulus, with the loss of their leaders their whole plans have in a manner been upset. Forced to crowd together for protection, they have been completely put out of their way, living on from day to day, incapable of action if willing: always hoping that some change for the better might turn up on the morrow. But such a state of things could not have been borne much longer: the entire consumption of their stock, which has suffered immensely already, would be the consequence. They must separate and occupy the country at large, or eventually be involved in one common ruin. They have now been two years upon the "trek," and own themselves as unsettled in their affairs, their intentions, and immediate probability of establishing themselves in a fixed abode, as the day they crossed the frontier. With all this, not a doubt is entertained of their being able to make their footing good in the country; and even though petty quarrels and animosities should occur, causing perhaps the removal of one family from one camp to another, yet no such disunion is to be found, or question entertained as to their not assembling, one and all, with eagerness when required for defence or to revenge aggression.

They are governed, if I understand them aright, by a Volksraad consisting of twenty-four, the president chosen out of that number; and by magistrates, who are assisted by six heemraden, elected yearly. The magistrates try all cases under Rds. 20 (fine). There is no appeal above that of an appeal to the Volksraad. In cases of murder or any serious offence, the magistrate is at liberty to swear in a jury of twelve who find the verdict. In this case the magistrate and heemraden merely investigate the charge.

In regard to their uniting under one head, I see no probability of it; for even of their Volksraad, it is said, scarcely two of them agree, and they are equally difficult to come to an agreement in the choice of their magistrates.

As regards their willingness to return to the colony, though some are in absolute want, I hear no such idea openly expressed, with the exception of two or three; and of these there are some who candidly confess they are ashamed to own it; but most of them I am convinced bitterly regret ever having set out.

They account their loss in all, black and white, at a thousand since they crossed the Orange River.

There may be some found who will acknowledge it, but they always avoid the question, and put this instead: being over the colonial limit, how can the British Government have anything to do with them?

Thus they consider the appointment of their magistrates as entirely vested in themselves, and it is hardly to be doubted that, having already undergone so much to escape from, they would now rather submit to any further hazard than bring themselves again under the control of the Government, saying: to be left to themselves, to live in quiet, free, and to be exempt from taxation, is all they require.

Their greatest object was to make peace with Dingaan. But how to bring it about? They spoke of it as an impossibility; and even said he invariably put their messengers to death. The consequence is, they have been kept in a most unsettled state, and which I have reason to believe they were determined to put an end to by entering his country, and compelling him either to succumb and treat, or to destroy him. One thing may be said: we are in possession of all the powder and lead, and as it is well known they have none to spare, it might be inferred they will not willingly endanger their running short; but I am happy to inform your Excellency that this blow has been ward off, at least for a time, I having been able through Mr. Ogle, a trader personally well known to Dingaan, to get a message conveyed to him by a runaway "pagate" of his, named Fettece, in terms of your Excellency's proclamation. He left this on 7th February last and returned on the 14th of the same month, stating that he had delivered the message to a friend of his, who would carry it to the king. On 23rd February last, Gambutshi, Dingaan's servant, well known to Mr. Ogle, with his followers arrived, when the following interrogation took place:—

Q. [By Mr. Ogle.] The English Government sent a message to the king by Fettece. What was it?

A. Fettece came with a nobbed stick, and told a boy to take it to the king. The interpreter (Ogle) had sent it, as coming from the English Government, asking the king to send down two of his captains, Gikwana and Sotobe, and any others. The king said: "Gambutshi, go!"

Q. [By Mr. Ogle.] How was it received, and what did the king say?

A. The king was rejoiced, and said: "I have received a message from Ogle. I know I shall now be able to make all right. Tell him that I am on the brink of ruin; that I will make any terms the captain of the English may make for the Boers. It was never my intention to fight with either. I never acknowledged the Boers, and never will. The English I always have, since Farewell's arrival at Natal. Gambutshi, tell the English captain to write a letter in your presence, and not to deceive me, for I am in trouble. Tell the English Government to assist me, and to send the Boers out of the country."

Q. [By Mr. Ogle.] What was the cause of the king's murdering Mr. Retief?

A. I know: but the king did not send me on that errand.

Being informed that he did not wish to speak of anything that had happened previous to this, I gave him the following message for the king: "I send the king this letter"—[Proclamation dated 14th November, 1838, English and Dutch]—"likewise a small present of beads, and I request the king to send back Gambutshi and two captains, Gikwana and Gungwana, with the king's word, and for them to be informed by the king how to speak on all matters about peace."

The party was rationed here two days, and received three oxen to carry them to the Tugela, and went away, apparently well satisfied, 24th, next morning.

On the 23rd instant, the captains, Gikwana and Gungwana, and with them Gambutshi and six followers, arrived, having left at the Umgeni about three hundred horses belonging to the Boers.

Q. [By Mr. Ogle.] Have you come to make peace?

A. Yes.

Q. What are your terms?

A. He will give back all the Boers' arms, horses, cattle, and sheep. The king was collecting them when we came away.

Q. Will you let the Boers remain unmolested where they now are?

A. Yes.

Q. What is to be the boundary?

A. The River Umtongati.

To all which I swore Mr. Ogle as being truly interpreted.

Having made them perfectly understand that the Government wanted nothing from them, and that they must only regard me in the light of a peacemaker, I caused Mr. Pretorius and others to be informed of their arrival; and in consequence the parties met on the flat, to the right of Mr. Acker's place, on the 25th, when, after a great deal of questioning, the following terms were agreed to:—

That there should be peace, and that the Boers should protect them in the case of their being attacked unjustly: that the Zulus should remain on the other side of the Tugela until everything was settled, nor come on this side without a pass. A place to be appointed at once where the cattle were to be given up.

The captains having received a present of beads and snuff, with three days' rations, set out.

This accommodation, I am led to believe, is the best, if not the only, means of preventing bloodshed. Not that I really expect, nor do the Boers, that the Zulus will fulfil the contract, nor will they be required to do so; because I am confident that many of the most influential farmers will forego their losses for peace, and induce others to do the same. I conclude, therefore, that the only impediment will be to satisfy the remnant of Retief's party, and those parties who have lost everything.

In the meantime we are living on the most friendly terms with the emigrant farmers, doing them all the kind offices in our power, and which they seem both willing and anxious to return and acknowledge.

In relation to the natives living in the immediate vicinity of the port, they are, I am informed, of a great many different tribes: some of them runaway Zulus, who were in a state of absolute starvation when the Boers arrived. They inhabit round the port a distance of six or seven miles, and are extended from the Umgeni a considerable distance down the coast to the westward. By those who pretend to be acquainted with them, their numbers are said to be about two

thousand in all, divided into numerous small kraals. They acknowledge Mr. Ogle and a Mr. Toohey, both Englishmen, as their chiefs; neither can they claim any great authority over them. They have large gardens which they cultivate carefully, and barter their produce with the soldiers for tobacco, and the Boers for meat. Many are in the Boers' service as herds. Nothing has come to my knowledge to induce me to think they are at all interfered with, with the exception of the complaint herewith transmitted to the Clerk of the Peace, and I believe them to be happy and contented. With respect to the troops, I have to report that they have been constantly employed on the public works; and Major Clark can best explain the difficulties they have had to surmount in procuring materials necessary for carrying them on. The following have been completed, besides cutting poles and boating them across the bay:—25th, oven finished. 28th, magazine. 2nd, bakery. 5th, guard-house. 7th, well lined. 7th February, whole ammunition in magazine. 9th, marquee pitched, ordnance stores deposited. 12th, gun shed and embrasures. 14th, light guns in position. 16th, store stockaded. 16th, heavy guns in position. 27th, soldiers' hut, 54 x 16, with reed wall seven feet high. 28th, magazine stockaded. 10th, soldiers' hut, with wall seven feet high. 23rd, shed for Quartermaster-General's stores. 27th, officers' house. Every enquiry has been made about deserters, but without success.

It only now remains to report to your Excellency that the detachment continues healthy, that the same uniform observation of discipline is observed, and that all under my command conduct themselves and carry on the duty in every way to my perfect satisfaction. I duly conveyed to the detachment the expression of your Excellency's approbation and thanks.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) HENRY JERVIS,

Captain, 72nd Regt., Commandant.

COMPLAINT.

Camp, Port Natal, 27th February, 1839.

Appeared before me a Malala, named Jonas, and having been sworn according to the custom of the country (likewise Andreas Vervi on the Bible to interpret truly), deposed:—

I was sent this morning by Piet, a one-eyed man, to look for a horse he had lost. He promised to give me a cow for my trouble.

He described the horse as having a white mark down his face. I found a horse answering to his description, and was riding him towards the Lower Umlaas Camp, when I met two Boers, Piet and another small boy. I know them. They asked me where I got the horse. I told them. They said, "You lie; you have stolen the horse." Piet fired at me at the distance of about ten yards, and shot off my hat. I then ran away into the bush, when Piet fired another shot, which went through my hand. He then fired a third shot, but I escaped, and got to D. Stellers, who brought me here.

He was then made to understand that he must be ready at any time within six months to give evidence at the trial.

Having grounds to suspect that Piet was a son of Mr. Kemp's, living at the Congela Camp, I rode over to enquire, but finding he was not at home, I summoned him to appear before me, * * * but, instead of appearing, the father sent me a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

Congela, March 1st, 1839.

SIR,—My son having received an order sent by you to attend this morning, he being charged with shooting a Kafir, I beg to inform you that the Dutch emigrant farmers having elected a magistrate from their own body, the case must be investigated by such magistrate, and not by you, whose authority over the emigrants we do not acknowledge.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) G. KEMP.

On this, I should immediately have granted a warrant for the apprehension of the said Kemp, but knowing the impossibility of getting it executed by any white man, I should only have brought my authority into contempt.

This is the state of the proceedings, and I await further instructions. Jonas is doing well, and I am in hopes the wound will not prove of any serious detriment to him.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) HENRY JERVIS, Capt.

Port Natal, March 31, 1839.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose herewith copy of a letter addressed to Captain Jervis, the military commandant here, from which you will perceive that we have requested the restitution of the gunpowder of which possession had been taken. The reply was a refusal, under the

plea that it could not be done without the knowledge of His Excellency the Colonial Governor.

Although we are abundantly supplied with gunpowder, we notwithstanding view it as a hardship to see such power exercised over our property, which we had bought and paid for. I for my own part know that my authority will be insufficient to appease the present excitement. I shall, however, try everything for the exercise of patience, as we have already done to the present time.

On my arrival here I found all in peace and quietness. The emigrants journeying hither, whom I met on the road, I cannot estimate at less than two thousand men capable of bearing arms, all joyful, satisfied, and cheerful; all anxious to give the last deathblow to the now humbled bloodhound, and which he certainly shall not escape.

A few weeks ago, seven Zulus came to the military camp here—it is said, peacemakers: but not a single emigrant was permitted to be present at the meeting, so that we are ignorant of the arrangements which may have been made. These peacemakers did not return, which caused more or less anxiety, knowing that when Dingaan makes propositions of peace, his murderous intentions are at their height. But the restored union and newly-formed relations place us more than ever in a situation to thwart his barbarous intentions. It is also a great satisfaction to me to be able to state that the Commandant Potgieter, who had left, has again united himself to us with all his people.

I have also to inform you that a beautiful salt pan has been discovered on this side the Vaal River, where the emigrants have gathered upwards of 300 muids of superior salt. Our garden fruits, mealies, beans, pumpkins, potatoes, &c., are abundant, and are daily brought to barter by the peaceful Kafirs, who for their own protection have come nearer and nearer to us. It was worthy of note to witness their joy at the last defeat of Dingaan. Even Maroko, Sikonyela, and other chiefs, complimented me on my route in the most hearty manner on my last conquest over their own as well as our common enemy.

We have at present two vessels in the bay, both from Mr. J. O. Smith, of Port Elizabeth; but I am sorry to say that the price of provisions has been placed at so high a rate, that none of the poorer emigrants can buy anything, viz: meal, Rds. 60, coffee Rds. 100, and so on in proportion. We must consequently teach our children to eat mealies, pumpkins, and good meat, and no more habituate them to such luxuries as they have now been taught to do without, whereby they will remain strong, healthy, and robust.

A large, pleasant, and well-watered town, Pietermaritzburg,

begins daily to raise its head above the surrounding hillocks; 300 beautiful erven have already been given out, surveyed, and partly planted. This town is situated on the lower part of "Stinkhout Berg," distant about fifty miles from the bay: has a picturesque site, and combines all the advantages of nature, as well as of local situation, making so fine a prospect that I know nothing similar to it in the colony. The growth of plants is so rapid that mealies (Indian corn), as well as pumpkins, can be harvested in abundance throughout the year, and I have no doubt but all garden seeds will thrive equally well here; so that although our wheat harvest has failed, and much loss has been sustained in cattle and horses by death along the sea-coast in the vicinity of the bay, we can nevertheless not too much adore the omnipotent arm of a merciful God for what has been left to us, which is at present in the best condition. The cattle, particularly those coming from the Oliphant's Hoek and other places along the coast, thrive better here than those coming from Graaff-Reinet and other inland places.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS,
Chief Commandant.

SIR G. NAPIER TO LORD GLENELG.

Government House, Cape Town,
12th April, 1839.

MY LORD,—With reference to the despatch of Captain Jervis, which I had the honour to transmit, * * * I beg to call your attention to a paragraph in that officer's report regarding a complaint made by the natives in that neighbourhood.

Immediately on sight of the report I sent the letter to the Clerk of the Peace for the report of the Acting Attorney-General. * * I deemed it my duty to lay the report before the Executive Council, and require their opinion.

After mature deliberation the Council were unanimously of opinion, in which I fully concurred, that under existing circumstances, and in the almost certainty that the seizure by the military force of the accused would bring about a collision between the emigrants and the troops, it would be highly improper to run such

risks of bloodshed, which could lead to no result, as it would be impossible to bring the culprit and the necessary witnesses to this colony to be tried by the Supreme Court.

I have, therefore, determined not to give Captain Jervis any instructions to arrest the man against whom the complaint was made; but, should he at any time be found in the colony, I shall use every endeavour to bring him to justice; and I feel confident your Lordship will, under the peculiar and difficult circumstances of Capt. Jervis' position, coincide in the view the Executive Council and myself have taken of the matter.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. NAPIER.

On the subject of this despatch the Secretary of State signified his approval of the Governor's views.

[Despatch 40.]

SIR G. NAPIER TO LORD GLENELG.

April 15, 1839.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a despatch, and its papers, received by me from Captain Jervis, 72nd Highlanders, commandant of the military post at Port Natal.

The report is so full and clear, and contains so much information upon every point, both political and military, that it is quite superfluous for me to enter further into the subject. I shall therefore merely remark that the object of the occupation of Natal (viz., the prevention of the further effusion of blood) has been accomplished by the peace which Captain Jervis has so praiseworthy been the means of bringing about between the Zulu chief Dingaan and the emigrant Boers.

When we consider the position of the contracting parties, and the circumstances under which it has been effected, no man can say how long peace will last or who will be the first to break it; but as it is evidently the interest of both at the present moment to remain tranquil, and at least in apparent amity, I am sanguine enough to hope that Captain Jervis, the commandant, will by his presence, temper, and judgment, and the position which he now holds as a peacemaker, be enabled to carry my instructions and the wishes of Her

Majesty's Government into effect; and although your Lordship will perceive the utter hopelessness of the emigrant farmers ever being induced to return to the colony, as I have invariably stated, still if the bloody conflicts which have, unhappily for humanity, already taken place, are prevented for the future, I feel confident that I have done right in occupying Port Natal by Her Majesty's troops, and in Her Majesty's name.

I must now, my Lord, candidly state that, the peace being concluded between the emigrant Boers and the Zulu chief, the tide of emigration among the Dutch farmers of the colony will decidedly turn again, and that it will flow with redoubled force towards those lands which their compatriots are now peacefully occupying. How or by what means I am to stem it is, I fear, a problem which is far too difficult for me, or even your Lordship, to solve; but in justice to the Colonial Government and the Legislative Council, I must now respectfully state that, in voting the estimates of the year, every attention was paid to redress, as far as in our power at present, all just grievances, and a ready willingness was shown to relieve the agricultural interest from every irksome burden and clog upon industry. Your Lordship will have seen by my former despatches the amount of expense which the military occupation of Natal has entailed on the military chest; but in the detail the working pay of the soldiers was omitted. * * * I trust your Lordship will not disapprove of any extra military expenditure which circumstances may force the commandant of the force to authorise, and I feel confident that officer will not expend one shilling which can possibly be avoided.

The health of the troops at Natal, I am happy to say, is excellent, as the medical returns give only two per cent. of sick, which is a very small number under the peculiar and very trying circumstances of their position, the description of the work they are called upon to perform, and the necessity of salt meat twice a week. The conduct of all in the command is well spoken of by Captain Jervis, and I have no doubt of its continuance.

I have discharged the schooner "Mary," &c. * * *

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

G. NAPIER.

FROM DOWNING-STREET TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

[Draft Reply, No. 14.]

June 30, 1839.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 40, of 15th April last, with the report of Capt. Jervis' proceedings at Port Natal to the 29th March last.

I have perused that report with much pleasure, and I entirely approve of Captain Jervis' proceedings in effecting a pacification between the emigrants and the chief Dingaan.

If the effect of that arrangement shall, as you apprehend, be to increase the tide of emigration from the colony, that is an evil which, however great, will be inconsiderable compared with an acquiescence in the inhuman warfare by which Southern Africa has recently been desolated.

The question of the expenditure at Natal cannot, of course, be disposed of until the accounts shall have been transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. In the examination of them, Her Majesty's Government will not fail to make every necessary allowance for the peculiar difficulties under which this service has been undertaken and executed.

The fact stated by Capt. Jervis of the discovery of coal in Natal, lying on or near the surface of the ground, would appear to demand careful investigation, as such a resource might prove of the utmost importance to steam navigation in the adjacent seas.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

FOR THE

BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE (RAAD VAN REPRESENTANTEN VAN HET VOLK) AT PORT NATAL AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

[From the "Zuid Afrikaan," 21st June, 1840.]

Art. 1. This Board (Raad) shall consist of twenty-four members, of from 25 to 60 years of age.

2. The representatives shall be elected by the people by majority of votes, and every person having attained the age of twenty-one years shall be entitled to vote at such election.

3. Whenever the people shall have settled themselves on fixed and permanent locations, a division of the whole community shall be made in fieldcornetcies; and from time to time the number of representatives shall be fixed, to be elected by each fieldcornetcy.

4. Every person duly elected as a representative shall be bound to serve as such for one year; and in case of refusal, or if resigning within that year, without lawful cause, to be approved by the Board, shall forfeit a penalty of Rds. 50.

5. In case of resignation or death of any member, another representative shall be elected in his place, upon a warrant to that effect to be issued by the President of the Council of Government (President van Politie).

6. The Board shall for every meeting appoint their chairman, who shall during the sitting for that day, regulate the business of the meeting, and preserve the order in the proceedings thereof.

7. The Board shall have jurisdiction in the appointment and discharge or dismissal of the public officers of the State, regulating their duties, and making and issuing the necessary regulations and instructions for that purpose; in the enactment of laws for the community both of a public and local nature; in the granting or selling of lands situate within the limits of the community; in the establishment of villages and towns; in the making or ratifying of peace or treaties, and in the fixing of the limits of the community (Gemeene-best).

8. The Board shall also have the power to reduce or remit all fines or punishment to which any one shall have been condemned by any of the competent criminal courts of this community.

9. The Board shall also have the power to fine any of its members for improper conduct or injurious expressions in the meeting, or for breaches of the peace, or to censure him, or to expel him from the meeting, subject to a re-election by the people.

10. Five members may call a meeting, but whether such meeting be called by the members themselves or by the President of the Council (President van Politie), three days' previous notice shall be given, unless in cases of extreme urgency.

11. The President of the Council (de President van Politie) shall have the right, and he shall attend the meetings of this Board, for the purpose of assisting the Board with his counsel and advice.

12. Twelve members shall form a quorum, and all subjects before the Board shall be decided by a majority of votes.

13. The Board shall also protect the due exercise of the religious

concerns of our community, and watch over the state of the schools, and employ all and every measure for the encouragement and extension thereof.

14. The Board shall diligently superintend that in this community the Dutch Reformed Church at all times be duly protected, and be regarded as the established church of the community.

15. Each party hereafter settling itself, or joining with our community (Maatschappij), shall be entitled to elect one person from among themselves as a member of the Board of Representatives, which shall continue to take place until the Board shall have increased to the number of seventy-two members.

16. The members of the Board shall make the following oath of office:—"We, the representatives of the people, solemnly swear and promise that in our capacities we will ever vote in every case before us in all justice and equity, without favour or fear, and without respect of persons, according to our best judgment; that we have accepted from nobody any gift whatever; nor will we accept any whenever we suspect that it is done with intent to secure or gain our vote in their favour; and that in our considerations and decisions we will have no other object in view but what may conduce to our public welfare, according to the aforesaid instructions."

RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS

FOR THE

JUDGES OR MAGISTRATES, AND THE MODE OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDING FOR
THE PEOPLE (GEMEENE-BEST).

Art. 1. There shall be one or more magistrates in accordance with the wants of the people and the extent of the population, to be appointed from time to time by the Board of Representatives, and the limits of their jurisdiction, to be defined by the same.

2. The magistrates shall have jurisdiction in all civil cases, without appeal, whenever the case in appeal shall not exceed the value of Rds. 20; and the proceedings in such cases shall be summary, without being obliged to keep any notes of the proceedings or evidence; and they shall have the same jurisdiction in all cases between master and servant.

3. In all civil cases of a value exceeding Rds. 20, the magistrate, together with six heemraden, to be elected by the Board of Representatives for one year, shall decide, with leave to appeal; such appeal shall be made to the magistrate and twelve jurors out of the people; and whenever two-thirds of such jurors shall have agreed in their verdict, such verdict shall be the final decision of the case.

4. Every burgher between the age of twenty-one and sixty (unless being prevented by bodily infirmity) shall be obliged to serve as a juror, at every session, as well civil as criminal, to be held quarterly; and in case of refusal or non-attendance, forfeit a penalty of Rds. 25 for each time.

5. Deafness and blindness and similar infirmities, shall disable every one from serving as a juror.

6. Every magistrate shall within his jurisdiction form yearly lists of persons who are authorised to act as jurors, and at every session twenty-four jurors shall be summoned as they follow upon the list, without any distinction, except such as are sick or absent.

7. In civil cases each party shall have the right, on the names of the jurors being called out, to challenge three thereof without assigning any reason; and in criminal cases the prosecutor and the party prosecuted, each shall have the same right of challenge. And no jurors shall be allowed to sit in any civil case in which they are connected by relationship with any of the parties; nor in criminal cases in which they are connected with the party prosecuted; nor whenever they have any interest in the issue of the case.

8. The magistrate shall issue and sign all summonses, and also keep a record-book, in which every case and the decision thereof shall be recorded.

9. The magistrate shall have the right to appoint proper persons to act or transact business before his court, and in case of neglect of duty to dismiss the same.

10. Every fieldcornet or other private person shall be obliged to assist the magistrate, or such official person as shall be appointed by the magistrate, in the execution of the sentences passed by him, as well civil as criminal; and, in case of refusal, forfeit a penalty of not less than twenty-five rixdollars for every such refusal.

11. In all cases for which no local regulations or laws have been made or provided, the Dutch mode of procedure, as well civil as criminal, shall be taken and adopted as the basis or guidance.

12. In case anyone shall insult the magistrate when in office, or his court, by words, deeds, threats, or demeanour, the Magistrate

shall have the right forthwith to punish him with a fine of not more than ten rixdollars for every offence, or, in case of refusal of immediate payment, with confinement for not more than eight days for every offence.

13. Whenever any person shall obstruct, or with threats of force resist, the magistrate, or any other person, in the exercise of his judicial functions, such person shall be forthwith arrested, and be subject to a fine, or imprisonment, or transportation, according to the nature of the offence, as shall be decided or adjudged by a competent court.

14. No magistrate shall be allowed to sit or decide in any case, whether civil or criminal, in which his personal or private interests are concerned, or in which the parties shall stand to him in the relation of uncle or aunt, or nearer, and in such cases one of the heemraden shall preside.

15. In all criminal cases the magistrate alone shall have the jurisdiction in all cases in which a fine of not more than rixdollars 10 is demanded, or imprisonment of not more than eight days is claimed.

16. In all criminal cases in which the fine shall be fixed up to £5 sterling, or the imprisonment up to one month, the magistrate and the heemraden jointly shall decide, with liberty to appeal, in the same manner as in civil cases.

17. In cases in which the punishment of death or expulsion from the country is expected, the trial shall take place before the magistrate and the heemraden, in the presence of twelve jurors; and whenever the jurors shall have unanimously agreed upon the verdict of guilty, the sentence of the magistrate and heemraden shall be given accordingly.

18. All criminal sentences shall first have to be fiatd by the Board of Representatives before they can be executed; and in all cases the said Board shall have the right to remit or reduce all fines or other penalties.

19. Five heemraden together with the magistrate shall form a quorum to constitute a court in the absence of the other heemraden, and the majority shall decide.

20. Any one elected and appointed as heemraad, shall be obliged to serve for one year, on pain of forfeiting rixdollars 50, unless he shall remove to another district beyond the jurisdiction of the court.

21. Whenever any magistrate shall be convicted before the Board of Representatives of wilful partiality, or of having employed

his authority to oppress or to punish the innocent, or of any other improper conduct or crime, he shall be dismissed by the said Board from his situation; and he may also be punished by a competent court, whenever he shall have committed any crime within the meaning of the law, or the nature of the case.

22. Every magistrate shall on entering upon his appointment be obliged to take his oath of office before the Board of Representatives, and subscribe the same.

REGULATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

FRAMED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE BOARD FOR FIXING THE SITUATION AND PROMOTING THE REGULARITY OF THE TOWN, OR CHIEF TOWN, OF PIETERMARITZBURG.

Art. 1. Each surveyed erf shall be assigned to the applicant for the same by lot or number, to be drawn for; but it will also be left to the option of every one to cause a whole block of erven (each block being divided into ten erven) to be enregistered for himself, and so many of his relations and friends among the applicants as there are numbers in such block, which will be thus granted.

2. The erven being thus granted, each proprietor shall be bound (in order to keep possession thereof) to pay the sum of five rix-dollars, either in cash or by an acceptance payable in twelve months, which payment will be in full satisfaction of all the taxes thereon for a term of five years.

3. But as it is necessary that the water be led from the Kleine Bosjesman's River, for the partly irrigating the town, every proprietor of erven shall be bound to pay a proportionate tax to defray the expense thereof.

4. Every proprietor of an erf shall also be bound to sow and plant said erf, within the term of two months, with the best grain and plants; as also to properly secure the same from damage within the said period, namely, to surround it by a turf wall (sod wall), or by means of a palisade, but in a proper manner; while after the expiration of said period, all right for indemnification or damage will cease, according to Ordinance dated 11th February, 1839; and those neglecting will be liable to such fines and punishments as will be expressly fixed for that purpose.

5. The dwelling houses shall be built in front and in a right

line, as will be regulated and pointed out by a qualified person to be appointed for the purpose.

6. Each erf shall alternately have a right of water, about which further regulations will be framed.

Thus done and passed on the date as above (February 15, 1839).

(Signed) J. S. MARITZ, President.

By order of this Council,

(Signed) JAN G. BANTJES, Secretary.

BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE PEOPLE AT PORT NATAL AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

Tugela, 20th October, 1839.

Whereas the above Board have used their exertions to provide for the interests of the orphans, which by the death of the late President of Politie (G. M. Maritz) have been left unprovided for: having taken into consideration the great and important labour connected therewith: therefore the said Board have thought fit and proper to nominate and appoint as orphan-master, Mr. Johan Bernard Roedeloff, who is hereby nominated and appointed to act in that capacity, until further provision shall have been made in that respect, or for the term of one year, said Roedeloff will therefore be obliged to take over from the widow of the late Mr. Maritz, all the affairs which have been conducted or administered by him in that capacity; and thereafter account to the Board, whenever required, for his administration, under proper security as follows:—

We, the undersigned, Johannes Stephanus Maritz, Lucas Johannes Meyer, Jan du Plessis, Christian Jacobus Liebenberg, Jochimus Johannes Petrus Prinsloo, Johan Marthinus Scheepers, Jan Harm Labuschagne, Pieter Johannes van Niekerk, and Casper Jeremias Labuschagne, do hereby acknowledge to have bound ourselves as sureties for Johan Bernard Roedeloff, in his capacity of orphan-master, for the term of one year, to take effect from this day's date and terminate on 19th October, 1839, holding ourselves responsible in the case of his neglect, wilful carelessness, or prodigality,

to make good any damage or injury which any of the orphans or minors may suffer thereby; renouncing of the "beneficia ordinis, divisionis, et excussionis," according to law.

(Signed) J. S. MARITZ, C. LIEBENBERG,
J. DU PLESSIS, P. J. VAN NIEKERK,
J. H. LABUSCHAGNE, C. J. LABUSCHAGNE.
L. J. MEYER,

Subscribed by all the members of the Board, and by order
of the same,

• (Signed) JAN G. BANTJES, Clerk.

EXTRACT

FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL, 10TH JULY, 1839.

* * * *

The military occupation of Port Natal has met with the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government, with whom entirely depends the settlement of every question concerning the relations in which the emigrant colonists stand with the British authorities. I rejoiced to learn that a convention had been made between the emigrants and the Zulus, under which it seems probable that peace may be preserved, and much of the property taken by that people may be restored. It rests not with me to deny, much less to recognise, the independence of the expatriated farmers; but in the meantime, and in the absence of any instruction in the matter, I deem myself precluded from sanctioning any regular trade with, or any shipments to, Port Natal, except, in the latter case, of such articles as appear to be necessary for the common comforts and subsistence of the emigrants, whilst they continue in peaceable relations with the natives, of which it would seem an unnecessarily hard measure to deprive them.

* * * *

THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE PEOPLE, CONVENED AT PIETERMARITZBURG, &c., TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE DETACHMENT OF TROOPS OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND AT PORT NATAL.

Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

31st July, 1839.

To Captain H. JERVIS, &c.

SIR,—We hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 12th June, 1839, together with a document enclosed therein which you call a "declaration," and which being subscribed by us, you would feel disposed to return our ammunition which has been seized by you. We have to state in reply that the Assembly have maturely taken it into consideration; but that not one of the members considered himself obliged to sign the same, nor willing to call upon any person whomsoever to make any declaration for obtaining back our lawful property, which has been taken from us in an unlawful manner, on our own territory.

And as we know (according to a declaration of the Governor of the Cape, as well as from letters of Major Charters) that the troops were sent hither with no other view but merely to take temporary possession of this port, for the purpose of preventing bloodshed which might take place against the natives, and to reconcile both parties, for which purpose we are also of opinion that said ammunition was seized, we must now hereby positively declare that the peace between us emigrants and all the surrounding natives is positively certain, and will continue as long as they deal with us in a proper manner; and we expect that you will now deliver up such ammunition without hesitation. You were personally present when the parties with whom we lived in enmity requested us to make peace. We entered into negotiations through our last commission for that purpose, and a final conclusion of peace has been effected.

We therefore consider that neither you nor the English Government can now have the least reason to keep the port in possession any longer. We also expect that you will leave it as soon as possible, and that nothing will prevent your delivering up all that which is our lawful property. We must also signify our utter displeasure and astonishment at the seizure of the arms of our unfortunate

countrymen, whom we have caused to be brought back from De la Goa in a vessel at our own expense.* We are the more astonished as we are not in want of arms wherewith to provide 500 or 600 men should they come hither without arms. We find also in Cape newspapers that a certain Mr. Bannister has come forward to propose the establishment of a British colony, and although we take little notice of what the newspapers say, we have yet to signify to you, should you remain here for that purpose, or that you are awaiting them, that we shall never allow one or more persons to establish themselves here without subjecting themselves to the jurisdiction of this community; nor shall we allow another community to be established here.—In the meantime,

We have the honour to be, &c.;

[Signed by the Chief Commandant Pretorius, and the members of the Assembly of the emigrants.]

The following is the declaration alluded to in the above letter :—
 “We, the undersigned, leaders of the emigrant farmers, parties to the late treaty of peace with the Zulus and others, do hereby solemnly declare, that provided the ammunition which was seized by the troops on the occupation of Port Natal is restored to us, it is not the intention of ourselves or people to turn our arms against the Zulus, or any other of the native tribes, but to restrict ourselves to measures of self-defence alone, on the territory which we now occupy.”

FROM SIR GEORGE NAPIER

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
 30th September, 1839.

MY LORD,—On the 17th instant I had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 19, relative to Port Natal.

The arrival of Major Charters, and of my despatches Nos. 40 and 41 of the 15th and 18th of April last, will have put your Lordship in possession of intelligence respecting that place down to the 27th of

* The family of Tricheard.

March, since when I have received the enclosed reports from Captain Jervis; but I do not expect that any events are likely to occur for some time to come which might enable me, better than at present, to judge of the propriety of withdrawing the detachment of Her Majesty's troops at Natal.

It gives me great satisfaction to learn that your Lordship approved of the policy which dictated the occupation of that port, and that your Lordship was of opinion that that policy prescribed its retention as a military position; but in as far as it was expected to impede the supply of the emigrants with munitions of war, I must admit that the occupation was of no avail, for they appear to have been so amply supplied with arms and ammunition before they arrived at Natal, that they have been in no want of such articles; neither has it had any effect in checking a disposition to emigration. Nothing but some signal discomfiture of the emigrants by the native tribes, or the blight of their prospects as agriculturists, will have any effect in allaying the still increasing spirit of expatriation. I am bound, therefore, to say that the continued occupation of the port will not prevent or retard emigration, and cannot for the future throw any insurmountable impediment in the way of supplies of warlike stores.

If I am correct in these opinions, it follows that the occupation by so small a force can be of no avail in protecting the native tribes, the nearest of whom are at a great distance from the port. The only purpose which it can serve will be to promote the continuance of doubt as to the intention of Her Majesty's Government in respect of that country and its colonization. Were I to withdraw the detachment, and, as suggested by your Lordship, make known that the determination of the British Government not to colonize Natal remains unchanged, the immediate effect would be, that great numbers of people, who now only entertain a half-formed intention of joining the emigrants, would decide on that step. It would at all events seem unnecessary to make any such declaration, for I have omitted no opportunity of publicly declaring that colonization was not the object of the expedition.

In regard to the evacuation of the port, I should have been inclined to await your Lordship's specific instructions on that point, were it not that the rumoured arrival of the 19th Regiment to relieve the 72nd, which furnishes the Natal detachment, forces me to determine whether it will be desirable to continue the occupation by sending up a detachment of the 19th on its arrival. If I find the truth of that report confirmed, I shall embrace the earliest opportunity of relin-

quishing the port; and in doing so I trust I shall be borne out, not only by the fact that hostilities have ceased, and do not appear likely to be resumed, but by a reference to those passages in your Lordship's despatch which advert to the necessity of avoiding expense, the little reason there is to hope that any effects will be sufficient to arrest the progress of such a destructive and unjustifiable warfare, and the strong recommendation to withdraw the troops when those objects shall have been accomplished, which I have endeavoured to show cannot be secured.

One of my principal motives in taking possession of Natal was to mark my disapproval of the emigrants' proceedings by throwing such impediments in their way as I could. Had I not done so, it would have been maintained, and was so in some degree, that the Government tacitly approved their movement. I expected that the measure would have had the effect at least of inducing Her Majesty's Government to make known their views, not as to colonization only, but as to the future relations which should exist between the colony and the emigrants.

The emigrants declare themselves independent, and I am directed still to consider them as British subjects. Whether the ordinary or any commercial relations can properly be entertained with a people so circumstanced, I am not informed; but certainly such relations must exist in some shape or other. Meanwhile I have continued, and propose to continue until otherwise directed, the prohibition of all communication by sea between Natal and this colony, except under licence.

I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

MINUTES OF THE VOLKSRAAD,

15TH OCTOBER, 1839.

[Panda, who had come within the limits of Natal, interrogated before Council.]

What did you come here for, and why did you cross the Tugela?

To escape from Dingaan, and to seek for protection amongst you.

Why did you escape from Dingaan?

Because I heard that Dingaan wanted to proceed further into the interior, and because I did not wish to join him; and also

because he would certainly cause me to be murdered, should he ascertain my unwillingness to join him.

Give us a statement of all the particulars.

I was informed that Dingaan had sent four regiments to Sapusa, in order to encroach on the country of that chief; but he was defeated by that chief with the loss of many head of cattle, and Dingaan then sent for two other regiments.

Did these regiments go thither?

Yes, they complied with that order; and when they reached the place, they heard that Dingaan, together with his cattle, women, children, &c., had already proceeded onward. They then returned. I asked them for the reasons why they returned. They answered that they had not found Dingaan, as he had proceeded onward. Dingaan then sent to me to ascertain why I and my people had not proceeded, and whether we intended to join the white people. After that I received another message, ordering me to join Dingaan, and thank him that he had not made us suffer for our disobedience. I then told my captains that they might go if they chose. Some went. On their way they again met some messengers with cattle, who came to call me. I clearly saw from all this that Dingaan cherished hostile views against me. At last Umsela, the chief captain of Dingaan, came in person, and said to my people, "Why don't you rise and proceed onward, or do you wait for Panda? If you wait for him, I can tell you that in a short time one of Dingaan's commandos will surround him. Don't you clearly see that he has turned his face towards the whites?" Umsela having said this, part of my people joined him, but the greatest part turned back and said to me, "Will you sit here and wait until the commando surprises us?" I said, We will go. I have heard of there being white people at the Tugela; I will immediately send a message thither. At last I arrived at the Tugela with the half of Dingaan's people, where I met Mr. De Lange.

Who was the chief of the Zulu country before Chaka?

His father, Senzagakona.

What were you under his orders?

One of the great captains, which I was until the death of Chaka.

Did you often go on commando?

Yes; but not once under Dingaan.

Why did you not wish to go with Dingaan?

Because I have heard that the white people wish to live in peace

with us : and why should I allow myself to be murdered by a villain, or take to flight with him ?

Where have you lived ?

In the country near the Ganzela.

What is the reason that you did not become king instead of Dingaan ?

Chaka had sent me on a commando against a chief called Sotshangana ; and when I returned I was told that Dingaan had put himself on the throne in my absence, and had murdered my father, Chaka, and all the royal family.

Has not Dingaan endeavoured to murder you when you returned ?

No ; but Hlela and Dambuza, the great captains, wished to kill me, but Dingaan would not allow it, pretending that I had not influence enough, and could do no harm.

When you sent a message to the Tugela, you were already effecting your escape ?

Yes.

Where did you meet Mr. De Lange ?

On this side of the Tugela.

If you had not met the whites at the river, would you, notwithstanding, have continued your way ?

Yes ; as I was proceeding, I would not have stopped.

Do you not know that according to treaty no Zulu is allowed to come to this side of the Tugela ?

Yes ; but what is a man not capable of when his life is in danger.

Panda ! this day you must be sincere.

Yes ; for that reason I came hither in person to speak to you, gentlemen. I shall lay my heart open to you.

If Dingaan had acted like you, war would have been at an end.

Therefore you see that I come personally and deal with you in a more upright manner than Dingaan. I wish to be your friend and act according to your wishes.

What do you now expect of us ?

As the gentlemen now give me liberty to speak, I would request of you the piece of ground between the Umhlali and Umvoti.

Why won't you live on the other side of the Tugela ?

Because I am afraid of Dingaan, as I have divided the people.

Don't you know, then, that Dingaan may not murder any people?
Yes; but he will not care about that.

Do you consider yourself strong enough to wage war against Dingaan?

Not at the present moment; but if the people receive information of the peace, they will certainly come to me in crowds.

Do you know how the people are inclined?

Yes: I have also sent out spies, but as Dingaan's commando was in the bushes, they have not been able to do anything.

Do you know how many captains will join you, when they hear of the peace between you and us?

Of three I have already heard. They are on the other side of Dingaan, and cannot therefore come at present.

How many regiments has Dingaan wherewith he wages war?

This I cannot say with certainty, as many have been killed in the battle with Sapusa. He probably has many yet.

Have many of Dingaan's people been killed?

Yes; as well of his people as of those of Sapusa.

Have you received intelligence, or do you know with certainty where Dingaan now is?

No; I do not at the present moment know where he is, I cannot say with certainty. I have heard that he (Sapusa) had killed more than half of Dingaan's people in the last conflict.

Can't you send out spies, whom you as well as we may trust?

Yes, this I will do immediately; perhaps as soon as I get to my camp. Perhaps the spies I have sent out have returned. I shall lose no time; for my heart is now full of joy, as I see that you deal with me in so good and kind a manner.

You know that we will no longer allow Dingaan to kill women, and children. You must therefore send us a report as soon as possible, so that we may take steps accordingly.

Yes; that I will do: and as the gentlemen are so kind towards me, they must open their hearts very wide for me—yes, as wide as my arm. [He lifted his arm on high.]

Promise was then made him that the land for which he had asked would be allowed him, until he should be able to live on the

other side of the Tugela in safety, and that he might always calculate on the protection of the farmers as long as he behaved himself as a friend and faithful ally.

REPORT OF THE LANDDROST OF TUGELA.

[EMBASSY TO PANDA.]

October, 1839.

In compliance with a request of the Assembly of the emigrants, I departed on 24th October last, accompanied by the heemraad, S. van Breda, and M. van Breda, who joined at our request, to visit the kraal of the chief Panda, where we arrived on the 26th, with four more wagons, in company with the member of the Assembly, G. Kemp; the commandant, G. Fourie; the fieldcornet, J. Meyer; Mr. Morewood, Dr. Krause, Delegorgue, and many other respectable persons; the member of the Assembly, J. Moolman, and his company having also joined us, on our written application.

On the first interview of the commission with Panda, we already perceived a dejected melancholy in him, which was apparent to us during the whole time of our stay with him, and in everything he did.

After having communicated to him with what view the commission had come there, and what orders we had received from the assembly of the emigrants, he was requested to prepare himself by the next morning to be solemnly installed as the head or prince of the Zulu emigrants, and to be presented to his people as such; and the flag having been brought in his presence, he repeated in an impressive manner the solemn assurance of peace, friendship, and alliance which he had before given to the Assembly. When this was communicated by his great captains to the crowd that had collected together (which we estimated at more than 3,000 warriors, and more than an equal number of young men and women), a cry was raised three times as a sign of their approbation. The following morning having been fixed for a feast or military dance, Panda requested that after it should be finished the same honour of firing a volley of musketry might be shown him which he had received at Bosjesmansrand. On the morning of that day Panda was invited to the tent of Mr. Breda, in front of which the national flag was offered him, also a fine blue cloak presented by Mr. Parker, and a fine officer's poignard by Mr. Delegorgue, wherewith he

girded himself. Panda was then seated in our court on the right hand of the Landdrost, and the other gentlemen according to their rank, on which occasion the Landdrost repeated to him the assurance of alliance and the protection granted to him by the Assembly of the emigrants, which again having been communicated to the people, a cry of joy was again thrice raised: after which it was signified to Panda that his stay on this side of the Tugela was but of a temporary nature, and that neither the delivery of any cattle, nor anything else of a like nature, was to be considered as giving to him any right to the land now occupied by him, and that he was to leave this part of the country as soon as his own safety should in any way allow. It was also agreed with him that in the future he should allow no punishment of death for supposed witchcraft or other ridiculous superstitious pretences.

That at his death his successor should be chosen by his people, subject to our approval.

That his title should be "Reigning Prince of the Emigrant Zulus," until he should have been confirmed as Dingaan's successor.

That he will fulfil and comply with the contract entered into by the Assembly of the emigrants with Dingaan, in respect of the acknowledged boundary line, as well as in respect of the delivery of the stolen cattle, &c.

That in future he will not allow any woman, child, or defenceless aged person to be murdered; nor allow any war or hostility of his people with any neighbouring chief or tribes without the consent of the Assembly of the emigrants.

After this, Panda was requested to call two or three of his most faithful captains and friends particularly attached to his person: when the following three were called in by him and presented as chief captains, viz., Nicholas, Mleni, and Panga-zoaga.

The Landdrost then addressed them, and alluded to the honourable station wherein they had now been placed by the prince, and the great obligation they were under for the safety of his person; observing at the same time that all injuries and evil advice with respect to war, cruelty, or faithlessness towards our Government would be avenged upon them personally: whereupon Panda left the tent with visible marks of approbation.

A few moments afterward we perceived a loud and violent agitation in a circle formed by more than 300 men, which at the commencement appeared as a preparation for the intended feast; but the noise and clashing of kerries increasing, we sent a little Kafir,

our interpreter, to the spot, who having been to a distance of 200 or 250 yards from us, returned quite terrified, stating that they were in the act of murdering one of the captains just appointed. We then sent to Panda, desiring his return to us, in order to make a beginning with the promised feast, and thus make an end to the agitation that was existing. Deep dejection and displeasure were perceptible in his countenance and appearance; and having placed all his people at a distance, he addressed them through the captain Assagai* in a serious tone, and often with signs of threats, and, from what we could collect from our interpreter, everything said by him on this occasion amounted to disapproval of the murder committed on the captain Panga-zoaga, saying, "Why have you committed such an act in the presence of the white people? What must they think of me, as I have a few moments since promised not to allow any such cruelties? Where shall I find friends and protectors in future when I shall again be compelled to flee?" The multitude surrounding us then appeared to consult about what had happened, when the majority seemed to approve of what had occurred, while some of the friends of the murdered chief still pleaded the cause of their friend with passion and firmness. Fearing, however, that by a continuance of this difference the agitation would increase, we desired Panda to make a beginning with the promised feast; and after having saluted the flag with a general charge, their "Mulescere" dance commenced, which had a very interesting but in many respects a fearful appearance. To give a proper description thereof, I shall leave to some more competent person, and only say that it was grand, and at the same time very interesting, to witness the regularity of the movements of their bodies while dancing, performed by so many thousands; while another set, called flatterers or praisers, abounded in their praises of Panda for his many virtues, riches, mildness, greatness, glorious birth, and for the corporeal beauty of himself and his many wives, which perhaps would not have ceased if the dance had not been discontinued on account of the powder-flask of Mr. Morewood having caught fire, burning his clothes and slightly wounding himself. Panda then returned to his residence. What the unfortunate consequence would have been if Panda had accidentally been wounded by one of the splinters of the copper powder-flask which had spread in every direction, we cannot say, particularly after what had occurred as before described, about which visible signs of discontent were still perceptible among many of his people.

* Kafir name, Umkonto.

On the following morning we went to Panda's residence to take leave of him; we were, however, not received with that frankness and civility to which we thought we had a claim, and having on that occasion congratulated him on the good success of his confirmation as reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus, he presented to the Landdrost, as a particular present, six fat oxen for the many civilities shown him by him and his family, to which the Landdrost replied that he could not accept them, as he had sworn on entering on the duties of his office, not to accept of any presents for himself, and he would otherwise become liable to punishment by the Government, but that he would take them for distribution amongst the poorer classes, who would be very grateful for them. To which Panda replied: "If that be the case, I will myself give ten oxen for the poor, ten oxen and two cows for yourself, and forty-two cows and calves for those who fired at the time of my installation." Though the Landdrost would have complied with his request on this occasion unconditionally, he, however, considered it necessary for the honour of our community to apprise him of our opinion by telling him that as long as this national debt, whereto he had bound himself in the name of Dingaan, was not discharged, that not only these presents, but those to Mr. De Lange, being forty or fifty head, together with the two hundred delivered to him on a former occasion, would all be deducted from the said national debt, and that he, by making these presents, should never pretend to have any right on the land, which was only granted to him for a short time as a momentary protection; and that as we had now seen his great force, we requested him as soon as possible to prepare for action against our general foe, as the many new coming colonists would soon require that land now occupied by him. He said he was obliged to ask our permission, before undertaking it, to send out a small commando against a neighbouring captain, who had committed many thefts among his women and cattle. The Landdrost having asked the advice of the several members of the Assembly of the emigrants then present, G. Kemp, J. Moolman, the commandant De Lange, the commandant Fourie, Field-commandant Rensburg, and Field-commandant Meyer, they gave assurance of the bad and thievish character of the captain alluded to, who had evinced great hostility on former occasions against us; when Panda received our permission, under the usual directions against murder of women and children, and to avoid all unnecessary bloodshed as much as possible. After which 100 oxen and 278 head of cattle were sent to Field-commandant Rensburg, in

part payment of the losses sustained by the emigrants, whereof, on the proposal of our company, on our arrival at the Umgeni, 78 head were retained for the poor at the camps of Umlazi and Congella, which being added to the presents to the landdrosts and others, making in all 108, have been distributed by lots amongst the people, who evinced great gratefulness and satisfaction for what had been done.

PORT NATAL.

DECLARATION AND PROTEST OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE EMIGRANTS.

This day was read in the Assembly, in the presence of the chief-commandant, all the civil and burgher officers, and a great number of our most respectable inhabitants, an extract from the "Graham's Town Journal" of 31st October, 1839, wherein it is stated that part of this country was sold to a number of English emigrants, and that they may soon be expected here to take possession hereof.

This subject, in respect of which we have on a former occasion represented our grievances to the commanding officer of the military detachment stationed here, having been taken into consideration with enthusiasm and indignation, the Assembly, on the urgent solicitation of the public here, have been directed by them to publish, in all the circulating journals in the colony, their protest against it, together with the following representations, observations, and resolutions for the guidance of those deluded strangers who, instead of finding in this country the "promised land," will meet with death and massacre.

It is therefore necessary for them to know that the Cape emigrants, finding their rights and privileges daily violated and trampled upon, themselves incessantly insulted, ridiculed, and degraded in their honour and reputation, their right of property violated, and protection of life and property refused, have been compelled to leave their beloved country and their dearest, beloved friends and relations.

That this emigration has taken place publicly under the eye of the Colonial Government, and after due payment of their taxes, for which they have sacrificed their valuable farms. They have been wandering about for three years, in regions to them unknown, without compass, without guide, without experience, exposed to all

obstacles which nature put in their way, by insurmountable mountains reaching the clouds, exposed to serious wants and disappointments, surrounded and pursued by innumerable beasts of prey, with whom they daily had to struggle for the purpose of obtaining food, and without any government and laws, other than such as were deeply engrafted in their hearts by the mighty finger of the Lord, notwithstanding which, during their prolonged wanderings, no crime has taken place which could affect their character in any way.

All this, however, was not able to discourage them : driven away like bastard children from their paternal homes by strangers, they felt it as a painful grievance, and were pained at their very hearts by deep sorrow. Religion and the conviction of the justice of their case relieved them in surmounting all those difficulties. Peacefully proceeding, and approaching Umsiligazi, that fearless blasphemer challenged the great Inconceivable Being, in the presence of the missionaries, to give a proof of power greater than that of his own cruelty. That proof was given him by the "striking Hand" through the emigrants, to his utter disgrace and entire ruin. On approaching Dingaan's kingdom, an agreement was entered into with that chief for obtaining a piece of land under certain conditions, which were strictly fulfilled by our brave, honest, and unsuspecting predecessor, P. Retief, and which was afterwards ratified by his blood and that of seventy more of our bravest men, shed by the treacherous murderer, Dingaan ; whilst the gathered, bleached bones of the additional 370, innocently and treacherously murdered relations and friends at Boschjesman's River, will remain a lasting evidence and as a visible beacon of right on that land, until another beacon of similar materials shall overshadow ours. Thus guided by the same mighty Hand, which in former days saved our ancestors on the fearful St. Bartholomew's night, we approached the long-wished-for seashore, where we entered into an agreement of friendship and fraternity with the old inhabitants ;* while a few months after, that port was taken possession of by an English military detachment of a hundred men commanded by Major Charters : and as this was accompanied by the most solemn assurance that the object was merely to watch against arbitrary murder, plunder, and rash bloodshed, we could not in fairness employ any violent measures against it. But now that our forbearance is ascribed to fear and cowardice, and as such represented to the world ; now that we obtain every moment stronger and still

* British settlers, Port Natal.

stronger proofs of an ambiguous deviation of the original agreement ; now that we may expect every moment the arrival on our shores of thousands of poor deluded strangers with the view of driving us from our dearly-purchased and lawfully-acquired new country, the Assembly have, for the maintenance of our indisputable right to this land, obtained by virtue of treaties with the chief Dingaan, and afterwards ratified by the chief Panda, as well as for the maintenance of our independence, honour, and safety, come to the following resolutions, with directions to the civil officers of the burgher force to give the fullest possible publicity thereto :—

RESOLUTIONS.

That in case of any landing of strangers as emigrants in the port of Natal, without the previous consent of the Assembly having been obtained, such emigrants shall be considered as enemies of the State.

That should the arrival of emigrants be attended by such military force as shall be enabled to prevent us from opposing their landing, we shall then retreat into the mountains and kloofs which surround the bay in every direction, and there defend ourselves in several small parties, as did the oppressed Spaniards, and, according to the principle of Don Carlos, neither give nor take quarter, until we shall have recovered what is virtually ours.

That the several commandants and captains of the armed burghers be called together to make further arrangements with regard to the division and command of the several forces entrusted to them.

That a sufficient number of slaughter cattle and a supply of maize and other necessities of life be brought together in the vicinity of the bay for the maintenance of a guard of forty men to be placed on the Berea height, for the purpose of watching the movements of Panda, as well as of the surrounding tame Kafirs.

That a subscription list be opened for the delivery and purchase of the provisions, &c., to be delivered to the local Landdrost for distribution.

That part of the ammunition be placed under the care and responsibility of the local Landdrost.

Thus done in our Assembly, this day, the 11th November, 1839.

President and Members of the Assembly,

(Signed) J. S. MARITZ,	G. J. ROEDOLF,
J. W. A. PRETORIUS,	J. J. BURGHER,
P. T. VAN STADEN,	M. VAN DEVENTER,
WM. A. BOTHA,	G. P. KEMP.

GOVERNOR (CAPE) TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

11th November, 1839.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit the enclosed report from Captain Jervis, the commandant of Port Natal, dated 15th ultimo, by which your Lordship will perceive that no new circumstances have occurred in that quarter which would justify my military occupation of that post for any longer period after the strong expression of the determination of Her Majesty's Government not to countenance or authorise in any manner the colonization or establishment of any new settlement in Southern Africa, conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 19, of the 30th April last.

As your Lordship will have been prepared by my despatch No. 69, of the 30th September, for my taking the opportunity of the 72nd Regiment being ordered to England to withdraw the detachment of Her Majesty's troops from Port Natal, I have now only to add, that in consequence of its being out of the power of His Excellency the Rear-Admiral commanding the naval force on this station, to spare me a vessel of war to fetch the troops from thence, I have been obliged to take up a transport for that purpose, which sails this day; and should she be so fortunate as to have a prosperous voyage, I may expect her return with the troops, stores, &c., by Christmas, or perhaps a little later, but I should hope in sufficient time to enable them to embark with the regiment for England, presuming, as I do, that the regiment which is to relieve the 72nd would leave England in October last.

I trust in this I shall receive the approval of your Lordship, and be deemed to have put the spirit of your despatch respecting Port Natal into execution to the best of my judgment.

I have also the honour to enclose the instructions sent to Captain Jervis for his guidance in the evacuation of the post.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

FROM SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE MOST HONOURABLE THE
MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit the accompanying report from Captain Jervis, the commandant at Port Natal, giving the details of the proceedings of the emigrant Boers and the natives of that part of South Africa up to the 16th November last.

My despatch of the 11th of November last, No. 78, will have informed your Lordship that the transport had sailed from this port for the purpose of bringing away the troops and evacuating the military post at Natal, and I trust I shall be able in the course of a short time to announce to your Lordship the safe arrival of Captain Jervis and his detachment.

Your Lordship is aware that I still intend to allow vessels to trade from the ports of this colony with the port of Natal, under the same licence as they were permitted to do prior to the evacuation of the military post; but as such a measure is merely of a temporary nature, I hope that your Lordship will speedily inform me what commercial relations are henceforth to exist between the Colonial Government and the emigrant farmers.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
6th December, 1839.

1838-9, 1840-1.

NATIVES IN NATAL.

NATIVE COMMISSION, 1852.

1. Evidence of Evert Frederick Potgieter :—

I reside in the Klip River Division. I left the Cape Colony in 1836, and arrived here in 1838. I came with the emigrants under Maritz. I first lived at the Umlazi; and subsequently at the Umkomanzi, and since then between this and the bay.

There were natives in the country when I came. Some of them lived at the Zwartkop. There were also natives at the Umkomanzi, under a chief called Fodo. I also heard that there were natives at Table Mountain. There were also Kafirs at Port Natal, and along the Umgeni. There were also Kafirs along the coast near the Illovo. I also saw two years previously some Kafirs at the Umtapuna. Job, now called Matyana, was also in what is now called the Klip River Division. I never heard of Matuan. I am not aware whether there were any Kafirs on this side of the Tugela, to where it is joined by the Umzimyati. I am not aware whether Magadama was here or not. I never heard of Pakade. I never heard of Somahashe. I also

know that there were Kafirs on the Umgeni; but I learned that they had been placed there by the English. I also found in 1834, when I first visited the country, that there were English people residing in the vicinity of the bay. There are some of these English people now in the country, viz., Messrs. Fynn, Ogle, and Richard King.

I do not recollect any more natives then in the country, but there may have been without my knowledge. I think that the number seen by me in 1834 might have been between 2,000 and 3,000 souls. But at that time I was not inland to where Ladysmith now is. I did not go further than the Tugela along the coast. I think there were more Kafirs in 1838 than there were in 1834. I am also aware that after our arrival the Zulu nation, after having attacked the emigrants, made an attack upon the natives in this part of the district. * * *

NATIVE COMMISSION, 1852.

2. Jacobus Frederick van Staden (called in and examined):—

By the President, Mr. Harding:

1. Where do you live?

On the banks of the Tugela.

2. When did you come to this country?

In 1841; and I have been here ever since.

3. Were there any natives in the country when you came here in 1841?

There were a few kraals, some at the Zwartkop, some at Mooi River, others near Pretorius' farm and others at Mr. Potgieter's farm, under Somahashe.

4. How many were there, do you think, in the colony when you came?

I did not go about the country much, but from what I know I should say that there were about three thousand or four thousand natives. * * *

NATIVE COMMISSION, 1852.

3. Evidence of J. du Plessis:—

* * * * *
Regarding the first point, I beg to state that I arrived in this country in 1838. I then found about 60 Kafirs at the source of the Tugela. Job was at Job's Kop, but I don't know how many men he had. At the Houtboschrand was a small number of Kafirs, say

about 50. In the neighbourhood of the bay there were more Kafirs in number, but they were all very poor, for as soon as they became possessed of anything their property was taken away by the chief Dingaan.

NATIVE COMMISSION, 1852.

4. Jacobus Nicholas Boshof (examined):—

2. How long have you been in this colony?

I came to reside here in the month of November, 1840, but I was here two years before, on a visit.

3. Were you a member of the Volksraad?

I was a member, and for some time Landdrost.

4. Can you inform the commission of the number of natives who were here when you first came?

When I came in June, 1838, I saw a few huts on the Zwartkop, and some huts from the Umlazi, near its mouth to the bay; but I heard at the time that the number of natives was computed at 3,000.

5. You did not then visit the whole of the district?

I did not.

6. Did you see any greater number of natives when you came in 1840?

Many more, generally dispersed over the country.

7. Can you form any opinion of their numbers then?

No. I only heard that they had considerably increased by refugees from the Zulu country in great numbers.

KAFIR COMMISSION, 1852.

5. Evidence of D. C. Toohey, forwarded in reply to letter of Secretary:—

I arrived at Natal in the "Circe," cutter, in the very early part of the year 1835, having agreed with (then) Captain Alexander to accompany him through Central Africa. On my arrival, I found John Cane, Henry Ogle, Mr. James Collis, and Charles Pickman established here as chiefs over the natives. They had just returned from the Amapondas, to whose protection they had fled shortly before, fearing an attack from Dingaan. Accompanying Mr. Robert Biggar

and John Cane much about the country, I was at most of the Kafir kraals. At that time John Cane had five kraals in the bush under the Berea, and about seven up the Illovo. Umnini, then acknowledging to Henry Ogle, had in all about thirteen kraals upon the Bluff. Henry Ogle had five kraals at the mouth of the Umlaas, and some three or four at his own residence at the head of the bay.

Mr. Collis had some three or four kraals—he himself told me, some nineteen or twenty adult males. Charles Pickman had some thirty adult males acknowledging his supremacy, they being Jacob's tribe, whose head wife he had married. The other white men had under them:—

Robert Biggar about twenty hunters.

John Stubbs do. do. do.

Charles Blanckenberg about twelve hunters.

Thomas Carden do. six do.

Richard Russell do. do. do.

At that time Mr. Collis and John Cane both told me that it would be difficult to muster in Natal more than 300 adult males; at the same time they assured me, and I afterwards became aware of the fact, that the main body had fled with the whites to the Amaponda, and had not then returned. In about one year's time from my landing, we received the main body of the emigrants back from the Amaponda; and their numbers had increased, I should say to some thousand adult males.

In the year 1838, the English at Natal resolved to proceed against the Zulu kraals situated where Pagade and others now live, belonging to Dingaan, for cattle, under pretence of assisting the emigrant farmers who had recently been massacred by Dingaan. They then mustered two thousand one hundred natives, having shields and assagais, as also three hundred guns, and divided nearly as follows, viz:—

600 Fodo's people under Cane.

450 F. Fynn's under Donzelea, &c.

450 J. Cane's.

350 H. Ogle's, under Umnini.

60 C. Pickman's, Jacob's tribe.

60 C. Blanckenberg's people, under Zwartkop's tribe, &c.

50 Biggar's people and part Collis's.

40 J. Stubbs', and remainder Collis's.

30 T. Carden's people, do.

10 R. Russell's people, do.

Two thousand one hundred people, as counted by Captain Gardiner and myself, being the muster of all males capable of proceeding to plunder. They succeeded in carrying off some 6,000 head of cattle. Soon after their return in March, 1838, Mr. R. Biggar returned from Graham's Town, and proposed an attack on Dingaan's kraal, Umgingloova, in anticipation of the emigrant farmers holding out to the people of Natal hopes of being there first to plunder the ivory, &c.; but I must do him the justice to say that his endeavours to take out the commando arose from his desire to revenge his brother George Biggar's death, who was killed at the massacre of the Boers at Weenen. At the muster of the second commando under Mr. R. Biggar, the warriors of Natal mustered only 750. Fodo's people and many of Fynn's did not show themselves, neither did the Zwartkop's or Houtboschrand appear. The commando was cut up by an army under Panda, who was in an ambush waiting for them on the east bank of the Tugela River, and who was well informed of their movements and strength, as Panda has since informed me. Only about two hundred escaped, principally men belonging to H. Ogle. The emigrant farmers were at that time within this district, and shortly after came down and took possession of Natal.

You have here an approximation to the original population of Natal. Men, women, and children would not at the period of the Boers' arrival here exceed 10,000. At that period I had occasion to report the goods I had shipped per "Comet" to Messrs. Maynard Brothers. I therefore proceeded overland for that purpose, accompanied by two white men, who had escaped the slaughter at the Tugela, and Jogo, a native now in Natal, as guide. I found only one kraal on the Illovo (Ogle's) then inhabited, the others destroyed—on the Umzinto, all destroyed—and I did not find either kraals or inhabitants until I reached the Amaponda. The only people I met upon the route was at the Umtenda River—finding myself surrounded at night by some spies of Faku's, who were in the act of stabbing us, when my voice was recognised by a servant of mine, named Shuke, who had fled, with the news of the attack by the Zulus on Natal, to the Amapondas, and who was returning with the spies to find the whereabouts of the Zulus, and mistook us in the dusk of the evening for Zulu spies in advance of the army.

* * * *

TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,

BY

M. ADULPHE DELEGORGUE.

[Paris: A. René et Cie., Rue de Seine, 32. 1847.]

Vol. I., Chap. VIII., p. 168, *et seq.*

It was on 20th September, 1839, that we first heard of Panda, a man of distinction among the Zulus, the half-brother of Dingaan, then reigning, and own brother to Chaka, whom Dingaan had assassinated for the purpose of ruling in his stead. Panda had (the Kafirs said) incontestable claims to royalty; but although he spent his days in supine quiet, amidst his numerous wives, and had no thought of plotting the overthrow of the reigning prince, Panda did not escape distrust on the part of Dingaan.

The despot had, before his principal counsellors, usually the counsellors of death, expressed his wish to be rid of Panda, whom he found a nullity as a warrior, because he said "he had the heart of a woman;" and as, even at a Kafir court, everything becomes known, these rumours aroused Panda, and kept him watchfully on his guard.

Living like a prince, he at that time had his dwelling on the banks of the river Matakulu, at no great distance from, and to the north of, the Tugela. Dingaan caused an order to be conveyed to him to collect all the population located between the Tugela and the Umhlatuzi, and to settle himself with these people in the tract north of the White Umfolozi.

Panda at once took the advice of the elder men and most distinguished warriors. They unanimously perceived in this order the design of Dingaan to entrap and shut in the partisans of Panda, whose life would thenceforth be at his disposal. Nearly all, notwithstanding the terror inspired by the name of Dingaan, advised Panda not to obey the command.

Having thus ascertained the fidelity of his people, Panda enjoined the necessary preparations for departure without heeding a second summons; and, with a following of 17,000 of all ages and sexes, left behind him the Tugela, the southern boundary of the Zulus, and the northern of Natal.

There he met Hans de Lange, who had come for the purpose of hunting the hippopotamus, and to whom he handed over, on behalf

of the white men, 130 oxen and cows, which he said had been taken from them. And then Panda, to whom the whites were less an object of fear than the forces of Dingaan, settled him elf at a distance of thirty miles from the bay of Natal, and near and south of the little river Tongati.

Meanwhile great excitement was caused among the whites by the fear of these neighbours: it was difficult to believe that they were refugees. The grave proceeding resolved on by Panda was in their eyes only a great scheme for authorising the entrance into their territory of the army of Dingaan, of Dingaan their sworn enemy, who refused the payment of an acknowledged debt, and whose dishonest intentions had been so well unmasked. Panda was as much distrusted as Dingaan himself.

Little was needed to give immediate effect to the opinion of the women; for African ladies have a voice in their councils: to them is due the action of their husbands. An onslaught was to be made on these refugees, without any warning: a butchery that should oblige them to return whence they came. The poor devils were to find the death that was before as well as behind them, for amongst the Zulus there is no quarter shown to a deserter: and such was the singular and cruel policy of the despot, that of the 17,000 refugees not one would have been spared, if the opportunity had been given him of surrounding them with his warriors.

It is a sad reflection that the white inhabitants of Natal were at that time thinking less of defending themselves from all danger than of possessing themselves of the 25,000 head of horned cattle that Panda, in deserting, had brought with him. For the possession of these cattle, minds were wearying themselves to find some plausible reason for shooting down these people.

I did as others did. I gave aloud my opinion, which was not applauded. I was inwardly convinced that Panda had acted under the impulse of imminent danger, and I wished to persuade others who feigned not to be convinced.

Nevertheless, when the whites came to consider how numerical weakness unfitted them for the butchery thus projected; when they recognised the fact that they could not carry bullets enough to destroy such a multitude, even on the supposition that there would be no resistance, a necessity arose for other measures. In the end, there was an agreement that a special commission should be sent. This was the opinion of Mr. Roos, the Landdrost of Congela; it was also mine: it was that of everyone averse from the shedding of blood.

But people had to be found to make up this mission, which was certainly not unattended with danger; and the remembrance of the recent massacre of Retief held amateurs aloof. There were no volunteers, there were no means of constraining to be members of the commission the very men most fitted to serve on it. They were an impediment in the matter, and obstructed the measures contemplated. At length Mr. Roos, a resolute and determined old man, Mr. Breda, who was not less so, and some others whom I joined, gave an example of unselfish devotedness. This energetic determination, and an ironical defiance aimed at the irresolute, at once rallied them round us.

The germ was formed and had a tendency to increase. We fixed a day for setting out, and gave notice of the date to Panda.

This decision was soon known by the English at the seaside; and Captain Jervis sought by all means to dissuade the farmers from a proceeding which might bring about results similar to those that had befallen Pieter Retief's deputation. This was a humane sentiment; but, if it must be said, the object of this intervention was to hinder an alliance between the farmers and Panda, which would result in the overthrow of Dingaan, who had allowed himself to give ear to the overtures of British agents. He was on a good footing with them, and his fall might render necessary other efforts less easily crowned with success. The resolution was, however, adhered to, and the dawn of the 21st October, 1839, saw us commencing our journey with thirteen wagons, and twenty-eight men, in the array of hunters. It was not a force sufficient for resistance in the event of an attack; but as we were going to mingle with Panda's people, number signified little; we were at his mercy.

We crossed the Umgeni, and unyoked our teams, for the night, on the banks of the Umhlanga, the river of rushes, on the other side of which I found mineral iron, on ascending the slopes in an opposite direction.

The next morning we pursued our route, and at about three in the afternoon we overlooked a vast extent of country rich in green pasturage, varied by hills partly naked, partly clothed with extensive woods, furrowed by several rivers, bounded in the distance by blue mountains, like all mountains shown on the horizon. Immediately below us—on the right, before us, and on our left—herds of oxen and cows were feeding, grouped as well as scattered in ranks. These were Panda's cattle, or rather the cattle of which he had deprived Dingaan at the time of his departure: they were everywhere; I had

never seen so many. Admiration was excited by their number, and by the splendour of their condition; and, indeed, every one of us thought that Panda, at the same time that he consulted his own safety, had had an excellent idea of injuring the tyrant in the possession of that which was most valued by him.

Soon we discovered, on a spot chosen to perfection, the improvised hut that was to serve as an abode for the chief. Great numbers of men were crowding towards it from all directions. We chose that moment for erecting at the back of the principal chariot the flag of the young Republic, much in the fashion of a ceremonial ensign. It was saluted by a general discharge of our firearms, and echo repeated the salute. A resounding and solemn murmur of approbation reached our ears; it was the voice of the black-skinned people, who were swarming lower down,—of that people whose hopes of safety were centered in us.

Soon we were passing by long rows of huts, forming a large enclosure. The warriors, the women, the children, all ran up to see us: many of them had never been near white men. Curiosity had reached such a point, the masses that beset us were so compact, that progress became impossible to us. The long ox-whips were plied over their heads, which astonished them not a little. But as they saw that no one was touched by the lash, they continued to gather round us in groups, so as to impede our oxen. Some Kafir captains then came, a kind of herald at arms, or agents of police, who, armed with stones, struck such of the mob as did not speedily get out of the way; there was quite a shower of blows, but the downpour did not last long. The space being cleared, we moved onward a hundred paces and unyoked our teams.

Our first care was to pay our respects to Panda, who, according to Kafir etiquette, had not quitted his hut to receive us.

This hut, as is usual, was within a special enclosure, at the upper end of a large oval fence. Near it, and within the same ring, were the dwellings of his wives, his mothers,* his daughters, all of the softer sex belonging to his family.

We entered on all fours, shaking hands with him most cordially, which he acknowledged by a murmur. Then squatting down, or sitting on our heels, we spoke of the purpose of our journey, and Panda evinced the greatest satisfaction at our arrival.

Being curious to examine the interior of the dwelling, after hav-

* i.e., His father's wives.

ing well noted the chief, whose eye, a real black diamond, had attracted my attention and surprise, I was astonished to find nothing but the strictest simplicity, except the neat polish, shining and glistening, of the smooth clay of the floor, in which objects were reflected as in an artificial horizon.

Crowded together in an inconvenient attitude, and the heat obliging us to move away, we proposed to him to come and inspect the presents we had to offer him as a token of friendship.

Panda rose, and gravely, slowly, with a very princely bearing, and, accompanied by a group of his favorites, followed us. People in numbers lined his course, addressing him, as he passed, in various exclamations, expressive of satisfaction or congratulation, or of their needs and the relief they craved. Among these I distinguished several cries for "Inyama, inyama,"* meaning that meat was wanted. The people had not been sufficiently fed, although on that day sixteen oxen had already been supplied for their consumption. Nevertheless, the highest respect that man can receive was shown him; and I doubt whether a European prince or emperor receives as much.

The ceremony of the presents took place without delay. Panda appeared very well satisfied with some rather hurriedly-made mantles of "mousseline de laine," and a naval dagger that I had the honour of presenting to him; only he regretted that the blade, which was curved, was not double-edged.

At last it remained for him to thank us personally. A herald came to receive his orders, and two oxen, of wonderful fatness, were brought and killed for our use and that of our people. "For twenty-eight men," said I to my neighbour, "this seems to be an extravagant profusion." "Be quiet," said he, "lest an admirable custom in use among the Zulus should be changed. Do you know that it is not too much. Travel amongst them in their country, ask to spend the night at the house of a great captain; a heifer will be brought for your supper every evening. Either the man in command is not a great captain, or, if it should be absolutely out of his power to supply such requirements, he will come in a very polite way to express his regret, and to assure you of his good intentions."

I was in doubt at that time; this distinguished hospitality seemed to me to be fabulous; I thought that the Boer was playing the

* It is probable that knowledge of the language has failed the author in this instance. The cry was almost certainly, "Wena 'mnyama (thou black one!)," the favourite and usual phrase of salutation to the chief of a black race. The people would not have ventured to be importunate for meat.—*Compiler.*

part of an impudent boaster, but I will say to his credit, that nothing could be more correct; and that when hunting among the Zulus, I more than once experienced the happy results of this patriarchal system. A refusal under these circumstances would even be regarded as an affront. It is superfluous to say that in return for these delicate attentions, it is well to present to him, by whom they are shown, some article that may be adapted to his convenience; either collars of glassware, or woollen clothing, which they greatly prize. I never failed to do this, though Kafir etiquette did not exact from me any such exchange.

And these naked men, and—applying the Roman standard of measure to them—these barbarians, are beings whom we treat as savages! to whom either in simplicity or cruelty we send agents of civilization! How many reflections have to be made on this head!

The night passed peaceably; but some amongst us, under the influence of fear, did not close an eye. Lying down on their weapons, with the bridle-reins round their arms, a false alarm would have sufficed to make them disappear. If we had not had a very serious business in hand, this joke would certainly have been played upon them.

Daylight found us all on foot, for amongst Kafirs business is transacted at an early hour, and usually before any meal. We were going to request Panda to come to us, when it seemed to us to be a more graceful proceeding that we should wait on him when he rose from sleep. * * * With him there was no sort of constraint, no time lost, no indispensable garments to be donned—his night-gear served him equally for a robe in council. An ample cloak, in Roman fashion, with which he draped himself in an eminently majestic guise, gave an exaltation to his features, in which the habit of command was boldly traced. Thus the comparison which I could make at leisure, was quite to the disadvantage of the Boers who surrounded him: big fellows with long limbs, awkward gesture, constrained deportment, physiognomies that bespoke nothing, embarrassed utterance, mouths wide open, people made to drive oxen and to hold converse with them. Panda had nothing of all this—a brilliant black eye, deep-set, well-guarded by an advanced frontal angle, a high forehead, straight at the sides, on which the trace of wrinkles was beginning to be perceived; a nose of usual mould, with gristles boldly shown; a large mouth, often smiling with the smile which means, “I understand;” a square chin, indicating resolution: in fact, a large head, well formed, borne on a superb body, shining with plumpness,

but of which the carriage was so noble, the members so well under the control of his will, the gestures so precise, that a Parisian might well have believed that Panda in his youth had frequented the palaces of kings.

A missionary whose opinion of Panda had been asked, replied : "I know Panda. He is a Kafir gentleman." The definition is a happy one : but I consider the term, notwithstanding the distinction it implies, as falling short of the truth.

A few minutes after, Panda was seated amidst us in a long marquee which had been arranged as a council chamber. The interpreter, Klaas Pommer, explained our wishes to him, our plans for the future, based upon a common purpose, which was no other than the overthrow of Dingaan. Several secret clauses were adopted by him, to which effect was to be given in the event of success, clauses of the highest importance to the farmers, as for instance the cession of the bay of St. Lucia.

Guarantees, however, were needed ; or, rather, men responsible for the performance of stipulations in the treaty in the event of Panda's death. A thousand head of horned cattle were promised by Dingaan to him who should bring him Panda's head ; and the price thus set, which might tempt many, obliged us to adopt all kinds of precautions.

Mr. Roos requested him to send for his three principal captains, who were to be answerable to us for his life in the event of an assassination ; that is to say, the knowledge that they would be held accountable would be a safeguard against their being implicated in any conspiracy, as well as for more active watchfulness, and for their acting in concert to maintain the existing order of things, awaiting the decision of the farmers. It was also equally agreed that all their efforts should tend to the attainment of the special object of the treaty.

Panda sent for two ; then, after some reflection, he sent for a third. The resolutions were read over to them, and in these they acquiesced. We then withdrew, satisfied with the result ; and the new ministers, on good terms with us, and gratified by the confidence of their chief, went down to the plain to make known to the people collectively what had been determined by the whites in regard to the Zulus as well as to themselves.

Some of our men, among whom were Dr. Kraus and myself, not having quite recovered from the fatigue of the day before, stretched themselves at full length in the wagons, hoping for a little rest.

Scarcely had a few minutes elapsed, when we were roused by an indescribable tumult. I jumped down, and went to a spot at which the farmers had assembled, at no great distance, to ascertain the cause of this uproar.

At the bottom of the hill, and at a hundred and fifty yards before us, the black multitude were in a state of agitation—surging, humming, uttering Kafir cries, war-cries, so terrifying, so savage, and so extraordinary. A thousand questions were asked and repeated. I imagined myself to be the sport of an evil dream: I rubbed my eyes; but there was indeed a reality, in all its alarming hideousness.

All the Kafir audience, so silent a short while before, were taking an active part in a truculent debate. A long serpentine row of men had one of its curves at a spot where bludgeons descended heavily, and were raised again stained with blood. The crowd that surrounded this exhibition were raising confused and stunning shouts, as if to stifle the cries of the victim, and to screen this dreadful scene. They were beating a man to death; and this man was Pangazoaga, Panda's third great captain, the same who had just accepted the high responsibility for the life of his chieftain. "He was a great scoundrel, a sorcerer, Umtakati," said the Zulus to us, "who, under Dingaan, has had numbers put to death; now, reinstated in power under Panda, he by his past conduct inspired us with too much dread for the future. The people, as you have seen, has done an act of justice to itself."

But this explanation did not suffice in our regard: the sight of blood made us fear for our own safety. It was possible that, an impulse having once been given, this people, with a passion for scenes of carnage, might fall upon our weak band, the destruction of which would cost them but little effort. It was then that Mr. Roos, an old man perhaps too prudent, sent round the order for our party to take arms. I saw at once the danger of such a demonstration, and opposed it with all my might. The Zulus would have supposed that we were in fear. This especially ought to be avoided, and a diversion from this should be sought by fixing their attention on other matters.

Panda was called upon by us to explain the scene which we had witnessed with regret. He came, pretending to be in great anger. Four thousand warriors formed a circle round him; then he seemed to threaten doom to the murderers by a scowl as dark as a thunder-cloud. It was he himself, he said, who was jeopardised by this atrocious conduct; and what hope remained to him and his people if horror for this bloodshed should induce the farmers to drive him back into Dingaan's country?

In our eyes Panda had cleared himself of the crime. His eloquence made us believe him innocent. Some days elapsed before we learned that the act had been his first exercise of kingly authority, which had a cause quite recent and concerning us nearly. On the day when we acknowledged him chief of the tribe, it was necessary that a man should die by his order, and the forfeit was paid by the unhappy Pangazoaga: and the blood of the man was to serve as an ointment for his limbs that night; the heart was to be roasted and presented to him to be eaten, as if to strengthen his body and double his heart. Such are the influences actuating the Zulu Kafirs. I know that several with whom I have been acquainted in Natal will not admit these things to be true; but I may state that I am the only one who has lived nearly ten months in the heart of the country of the Zulus, and that I have been in every respect too well informed to have any doubt upon the subject.

It was a novelty to me to see so great a number of men assembled. The eloquence of the different speakers, the excessive rapidity of their movements, the vehemence of their discourse, the abundance of their vocabulary, the intelligible meaning of their supple and bold gestures—gestures unknown to Europeans, and expressing as much and more than words: all this had struck me as strange and exceptional.

When we took leave of Panda, I heard that he was dissatisfied with us, because the old captain with glass eyes (Mr. Roos) had not accepted all the presents which were offered us. It was systematically and from motives of delicacy that Mr. Roos had refused: but it is never right to act in this spirit towards people who have a repugnance to innovations, and above all look upon a refusal as an affront.

I spent a part of the months of November and December at Pietermaritzburg, which was at that time no more than a camp, ill-constructed of palisades, and simply a heap of ill-formed huts, made of wood and rushes, and plastered with the manure of the cattle.

Pietermaritzburg at that time had no other name than Boschjesman's Rand (Bushman's Ridge), the name of the adjoining chain of mountains so called. It was only when the council had decided that the site of a town should be marked out there that the *laager* or camp of Boschjesman's Rand took a name compounded of those of the two principal emigrants, Pieter Retief and Gerrit Mauritz, or Maritz.

In December, 1839, the "rooi-baatjes" * weighed anchor, and had scarcely set sail, when a three-coloured flag was hoisted on the same staff that had lately borne the British ensign. A number of guns were then fired, not as a parting salute with the significance of "A happy voyage to you, a pleasant passage; may we see you soon again;" but rather with this meaning: "May you, who are relieving us of the oppressive incubus of your presence, betake yourself to a distance, go very far, and never come back." This was the real language of the cannons to the echoes that repeated it. But the English were content, for their personal satisfaction, to accept it in a sense the very reverse of all this: as a compliment. In the demonstration there was nothing but an ironical prayer; yet those to whom it was addressed interpreted the booming sounds as expressive of regret, as the voices of the sad and tender-winged messengers sent in exchange between those who go and those who stay, and which follow the furrow of the ship so far; messenger-birds well represented by the brown-plumaged petrels, spirits of air and of ocean, never struck by a bullet, and the sight of which rends the heart that clings to the shore with affectionate remembrance.

The Boers having now been released from a watchfulness that clogged their freedom of action, resolved to take immediate advantage of the favourable circumstances that presented themselves.

Dingaan put off from day to day the payment of the war-debt, which he had acknowledged to be due. Panda, in deserting, had drawn to his party a number of influential captains, and a considerable number of fighting men. He and they had a common object: it was indispensable that Dingaan should fall. Without doubt, that chief counted many devoted men in his cohorts—but also many who were discontented, and silenced only by the fear of being put to death.

A commando was resolved on. This is what the Arabs call a "vazzia." No other name suits that kind of warfare, which bears no resemblance to the warlike tactics of Europe. Panda was directed to act with his warriors on one side: the Boers were to advance on the other. With two hostile corps to encounter, Dingaan, who could not possibly divide his forces, having countless herds to protect, must infallibly succumb. * * * *

On the 13th January, 1840, the commando of the Boers was already on its way from Pietermaritzburg towards the Tugela River,

* English troops are so called by the Boers—i.e., "Red-jackets."

and notwithstanding my wish to quit Port Natal some days sooner, I had been obliged to await an opportunity. I was dependent on Edward Parker, who had several horses which he placed at my disposal. * * On the 15th we quitted Pietermaritzburg, in company with three other horsemen. * * On the 18th, after having halted for some time at Doornkop, we reached, at noon, the banks of the Tugela, which were at that time covered by men, horses, and wagons. The confused cries of the strong-voiced Boers, the cracking of their wagon-whips, the stamping of the wheels as they crashed from stone to stone, the noise of the water stemmed in its course by oxen, wagons, horses, and men—all this, repeated by echoes from the opposite side, produced an uproar that would have made one suppose that the river was being crossed by twenty thousand men in the disorganization of defeat. So far from this, there were but 308 armed men, and not more than 60 Hottentot and 400 Kafir servants. There may have been 600 horses, 700 oxen, and 50 wagons.

I have to add that there was a commandant of the forces, but as a matter of form only, in whom no right of punishment was recognised, and whose command anyone would obey if he thought fit. Several hours were spent in the passage of the river, after which we encamped at a distance of a mile farther on. * * At this spot we spent the 19th and 20th, awaiting a reinforcement from among the colonists living west of the Drakensberg. * * These two days of delay, far from being turned to account by the Boers in gaining information on which the conduct of the campaign might be based, far from being used for measures of watchfulness, so as to guard against dangerous risks that ought to be forecast, were spent in reading the Bible and singing hymns, while masses of meat almost weighing down the fires of the bivouac, were being roasted. At intervals of leisure the young people, following their wits of little range, gave themselves up to meaningless games, wrestled without any artistic skill, or sought to shine by the rudest jokes. Habituated to live in the midst of their isolated families, this great meeting of men was a kind of holiday to them, the more so that the meat was fat, and the daily ration not less than ten pounds.

For these Dutch South Africans to pass away their time in frequent meals of meat, to sip their coffee at every hour, to have a wife who may beguile the dreariness of the evenings, to please themselves with the sight, by day, of large herds, of various colours, shining in their fatness, and enamelling the green meadows, and at times to

follow the chase—an employment at once profitable and refreshing to their limbs—such is the ideal common to them all, their notion of the comfortable, and called by them “lekker leven” (a pleasant life).

* * * This war that we were waging against the Zulus was looked upon by many of the farmers as simply a hunting expedition; but the chase had much of value in it. More than one regarded it as the starting-point of his fortunes, adding to his share of the results of the commando the cattle which he might acquire, by means well understood and conventionally spoken of as perquisites. And then was it not allowable to bring away three or four young Kafir boys or girls, taken by force from their families, and who by a qualified phrase were called apprentices, in order the better to ward off the idea of slavery? These were destined for household service; but the farmers, as if ashamed to admit their weakness, though they wrangled about the possession of these beings, and bartered them as they would horses or oxen, were constantly repeating: “For my part I would rather not have them; but what would my wife say if I did not bring her some? It is so difficult to find servants in Natal.”

* * * The camp was broken up on the 21st, and the wagons, one following the other, soon after crossed the Klip River—a stony, and even detestably rocky, river. Decidedly we were now travelling in the country of the Zulus; we were on an enemy’s territory; but this was not considered a sufficient reason for adopting a more prudent system of advance. An interval of four miles separated the first wagon from the last. What force would 300 or 400 men have represented, though armed with guns, if spread over so long a line, and if it had been attacked in rear or front by 15,000 or 20,000 Kafirs? Very certainly, resistance would not have been possible. But the Commandant-General, Mr. Pretorius, had his own system of tactics which was to have no tactics at all.

On the following day we remained at rest; for some who had not started with us might still come up, and, if we had gone onward, the fear of advancing alone might have induced them to turn back. At ten o’clock, there was an alarm which made each one take up his arms; * * * but it was a false alarm, the absence of reason for it becoming known without delay. About 400 Kafirs, carrying their bucklers, had been seen by a patrol, but they were visitors; they were the contingent of Matuwana, who came to offer their services for acting in concert with us against Dingaan. At the request of Pretorius, they drew themselves up in line, and performed the war dance, to an accompaniment of war songs. The effect of the

exhibition was picturesque and imposing. Each of the warriors had his head girt with a pad of otter-skin, worn for the purpose of protecting against the effect of a blow. From this a long, single feather of the Numidian crane rose perpendicularly, swaying with the wind. From the neck hung rows of ox-tails, a kind of loose vestment forming an upper shelter to the person. From the waist to the knee, following the curves of the haunch and the back, hung the elegant "symba," composed of 400 strips of wild-cat skin, spirally twisted, and sewn so as to imitate the tails of monkeys. For ornamental garters, there were ox-tails, of which the tufts protected the fore-part of the legs against thorns; similar, but shorter tails, knotted about the ankle, covered the upper part of the foot, for the same purpose. The arm also bore similar tufts, the play of which, as the limb is moved, is very graceful; they were worn, the first, at three inches below the shoulder; the second, two inches below the elbow; the third, at the wrist. The buckler was five feet in height. The weapon was the assagai.

The chief, who wore a costume of the same kind, but made of furs, more rich or more choice, had his head loaded with the down of the "touraco" (or loorie), formed into tufts, blue or red; the front of his body was also covered with them, but there all colours shone indiscriminately. The bustard, the wit-wall of Angola, the Natal parrot, the wood-pigeon, the widow-bird, had borne the expense of these different ornaments.

Without doubt, this mode of dress, according to our notions, is composed of trifles, to be found everywhere in the country inhabited by these people, but if we consider that, for procuring these birds, the Kafirs have no instrument of reasonably easy appliance, that they have to pick up one by one the feathers that drop from the birds, it will be manifest that a long time is necessary for acquiring a complete suit, and that consequently a great value is attached to it. Thus, for instance, a symba costs them ten cows, and often more; that is more than the wages of a trapper for a year.

But also, in agreement with all who have seen them, I cannot too much praise the beauty, the grace, the elegance of these vestments, which would not be a suitable attire to us. * * *

On the 23rd, in the evening, we had rain in torrents for the first time after our departure. * * *

The 25th and 26th were passed at the same place in the expectation of fine weather which did not come, and of a reinforcement of some men, who joined us in a state of exhaustion from constant rain.

At length, on the 27th, we travelled four leagues with great difficulty, the soil clogging the wheels, so as to make our wagons at times incapable of motion. We had but five pairs of oxen to each wagon : a number which had been fixed to avoid undue encumbrances, but wanting in strength under such circumstances. We formed a camp not far from, and to the south of, two mountains that touch each other, the western flat, the eastern uneven, on the summits ; both conspicuous from a great distance. There we were visited by Kafir runners sent by Nonglass (Nongalaza), who commanded Panda's forces. These men were commissioned to tell their master, who was with us, that the hostile armies were in presence of each other, and must be actually engaged at that very time. We knew that the number of warriors on either side was equal, but that those of Panda were of better heart, whilst those of Dingaan were discouraged : for to them it was necessary to overcome twice, first Panda's army, and then ours. It was doubtful that they could have this present to their minds, and yet retain any hope.

On the 28th we left the mountains on our right, * * * and on the same day crossed the Sand River, and encamped beyond it. On the 29th we passed the Buffalo River (Umzinyati), the steep banks of which presented great difficulties, both in the descent to the stream and the ascent beyond. Several wagons were overturned, some were broken ; but all, nevertheless, reached the sides of a mountain, near which we stationed ourselves.

There we found a quantity of bleached bones, a number of Kafir skulls, scattered in the long grass. This was the place in which the memorable battle of the Sunday had been fought, in which five-and-twenty regiments of Kafirs, of a thousand men each, rushing in turns on a camp of eight or nine hundred Boers, had left 3,200 of their own numbers on the field. The attack had not lasted more than an hour and a half. This slaughter had occurred on the 16th September, 1838, and the little river running near had received from it the name of Blood River. Some of the farmers have assured me that the wounded Kafirs, unable to save themselves by flight, had hit upon the expedient of hiding themselves among the rushes ; others, plunging into deeper water, held only their noses above water, as the hippopotamus does, and by this clever and patient stratagem these unfortunate beings calculated on dragging themselves to some distance in the obscurity of evening. But as soon as the trick was discovered, the little river was inspected and sounded with the most scrupulous care ; and soon its semi-stagnant waters

were tinged with red : all the fugitives were shot without mercy by the Boers, who made a joke of this easy destruction. There is in this barbarity something that excites disgust in the heart of a European. I shall revert to the subject. But pending the account which I shall give of the emigration, I think that infamy ought not to be imputed to the Boers in this matter. Their chosen men had then recently been butchered by Dingaan. Had not Dingaan, some days after, massacred 317 women and children, who, in confidence on the faith of treaties, had been left without protection on the banks of the Bushman's River? Had not the Zulus shown their ardent love of carnage in that ignoble and revolting scene? Had they not delighted themselves with placing lard in the flesh of the corpses, with exposing them naked, with ripping open the bodies of the women who appeared to be pregnant, taking from them the unborn offspring, and crushing its head against the iron tire of the wheels? These same men were now found within musket-shot, these same impetuous black agents of crime, stained with the blood of white women. They had shown no mercy ; they asked none. Being discovered, they knew that death was inevitable : but obeying the irresistible instinct of self-preservation, they plunged down deeper, till, breath failing, they were forced to raise the heads, which the avenging bullets of the Boers immediately shattered.

* * * * * On the 30th, at about 5 o'clock, a Kafir bearing a white flag came from Nongalaza to inform us that Dingaan's last resource was to effect a junction with Umsilikazi ; but that this would oblige him to pass through the country of the " knob-nosed " Kafirs, the same who are called Amakazana, from whom we had everything to fear : that to avoid these, and taking a more eastern direction, he must pass into the heart of the country of the Amaswazi—still more implacable enemies—so that on either hand there were dangers so certain that he must infallibly be overwhelmed by them. The messenger added that Dingaan, fearing for his life, had hidden himself in a cave near his town, awaiting an opportunity for escaping to the north.

On the morning of the 31st a council of war was assembled. It was held in the open air, a sufficient reason for the judges to wear their hats. I speak of the judges, because the council was composed only of judges and a reporter. To answer the public prosecutor, there was no counsel for defending the accused : there would have been too little political wisdom in furnishing such means of resistance to those whom all desired to see condemned and shot. I have spoken of judges,

because these men were in the position of judges, though they bore little resemblance to them. If, however, you attach importance to any distinct idea of this council, composed of weak and cruel people, remember what a revolutionary tribunal was in the days of terror.

Two capital sentences had to be pronounced, to be carried into effect immediately after the rising of the court. There, before these insignificant white figures, appeared two men, manacled to each other, the handcuff linking the left wrist of the one to the right of the other. These men were Tambuza and Kambezana: both had a firm demeanour.

Who were these men? How had they fallen into the power of the Boers? This I must explain as showing how the law of nations is understood by the Boers.

Tambuza had long occupied the position of highest dignity among the Zulus. Next to the despot, Dingaan, Tambuza and Tshala held the highest rank. * * * Tambuza was commissioned by Dingaan to go to Pietermaritzburg to carry words of peace to the farmers, and also to present two hundred superb oxen—a gift by which Dingaan wished to renew the profession of his good intentions and gain time in regard to a debt acknowledged by him to amount to 19,000 head of cattle, or, more precisely, that number of oxen, cows, or calves. “Go,” said he, “speak as if it were I speaking, and succeed in your errand.”

Tambuza, who, though he cringed before his master, as his subordinates cringed before himself, was yet a faithful servant, a man so devoted as willingly to give up his life to serve Dingaan, Tambuza set out accompanied by Kambezana, and that in spite of the rumours of war which reached him on the way. He soon presented himself before the council of the farmers.

This proceeding of Dingaan was held to be part of a system of delay, behind which lurked hostile designs. The cattle were immediately appropriated, not as a present, but as an instalment of the debt. Tambuza long and skilfully pleaded for the cause which he was bound to defend. But arrangements had already been made and orders given. Every day's delay favoured adverse chances. It was necessary to act. The eloquence of Tambuza was not crowned with success. On the contrary, it became fatal to him, and for these reasons:

Panda, finding himself admitted to the council, in which his presence was necessary, gave the details demanded of him. Tambuza, whose efforts tended to further his master's views, spoke too much in favour of Dingaan. Panda had a difficulty in concealing his

resentment. He rose in a fury, inveighed against Tambuza pitilessly, accused him of having been the instigator of the massacres at Umgunguhlovu and Bushman's River, and promised, if called upon, to furnish a thousand proofs of the fact.

Tambuza remained cool, parrying the rage of his opponent only by being immovable. "I do not think," he said, "that I ought to answer such an accusation. Dingaan, my master, has charged me with a message, which is the very first thing that must weigh with me. I cannot neglect my master's business to attend to my own." Then he was silent; but neither his silence nor the dignity of his answer were of avail. Nor did his position as an envoy protect him, a position that ought to have been respected, whatever Tambuza was or might have been.

Without further delay, he and his attendant were placed in irons. Chained to each other in a state of utter nudity, they were confined in a damp place, from which they came forth only when the commando began its march. Their joy at seeing the sun again was sensible; that star which they, naked men, love so much for its heat. They walked along under escort; but even if they had not been guarded, Tambuza would not have sought to escape by flight. He was too great, too noble, to avail himself of such means of safety. When the rain fell in torrents, and cold set in, the space under the wagon was their shelter. It is true that I myself had no other, but I had woollen clothes. They, poor devils, had only the skin with which the Creator had covered their bones: the wind struck their sides; the shudder, the chatter of the teeth, and stiffness of their limbs were continual; but, great in their martyrdom, they allowed no complaint to escape them.

It was in this condition that they appeared, I will not say to be judged, but—to hear their sentence pronounced. I shall content myself with quoting here the words of Paul Zietsman, who was provisionally the secretary of Pretorius. The latter could not write, and to the former the task of the journal-record of the expedition had been assigned.

"On 31st January, 1840, it was resolved to decide the fate of Tambuza, ex-councillor of Dingaan, and of an inferior chief, named Kambezana, who was also a prisoner. A council was summoned, before which Panda and other captains were called to make their depositions. They affirmed that they had all previously resided near the capital of the Zulus when Tambuza was in power; that they had there been witnesses of his acts; that they could solemnly

swear before a God who knows all, whom they have learned to know from the words of the white men, before the sun, before the present assembly, before the whole world, that all Dingaan's deeds of blood were done with the direct concurrence, and by the advice, of Tambuza: that he instigated the monster to destroy this or that hut, without sparing women or children, using the slightest offences as a pretext; that it was also by his influence that Retief and his companions had been assassinated; that it was this same influence which had determined the subsequent massacre of the women and children of the emigrants who had been left defenceless.

"Panda added, moreover, that as a result of the machinations of the prisoner, he himself had been seized and dragged to the place of execution, where he was to be put to death, and that he only escaped in consequence of his mother's intercession, which was effectual, because she was also Dingaan's mother-in-law.

"The chief under arrest, being called upon to defend himself, acknowledged the truth of all that had been alleged against him, as also the justice of the fate that awaited him, adding nobly, that though he was willing to pay for his numerous crimes by the sacrifice of his life, still Kambezana, his companion in captivity, was innocent, and did not deserve death.

"Panda hastened to reply to these words, saying that Kambezana had been the principal instigator of the atrocities committed by Dingaan, by the communication of false reports, in the hope of gaining his good graces and favour.

"The commandant-in-chief, by the advice of his court-martial, then resolved on passing upon the prisoners the terrible sentence of death. He impressed upon their minds how much that was dreadful was included in this act, and made them understand that, after having undergone their sentence, they would appear before another Judge, but that they might avoid everlasting punishment if they would confess their crimes, and heartily solicit His forgiveness. Some hours after, the two prisoners were led away to a place in the neighbourhood, and human justice was satisfied."

I must add—I who witnessed these debates—that Tambuza was pressed to make admissions, but that he was silent on his own behalf, and only spoke in assertion of his comrade's innocence: a proof of disregard of self, of admirable disinterestedness at such a time; and when Pretorius spoke to him of God (*Inkozi pezulu*), the Master on high, the Dispenser of eternal punishment, which he might avoid by a course of conduct till then unknown to him, Tanibuza objected

that he had but one master, that it was his duty to remain faithful to that master till the last; and that after having so acted, the Master on high, if there were one, could not fail to approve his conduct.

When the two prisoners arrived at the place of execution they were, as before, linked to each other. Two farmers ordered to shoot them stood at a distance of about sixty yards. When the shots were fired, both fell. Kambezema was killed instantaneously. Tambuza was only wounded, though by a body-wound. Calm as before, though suffering, he rose, stood firm, and presented a full front to the fire, until he fell dead, struck by the second bullet.

These men know how to die, I thought, and withdrew full of admiration, but also with a thousand painful feelings: for this act of Boer justice seemed to me an infamy.

On the same day we passed the white Umfolozi, not far from which the capital of Dingaan had been built. * * * Our march was resumed on the 1st of February. It was 11 o'clock in the morning when we received information that a great number of cattle guarded by Kafirs had been seen in the neighbourhood. A hundred and fifty horsemen were at once despatched to take possession of them, and the camp was once more formed at the same place. Soon after, we heard of the total defeat of Dingaan's forces, of which one regiment had been totally destroyed. Schlala had been run through the body by an assagai. * *

The 2nd was passed in religious exercises, the Bible was read, and hymns were sung. But with this devotional sound a more agreeable noise began to be mingled, with an effect that a South African cannot resist: this was the bellowing of three thousand oxen and cows. * * * It was not long before we received the confirmation of Dingaan's defeat from spies, the subjects of Jobe, our ally: it seemed even to be averred that in his flight the despot had been stopped for some time by a swollen river. Nieuwkerk (one of our emissaries) returned to us in the evening of the same day. He had found the enemy's forces, separated by a ravine, resting after their exertions. He had been on the point of entering Schlala's camp. But though Dingaan's army had not yet retired, it was none the less disabled from making any advantageous struggle. One thousand of his warriors had fallen on the field, and, although the advantage had been decisive on the side of Panda, Nieuwkerk had noted not less than 1,200 wounded men in the camp of Nongalaza, whose contingent was reckoned at 5,000 armed men.

On the 3rd the commandant ordered that every man possessed of a horse should prepare for a start at 7 o'clock—so that, if no horses had been lost, every one would have joined the expedition: an unparalleled system of tactics, proving the strategic knowledge of Pretorius. In consequence, 210 men started. * * * The spectacle afforded by these men was singular, starting, as they did, in the utmost disorder, scaling the hills helter-skelter, bearing their long guns ungracefully on their shoulders. From the commandant to the fieldcornet, to the corporal, to the simple mounted man, there was no distinction in bearing, none in carrying out orders, which no one was tempted to give, because no one cared to obey, no mode of punishment existing.

After marching an hour, a spy came to inform the Boers of the retreat of a body of Zulus, who had retired from a steep slope on which they had at first taken up a position; the arrival of the whites had prompted this movement. Commandant Lombaard at once rushed in pursuit, at the head of twenty-five active horses, whilst the rest followed as briskly as the difficult character of the locality permitted. Luckily for the enemy, whose rapid march had to be overtaken, his movements were masked by a dense fog, which covered the mountains and surrounding gorges. This favouring circumstance enabled the Zulus to escape unperceived, to lie close in the clefts and caverns that marked that part of the mountains. Though several of the Boers had come sufficiently near to hear them call each other and give the word for flight, the detachment of twenty-five men returned in the evening, after fruitless efforts amongst piles of rock.

On the 4th the line of march was still directed to the north-east. This day was not marked by any event.

On the 5th our 250 men still moved forward all day, in the hope of overtaking the flying enemy. They found nothing but difficult passes, across a country studded with rocky heights, intersected by gullies and ravines, in which were a thousand winding streams. They bivouacked at the foot of a mountain in a damp, spongy place, taking care to have their horses all saddled, and to form a circle to prevent surprise.

On the 6th at sunrise the march was resumed, and continued in the same direction for some distance. But finding no trace of enemies, our men turned eastward, and soon after learned that a party of Zulus had entrenched themselves on the summit of a mountain, cragged, burrowed by caverns, and of most difficult access. This place was immediately surrounded, and the commandant-in-chief directed an

interpreter to announce to those who had taken refuge in the caverns that their lives would be spared if they came out unarmed. As, however, no one accepted this offer of mercy, Commandant Lombaard at the head of twenty-five men was ordered to approach this natural fortress, to shoot the men, but to spare the women and children.

This order, the execution of which was difficult, so much were the approaches obstructed by great blocks of stone, was carried out with great courage. Three principal Zulus having been mortally wounded, the remainder cried out for quarter. At once the fire ceased, the men came out, bringing with them fifty women and a number of children, who were received and treated with kindness. But two hours later, the Zulu warriors who were prisoners, seeking with one accord to fly to some caves in the neighbourhood, all fell under a discharge of bullets, that flew more swiftly than they could have imagined to be possible. The behaviour of the Boers on this occasion greatly surprised their Zulu allies. It excited their admiration as well as their dissatisfaction; and more than one spoke with contempt of the system of war in use among the whites. "What," said Nongalaza, "after having compelled them to quit so difficult a position, you spare their lives! That is not war; it is not profiting by advantages. In war many must be killed; all if possible."

At about 3 o'clock, heavy rain, which threatened to continue, obliged the Boers to halt. A forsaken kraal served to shelter them. Its open grain-pits supplied them with Indian-corn in abundance, and with this they made a hearty repast, for hunger had begun to make itself felt. Two Zulus, accompanied by Nongalaza, there awaited the coming of Pretorius, in order to intercede in favour of two captains, named Kowana and Maputa, who were represented as being chief officers of Dingaan. It was stated that they had long resolved upon revolt, but that no opportunity for it had occurred until the recent battle between Dingaan and Panda, and they had been obliged to await the turn of events. Their present wish was to join the whites with all their forces. The answer of Pretorius assured them of his acquiescence in their views. However, he enjoined on Kowana and Maputa that they should appear in person on the following day, in order that their submission might be received. These envoys, whom it was wished to impress with some idea of our proceedings, were requested to enquire of Panda what treatment he had experienced at our hands; and, in reply, Panda spoke in very flattering terms of the happiness he was enjoying,—a condition contrasting singularly with the servility of his life under Dingaan, whom he could never approach except in the cringing attitude of a dog.

On the 8th the party reached the Pongola River. * * * No precise information could be had as to Dingaan; only it was known that he had passed the river five days previously with some of his wives and some cattle herds; that his flight beyond his own territory was a matter of certainty. Some affirmed that he had not with him more than 100 men capable of bearing arms: that his unworthy flight had to such an extent exasperated his people against him, that those who till lately had been his devoted partisans, swore that they would cut him in pieces if he should happen to put himself in their power.

The conviction thus acquired of the dispersion of the forces and adherents of Dingaan, joined to the destruction that the sickness was working among the horses, were the two causes that operated on the resolve to turn homeward. Pretorius leaving to Nongalaza the task of watching the banks of the Pongola, made him promise that in the event of his hearing anything of Dingaan, he would despatch two of his swiftest runners, adding that in that event he would make it a duty immediately to despatch a hundred mounted men, in order, if possible, to seize alive the monster whose capture would cause much joy.

These matters being arranged, the commando set out to reach again the Black Umfolozi, driving in rear and front a herd of 10,000 oxen and cows.

On the evening of the 9th day they rejoined the camp. It was a Sunday, but, by reason of the incessant rains that had set in on the 5th, there could be no numerous concourse for divine service. Nevertheless, many a tent became a place of prayer, and they thanked the All-powerful for the advantages they had gained.

On the 10th, Pretorius complimented Panda on the conduct he had observed during his attendance on the expedition. He congratulated him in high terms on the successes gained by the valiant Nongalaza: he endeavoured to persuade the Kafir king and his collective principal officers that the whites did not ascribe to any strength of their own the fortunate results of the war, but to the superior Providence which had used them as an instrument to punish Dingaan for his iniquities, and to put an end to them.

Then addressing Panda for a second time, he said that he admitted the justice of his claims to the throne of power vacant by the flight of Dingaan; that in consequence he recognised and named him as the king or chief of the people of the Zulus, being authorised to act thus in the name of the council of the people, which had its sitting at Pietermaritzburg; that henceforth he should be considered as their principal ally; that his enemies would be treated as those of

the Boers; that he would, however, not be allowed to wage war with other tribes, without having first asked and obtained permission to do so; and that his request was to be accompanied by an explanation of the causes that led to it; in which case, if the grounds were just, a reasonable force of mounted Boers would be placed at his disposal to assist him.

Panda hastened to accept these decrees of the council, and replied in suitable terms. He said, "I can swear solemnly, by all that exists, that I am wishful to remain faithful to you and to your council for ever: and, if any power should assail you, as soon as I shall have any knowledge of it, I pledge myself to place at your disposal all my forces, which, in the interest of your cause, will be sacrificed to the last man, if you desire it."

At that time the united forces of Panda were estimated at 10,000 chosen warriors. I allow myself to dispute the fact, because, at a later period, I had an opportunity of reckoning more accurately the number of able-bodied men capable of being employed in attack and defence. 40,000 men, including the "abajanas" (young men under the age of eighteen), make up the whole Zulu force. 20,000 only are to carry war beyond the boundaries: the rest being reserved for the protection of the women, children, and herds, which, owing to their great number, require the half of the fighting men.

On the 11th, Nongalaza despatched two messengers to report that it was quite impossible to obtain any intelligence of Dingaan; as also to make known that there were no herds of cattle in the country under his observation. He consequently asked permission to quit that tract. His request was received at the same time that it had been resolved to hasten the return to Pietermaritzburg, because of the number of horses daily falling victims to the prevailing malady. * * *

On the 14th, the commandant-in-chief, after displaying the colours of the young Republic, caused to be read in presence of all the proclamation by which he extended the limits of the territory to the north. The portion of the country thus annexed extended from the Tugela to the Black Umfolozi, the Bay of St. Lucia being included in this extent. He sought by all means to give great publicity to this act of taking possession, which was nothing more than an empty sound. No one applauded it; on the other hand, no one disputed it, because there are innocent things that do neither good nor harm: at least at the time. * * *

The individual employed in keeping the journal of the expedi-

tion took good care to reproduce the text of the document, and did not fear to add gravely, "After this, a salute was fired in honour of the council of the people: then all the men with one voice cried, 'Thanks to the Great God, by whose grace victory has been granted us.'" Imagine, if you can, this entire army, composed of 436 men, the great voice of such an army, and the victory gained by this army, God helping.

I, who am bound to have recourse to facts as affording explanations, can find none whatever on which to found a victory so worthy of a "Te Deum!" I must say with humility that I bore a part in this war, which was brought to a close without a single battle in which the whites had taken any part.

JOURNAL

OF

THE COMMANDO UNDER CHIEF COMMANDANT PRETORIUS AGAINST DINGAAN.

[From the "Zuid Afrikaan," Cape newspaper, 10th February, 1846.]

PURSUANT to a certain treaty into which the two Zulu ambassadors have entered in the name of the Zulu king, Dingaan, on the 13th day of May, 1838, with A. W. J. Pretorius, Esq., as Chief Commandant of the Right Worshipful the Representative Assembly of the South African Society at Natal, by which they have engaged to satisfy on demand all the damages sustained through them by the subjects of the South African Society; the said Honourable Representative Assembly at different times demanded from the Zulu king the number of cattle required for the purpose. This was responded to by Dingaan by the sending of some fifty to a hundred cattle, 2,000 lbs. of ivory, and the vain promises that the cattle still due by him would be delivered. But these promises were not fulfilled; and the Assembly at last caused it to be notified to Dingaan, that as he continually deceived them, and did not fulfil his engagements, it would lead to greater enmity than has already existed between the South African Society and the Zulu tribe; and that the Assembly would be necessitated, should he still persist in refusing to deliver up the cattle

of our ruined subjects, to take it from him by force of arms. But Dingaan remained indifferent, notwithstanding all our demands and threats.

Therefore the Assembly resolved on 4th January, 1840, that A. W. J. Pretorius, Esq., in his capacity as chief commandant, should on the 15th of the said month march against Dingaan with a commando of burghers, in order to demand from him 40,000 head of cattle, and, in the event of his not complying therewith, to take them from him by force of arms.

Preparations were consequently made for the expedition. Already, on the 12th, our guns, firearms, ammunition of war, and other necessities for the expedition were in perfect order; and the rendezvous of the several detachments of the commando was fixed at the Tugela Spruit.

On 14th January the several divisions commenced their march. On the 18th the first division, with the chief commandant, arrived at the appointed place. Here we were joined by 70 men from the other side of the Draaksberg, under Commandant Andries Spies, to reinforce us. I was ordered to make a list of the number of warriors, and they were found to amount to 335. This power, however, was not considered sufficient by the chief and other officers of our army totally to conquer our powerful enemy and the very great number of men under him. Consequently, an express was sent by Fieldcornet Bester to the Landdrost of Pietermaritzburg, requesting him immediately to send to our assistance as many men as could be spared by our Assembly from the different camps, in addition to those already in the field.

On Sunday, 19th, no movements were made. We had the satisfaction of being edified by a spiritual sermon suitable to our situation, delivered by J. S. Maritz, Esq., one of our representatives, who happened to be amongst us.

26th. The first thing done this day was the establishment of a proper camp order, framed by the chief commandant, and consisting of ten principal articles, for the purpose of fixing the several duties of the minor commandants, fieldcornets, and men, and to fix a lawful punishment for every crime. The field commandant proceeded also to read to the commando the orders and instructions which he had received from the representatives of the people (Volksraad) for himself and those under him. He also, in conformity therewith, and by direction of the Volksraad, appointed a court-martial, consisting of twelve persons, in order that all cases of a

military nature may in future be decided by a court-martial, at which the chief commandant is to preside.

A few hours after these proceedings, an inferior captain of the Zulu nation, named Matuwan (one of our allies), appeared in our camp for the purpose of requesting the chief commandant for the grant of a piece of land, to reside thereon, with his people, that he might by our protection be liberated from the tyrannical persecution of Dingaan, saying that he was willing to join with our army in the war against Dingaan. This request was conditionally acceded to by the chief commandant and the court-martial, in order first to submit the same to the Volksraad. They were, however, allowed to join with us in the war against Dingaan.

These aborigines appeared very kind, and declare that they now only experience the value of the invariable promises of the white men as allies, they now having no fear to be destroyed, with their wives and their defenceless children, during the night by tyrannical barbarians, for which they formerly had to fear daily from the cruel orders from that bloodthirsty Dingaan.

21st.—We this day left the Tugela with about 350 men, our force having since been reinforced. A. W. J. Pretorius, Esq., as chief commandant, was at the head of our army. We proceeded on without any accident, and halted for some hours at the Doorn Leege, near the Klip River. Here we again rejoiced at the opportunity we had of manifesting our principle of Christian humanity to another great number of Zulus, by also delivering them from the tyrant Dingaan and taking them under our protection. The case was as follows:—Two sons of the chief Joob (Jobe), with some of their men, came to our camp and said, on behalf of their father, that he for a long time since has experienced the force of our arms, and was prepared to confirm the justness of our claims against Dingaan by his evidence: that Dingaan for no reason caused to be killed the relations of his father, many men, women and defenceless children of the aborigines, who had been under the jurisdiction of his father from generation to generation; that their father has already experienced that the white people treat their allies (such as Panda and other small tribes) as their children; that they also wish to become faithful allies of the white people, and that they were ready to march with us against their royal bloodthirsty enemy at a moment's notice. The chief commandant convened the court-martial for the purpose of considering their application, and after a proper consultation they agreed to accept the tribe of the chief Jobe, in the name of the Volksraad of the South African Society, as allies

of that society. They were consequently ordered to occupy the northern direction of the enemy with their force (being merely 400), in conjunction with that of Matuwan, consisting of 250 men, and there to join Panda's and Sapusa's forces (two of our allies), consisting of about 4,000 men; and to attack the enemy severally in the north-easterly direction, while our army would do the same from the south-east.

These orders of the court-martial were cheerfully received by our allies, and they left our camp for the purpose of immediately marching against the enemy, according to our orders, keeping Panda, as the most powerful chief of the different allies, amongst us, and treating him kindly, in order to secure ourselves against unforeseen treachery. In the meantime, every officer of our allies received orders from the court-martial, under severe threats of punishment, not to injure any female or child of the enemy; while a reward of fifty head of cattle was promised them if they delivered up Dingaan, as also a reward of five-and-twenty head of cattle for delivering up Umhlela, one of Dingaan's first ministers. These two, together with Dambusa, a second statesman or minister of war, who is at present in chains with us, were the only illustrious monsters who polluted the earth with the innocent blood of our peaceable whites.

22nd.—This day we stopped to wait for our reinforcements; but in the afternoon Matuwan appeared before our camp with his force, consisting of merely 254 men. These men have a beautiful appearance in their parade dress. The captains were covered from head to toes with several sorts of skins of wild animals, the beauty whereof in their sort must greatly astonish any stranger. The captains ordered their men to place themselves in rank and order; they all marched as regularly as the best-drilled regiments. The whole regiment expressed in songs the following words, as with one voice: "We were dead, and through that man" (pointing to the chief commandant) "we have again recovered our lives. We were suffering under the bloodthirsty tyrant, Dingaan, and can now cheer the white people as our fathers, as our benefactors and our righteous judges, with joyous songs. We cheerfully go to fight for them, because we shall not fight in vain. We shall ere long enjoy in happiness with our families the days which we formerly had to pass in bitterness; Dingaan's greatness will soon have to disappear as snow before the sun, so that we, unfortunate men, may live in quietness under the protection of the white men."

The chief commandant then showed them Dambusa, in order to

ascertain from all our allies the former conduct of the said Dambusa. But all our allies called out unanimously: "He must be killed; he must be killed. He was the chief instrument in the shedding of innocent blood. He has positively instigated Dingaan to cause the late P. Retief to be murdered, threatening Dingaan, should he not comply therewith, to leave him with all his people. He, Dambusa, was even at the head of the Zulu army when the defenceless and pregnant women, nay even the innocent infants, fell as victims to the points of their bloodthirsty swords."

These unanimous expressions of their chief affected me much, when I reflected on the cruel manner in which our beloved countrymen and friends have been massacred.

23rd.—Proceeding on this day, we arrived at the Modder Leegte in the afternoon, a distance of about four English miles. We halted here for a few days, to wait for the reinforcements of our commando.

25th.—I rejoiced on perceiving the arrival of another reinforcement of fifty men in our camp. Our force may now be calculated at 400 men; and we would certainly be able to muster our force at double that number, were it not for the severe raging of the horse-sickness on the other side of the Draaksberg, and the necessity to provide our chief town and its surrounding camps with a sufficient number of men.

26th (Sunday).—This day we again pitched a tent, and collected together in great numbers, in and outside, for the purpose of glorifying and praising the Almighty for His divine grace hitherto bestowed upon us. This solemn service was first opened by a suitable hymn, and the reading of some chapters from the Book of Psalms, and afterwards commenced with a prayer by Mr. J. G. Vermaak. The chief commandant then proceeded to read to us, to the honour of God, a sermon applicable to our situation, and taken from the Old Testament. The closing prayer of Mr. Vermaak was also most affecting to our heart.

27th.—This morning we left the Modder Leegte, with positive intention to march against the Zulus without the least delay, and arrived this day at the "Washbank" (Sunday's River), a distance of twenty-four English miles. We had hardly encamped when three different reports were received from our allies. We were first informed by an express from the camp of Panda, "that their army had surrounded the Zulu force: that Dingaan had again already left his town, for fear of our and their commandos, and taken to flight; and that he had sent out his army to meet Panda's commando." We

were also informed that both armies were encamped near to each other, and that they would meet either to-morrow or the day after: that Dingaan had caused all his cattle, thousands in number, to be driven in a north-easterly direction; but that Sapusa was already in readiness with his force there to prevent their flight, to take the cattle for us, and to detain them with their force until our arrival.

The intelligence from the chief Jobe stated "that Dingaan, after our commando had commenced the expedition, had again sent 102 oxen to Pietermaritzburg, but that having arrived in the vicinity of Jobe, and seeing our army and that of Jobe muster for war, they left the oxen out of fear and had taken to flight: that Jobe had taken these oxen in his possession for the purpose of accounting for them to the chief commandant on our return."

Matuwan's report stated "that he, together with the force of Jobe, expected to be this evening at the place where the Zulus were defeated by our army on Sunday, the 16th of December, 1838 (a distance of fifty miles from this); that they would take a position from thence in a northerly direction, to prevent the escape of the enemy in that direction, until he should have received further orders from the chief commandant; that Dingaan had divided his forces in two columns, the one to surround and protect his person, and the other to fight against the enemy; but that Panda's officers acquainted with the stratagems of war, had also divided their army into two columns, in order to stop Dingaan himself and his army until our arrival."

These reports having been taken into consideration, the chief commandant immediately sent a message to the officers of Panda, directing that they should not attack the enemy at all before our army came up, as they were perhaps too weak for the enemy, and might be surrounded by them; that should the enemy attack them, they were to defend themselves as possible; and in case they could not resist the power of the enemy until we arrived, they should not take to flight, but retreat defensively, and in the meantime properly watch the enemy from time to time, so that we might become acquainted with all their movements on our arrival. After this order had been despatched, the chief commandant resolved that we should now proceed with all possible despatch, in order to encamp in the capital of Dingaan four days from hence, being a distance of a hundred and twenty miles from this place.

This morning the chief commandant (besides four different patrols which had been despatched) sent out another of a hundred

men, to precede the army for the purpose of cutting a road across the Honigberg (Honey Mountain), and at 8 o'clock we ascended the mountain with our sixty wagons. The road over it was very heavy and sloping, so that our wagons had to sink down from large rocks at different slopes; so that even Mr. Wessels' beautiful covered wagon upset, and the whole tent was broken to pieces. At one o'clock this afternoon, all our wagons had got over the mountain. We then outspanned for a while, and one hour afterwards we proceeded on our march to the Sand River. Before we arrived at the Sand River, we crossed the Koolspruit, a fine river.

The country from the Tugela to this place appears to be much better for sheep and goats than in the District of Pietermaritzburg. The whole country is flat. Many thorn bushes (*mimosas*) are found here, but there is a scarcity of running water.

29th.—This day we left the Sand River, and arrived about 11 o'clock at the Umzimyati, or the Buffalo River, which was very high. But the chief commandant, full of spirit, would not delay for a moment to cross this river, though full, because we had already received information that Dingaan was trying to escape with all his followers and cattle. We consequently, although having to contend with the greatest difficulties and obstacles, yet crossed the river with our long train of wagons, the river being so high that our wagons were half under water, and outspanned for an hour, and pursued our road until we arrived at the Blood River, at seven o'clock, being the spot where our army defeated the whole Zulu army, 16th December, 1838, when they so determinedly attacked us.

30th.—Our march now commenced through a desert: there was no road at all. Besides the usual patrols, who were out to watch any attack or surprise of the enemy, we sent one patrol before the wagons to examine the situation of the country, for the purpose of enabling us to proceed without danger with the wagons in a direct line to the caverns whereto Dingaan had fled. On the present expedition we went ten or twenty miles higher up than on the former: this road being much better to prevent the enemy from escaping. Our patrols caught two Kafirs; but on investigation it appeared that they were people belonging to Jobe, and they were immediately sent back to Jobe's commando.

At 5 o'clock, two other Kafirs again arrived from the camp of Panda, having with them a flag given to them by the Landdrost of Pietermaritzburg to distinguish them from the hostile Zulus. The flag is thus (V. R.), meaning "Volk's Raad." They informed the

chief commandant "that Dingaan intended to seek refuge with Moselikatze, as they have ascertained from the information of the spies they have taken; but he saw no means of passing the Knob-nosed Kafirs without being totally destroyed: that he began to doubt the arrival of our army, and concealed himself in a cave near to his town until an opportunity should offer to escape in a northerly direction." We are now a day's journey from the Zulu capital, and will, as we trust, again march to-morrow without delay, in order to employ our weapons against the enemy.

31st.—The chief commandant resolved this day to decide upon the fate of Dambusa and Kambazana (a fieldcornet or petty captain). The chief commandant also called in Panda and the captains he had with him, to take a seat in his council, in order to come to a just resolution in respect of Dambusa and his companion. The chief commandant previously informed Dambusa that the flight of Dingaan, with all our property and stolen goods, would perhaps be very prejudicial to his fate. He requested Panda openly to declare to the council the whole former conduct of Dambusa and his fieldcornet, Kambazana, when Panda and all his captains communicated the following, in the presence of Dambusa:—"We have all lived in the vicinity of the capital of the Zulus, where Dambusa has resided. All his acts are known to us, and we can solemnly swear before an omniscient God, whom we have learned to know through you, before the sun, before you and the world, that Dingaan never ordered any bloodshed without the express permission of Dambusa, as one of his privy council. Dambusa also invariably proposed to the king the destruction of this or that kraal, together with the women and children, for the most trifling crimes, which was always agreed to by the king and Umhlela. The same Dambusa has also prevailed upon the king to massacre your late governor Retief and men, as also the women and innocent children of your nation: he has even obtained the consent of the king to murder me, because I did not feel inclined to fight against you: and he himself held me by the arm, and led me to the place of execution for the purpose of murdering me, but my mother, who is also Dingaan's stepmother, delivered me from death by her continual supplications to the king." The chief commandant then asked Dambusa whether he had heard what had been said by Panda and his captains, and whether he had anything to say in his defence. "Oh, no!" said he, "I have nothing to say against it. All that Panda has stated is true. I am willing to die for the many crimes I have committed; but this Kambazana, who is fettered with

me, is not guilty, and does not deserve death." But Panda immediately said: "He has always instigated the king against others by false reports, in order to remain in favour with the king." The chief commandant then proceeded, with the advice and consent of court-martial, to pass sentence of death on Dambusa and Kambazana: he pressed upon their minds that after they shall have undergone their sentence, they will appear before another Judge, and that the Almighty will free them from everlasting punishment if they heartily acknowledged their sins and crimes to him: indeed, the chief commandant did all he could to convince them of the existence of a Supreme Being. A few hours after, escorted by a guard of burghers, they were brought to a river in the vicinity, and underwent boldly their well-deserved punishment. After this, a man named Van de Venter was brought before the court-martial and accused of having, the evening before, given a young Englishman, named Howard, most scandalous provocation, without any reason: that Howard having said something against him in consequence, he, Van de Venter, came off his wagon and gave Howard a few blows with the fist, and resumed his seat on the wagon, and continued provoking Howard, until he again scolded him; when he, Van de Venter, jumped off his wagon a second time, and again gave Howard a few blows with his fist: that Howard then took hold of a gun and threatened Van de Venter with it, when a guard arrived, and prevented Van de Venter's unlawful acts. Van de Venter acknowledged his offence, and requested the Council to forgive him this time, and not expose him to a scandalous punishment, promising never to do it again. The chief commandant told him that this time, on account of his confession and serious promise, he would be pardoned; but that he might be sure, that should he again attack one of our subjects, he would have to march behind the army handcuffed, during such a number of days as the council shall consider to be a proper punishment: that the stronger man was not allowed here to overpower the weaker by his strength. The chief commandant then addressed himself to Howard, and said that this must be the last time he ever makes use of a deadly weapon to threaten his neighbour with: that, in case of such provocation as the present taking place, he must apply to the judges, and that he will then find that justice will be done to him as well as to the others; while a second offence of the nature would be considered as one of intent to murder. After this trial, the chief commandant received a report from the camp of Panda that his commando had nearly overtaken Dingaan, and that there was no doubt

that by this time they would have fought with each other, should Dingaan not be too quick in his escape. The chief commandant immediately sent word to Nonkalaza, the chief conductor of Panda's army, to proceed with the greatest speed and prevent Dingaan's flight until the arrival of his army. If we had not been obliged to wait seven days for fifty men, who had not yet arrived in our camp, we should have fought with Dingaan at least a week ago. Our patrols have traversed a great portion of the Zulu country in the course of this week, and killed thirteen of the enemy. We pursued our march this day through the unknown deserts, and encamped at six o'clock, before a row of double mountains, which we shall not be able to cross without great difficulty.

Feb. 1st.—After the chief commandant had sent out several patrols this morning, for the purpose of looking out for a road through these double mountains, a Kafir of Panda's army arrived about an hour afterwards, and stated that Nonkalaza, the chief commander of Panda's army, had been engaged with three of Dingaan's regiments the day before yesterday: that they had killed two of Dingaan's regiments to a man, and that part of the third regiment had come over to Panda, and the others have taken to the forests: that they have at present in their possession so many head of cattle as scarcely to be able to herd them." As, however, our claim against the Zulus is not more than forty thousand head of cattle, the chief commandant resolved, on the ground of the confidence placed in him by the Volksraad, as an honest warrior, not to take more than the said forty thousand head of cattle, although we should get into our possession ten times that number, as we only wished to be indemnified for the losses sustained by our ruined subjects. The messenger further communicated "that Dingaan had but two more regiments, being his life guard, with whom he had fled along the Pongolo River (200 miles to the north of his chief town), but that Nonkalaza was following him with his army to prevent his flight, and if possible to take him." It was then resolved to fix our camp at a proper place the day after to-morrow and pursue Dingaan, under escort of our commandant and 250 burghers on horseback, and if possible to destroy the power and courage of the Zulu nation, thus to prevent them from contaminating the earth any longer with innocent blood. In the meantime one of our patrols returned to the camp, and informed the commandant that our crossing the mountains would be coupled with much trouble. We immediately upon this broke up our camp for the purpose of proceeding on our journey; but were hardly busy in

so doing when a second patrol arrived, informing us that some Kafirs were passing with large herds of cattle to the north of our camp. The chief commandant immediately caused the camp to be again formed, and sent Commandant Lombaard with two hundred men to intercept the Kafirs and cattle which were passing; but as soon as the commandant came up to them, they threw down their arms and called out that they were people belonging to Jobe and Matuwan, and were looking out for our camp. The commandant praised them much for their fidelity, and desired their cattle to be driven to our camp. This evening the first part of the cattle arrived in our camp, being 600, and we expect another number by to-morrow of at least 2,600 head of cattle. Herewith we can prove to the world that it certainly was not through our tyranny all heathen nations came to us for our protection. We leave the battle between us and Dingaan entirely to their commando to experience their good faith towards us; but I rejoice to be able to state that no man can act more faithfully towards us than our new allies have done. They all declare from tribe to tribe that they have never enjoyed so much justice and liberty as they now do, and that in future they will be ready, at a moment's notice, to perform any service, whether by day or by night, which may be required of them. The chief commandant also sent Messrs. Christian Muller and Isaac Abraham Van Niekerk, accompanied by an interpreter, to Panda's army this day, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the reports were correct which we continually received from Nonkalaza. No honour nor praise can be too great which I am not obliged to bestow on our Chief-commandant Pretorius, for his boldness and well-digested measures. He also strictly adheres to the 21st article of his instructions, viz., to watch that no innocent blood shall be shed. Our honoured chief commandant often presses upon the minds of his field-commandants and field-cornets, at public meetings in the camp, to press upon the minds of the young men who are placed under their command, that our conquest over our innumerable enemies cannot alone be ascribed to our valour, but that we are indebted for our conquest solely to the merciful God, the Father of the universe, and the righteous Judge of kings and princes; while without His divine aid it would have been impossible for us so triumphantly to conquer this powerful nation.

2nd (Sunday).—We again remained here for the purpose of performing, as usual, divine service, and to glorify the Lord, as we did last Sunday, and also to give thanks to the Lord of heaven for the successful conquest accomplished over a great part of our enemies,

who have been driven to flight by the arms of our allies. In the afternoon a small part of Jobe's people arrived with 2,400 head of cattle, and told us that we should receive three times that number by to-morrow, which would be brought by their people, and by that of Matuwan. In the meantime Messrs. Niekerk and Muller returned and informed the chief commandant "that the reports of Nonkalaza are in every respect correct; that they have to all appearances destroyed two of Dingaan's regiments, but that also a great number of Panda's people were killed and wounded; that Nonkalaza would pursue Dingaan's army (being about 3,000 or 4,000 strong) towards us to-morrow, that we might have an opportunity of making them feel again the force of our arms." It appears to our ambassadors that Panda's and Dingaan's people, being almost equally strong, are afraid of each other. The chief commandant ordered two hundred and twenty men to keep themselves in readiness to attack the enemy to-morrow.

3rd.—This morning the commandant left with two hundred and twenty men to meet the enemy, and having proceeded about an hour from our camp, in a north-easterly direction, one of our spies came up to us and informed the chief commandant that the enemy was on the first bank of the mountain before us, but that they must have perceived our approach, as they were making their escape. On this report the chief commandant lost no time in despatching Commandant Lombaard with twenty-five light men to follow the enemy without delay, whilst the rest also followed with the greatest speed. But, unfortunately, the enemy fled into dismal caves, and a heavy mist covered the surrounding mountains and kloofs, which made it impossible for us to see the enemy, or find an opportunity to fire at them. This we plainly heard them say: "Here are white people, Maloongoes (Abalungu); let us divide ourselves as much as possible, to save our lives: with these people there is no chance for us to fight for one moment;" and they spread themselves, passing Nonkalaza, while effecting their escape, in numbers of at least sixty, and fled in different directions. We passed through these caves at 10 o'clock with our commando and returned to our camp about the evening, with the intention of marching to the Pongolo the day after, and making every effort in our power to get hold of Dingaan in person, so as thereby to make an end to further warfare.

4th.—This morning, a man was brought before the chief commandant and court-martial and accused of having yesterday, in the absence of the commandant, and without permission, sold wines,

whereby several persons in the camp became intoxicated. This offence was considered of a very serious nature by the chief commandant and the court-martial, which resolved that the casks belonging to the said person should be immediately sealed, and the sale of wines strictly forbidden; and Commandant Lombaard was consequently ordered to proceed to the wagons of F. M. Lingenvelder to close all the taps of the casks, so that they cannot be opened. The chief commandant also ordered 250 men to proceed to the Pongolo and pursue Dingaan. The chief commandant also transmitted his third official report this morning to J. P. Zietsman, Esq., as Landdrost of Pietermaritzburg, for him to lay the same before the Right Worshipful Volksraad at their first meeting.

5th.—This morning we left with 250 men, in a north-easterly direction from our camp, in order to see whether our enemy still had courage enough to resist the roaring of our muskets and guns. We then passed and crossed several mountains, caves, and ravines. We also forded at least a hundred streams of water, but discovered nothing of the enemy. We then pitched our camp, at eight o'clock, under a mountain, and kept all our horses saddled and tied together in a circle, putting out at the same time a double guard for the purpose of preventing any surprise of the enemy; but about ten o'clock at night it began to rain so severely that we got wet all over.

6th.—When the sun rose, we continued our march due north, to try whether we might perhaps thereby find out the movements of the enemy; but discovering nothing of them, we returned from there to the east, and unsaddled our horses, about nine o'clock, in order to refresh them and ourselves with some food. After having remained here for about two hours, and while again saddling our horses, we received information from Nonkalaza that some Zulus had hid themselves under a certain rock ("klipkop"). We immediately proceeded to that spot, which we surrounded in a moment. The chief commandant caused those who were concealed in the cavernous rocks to be informed by his interpreter that they were all to come out without their arms, and that their lives would be spared; but they gave no reply to our repeated assurances. The chief commandant then ordered Commandant Lombaard and five-and-twenty men to creep into the caves and to kill every man who appeared before the muzzles of their guns, but to spare the women and children. In the meantime the chief commandant posted the rest of his force around those rocks to watch if they endeavoured to escape; whilst these twenty-five valiant men steadily crept into the caves and killed three of the

men in the narrow, dark apertures of the rocks. When the rest of the men, women, and children, out of fear for the horrible cracking of the shots in those narrow caves, called out, "We shall all now come out," the firing ceased, and two Zulus and one Knobnose Kafir, whom the Zulus had taken prisoner, and fifty females and children made their appearance. The chief commandant caused these three men to be questioned as to where Dingaan was; but they could not give us any information about him. Half an hour afterwards, these two Zulus, after having been treated with all kindness, jumped up and ran with all speed to the caves. The chief commandant immediately issued orders to fire at them, and they were killed on the spot. During the attack in the caves, Commandant Lombaard and some of his men were most dangerously situated. A Zulu had crept into a narrow opening ("rotscheur"), and had a large stone before him, from which he continually threw large stones at Commandant Lombaard, Messrs. Jacobus Uys, A. Landman, young Maritz, Stein, and others, so that if he had hit any of them the consequences evidently must have been fatal. Nonkalaza and his companions having seen us surround the caves, afterwards personally came to us, and could find no words to express his astonishment at the determined bravery of our men: he said that he never would have seen any chance of getting them out of those caves with his people. He then laid his hand on the shoulder of the chief commandant and said, "You are really people who fear nothing." After all this, we recommenced our march forward at one o'clock; but in consequence of the rain continuing, we were obliged two hours afterwards to go to a deserted Zulu kraal, where we found many mats that had been made of grass by the Zulus who had fled, whereof we made fences, more or less for shelter from the rain.

7th.—In consequence of the increasing rain that we had since yesterday afternoon, we were obliged to remain here the whole of the day. Here we found an abundance of maize, and mostly passed our time in roasting maize under our fences. In the afternoon two Zulus, together with Nonkalaza, came to the commandant and said that they had come to the chief commandant on behalf of Kowana and Mapita to beg for mercy and forgiveness: that these two captains, being the principal ones that Dingaan had with him, intended long ago to leave Dingaan, and to be freed from his tyranny, but that Dingaan had always deprived them of any opportunity of making their escape, until the battle between the people of Panda and Dingaan took place, which last mentioned were under their com-

mand: that they, seeing what privileges and happiness Panda and his people enjoy among the white people, wished to come to the white people, with all their people, consisting of almost all the hostile force, should they be able to obtain mercy at our hands. The chief commandant addressed the Zulus with the greatest calmness: "I have been ordered, and am also from my own motives fully willing, to show every act of humanity to every creature. Tell your captains that they must come to my camp to-morrow; that I will again amicably accept Dingaan's hostile subjects as subjects of our Assembly, or under the alliance of Panda; that they may think it fortunate that I was prevented with my commando four days ago by the heavy fog, as it was my intention to fall upon you with all my power: whereas if we had fine weather, not one-third of your number would have escaped the force of our arms." On these expressions, the Zulus appeared to turn pale as death itself: but the chief commandant continued: "Furious as I was against you in the beginning, I shall now again treat you kindly as subjects. Ask Nonkalaza how we treat him." And Nonkalaza replied, laughing, "Oh! I need not even explain it. Here I can freely discourse with this great man as an adopted child, whereas formerly I had to creep before my former king, for all my faithful services, as a despised dog. Come here, captains and people, and all, and you will enjoy the liberty of a bird." The chief commandant strictly enjoined them to tell their captains that they were to expect to lead a happy life: that they were to be with him before twelve o'clock to-morrow; that he would abstain from hostilities until then, but that, if they did not appear at that time, he would cause all the Zulus to be killed, as real enemies. They then left our camp in full speed, to inform all their captains of what they had heard.

8th.—This morning we proceeded on our journey to the Pongola, and arrived at 9 o'clock at the bank or perpendicular rock of said river; and could thence see the whole river with a telescope. It is about as extensive as the Tugela, but overgrown with thick thorn bushes (*mimosas*). The country from this to the Pongola is so badly situated and rugged, that we saw no chance of bringing our wagons thither; but on the other side of the river the country is quite flat at least for twelve miles. Hitherto we could get no information regarding Dingaan, except that he had crossed the river, which was then fordable, five days ago with some of his wives and herdsmen and passed beyond his territory. We were unable to obtain any information as to any of his commandos. We only met with hun-

dreds of parties of Zulus who had fled from him, and begged us for place, which we granted them without further persecution. According to the reports we daily receive, Dingaan had no more with him than about a hundred men who are fit to bear arms. All his people are now enraged against him with the most bitter feeling. They would be capable, they say, of tearing him to pieces with their teeth for his former tyrannical conduct. However, we cannot discover where Dingaan is himself, because no man has seen him again since the battle between him and Panda. The chief commandant was fully determined to pursue Dingaan for eight days beyond the Pongola; but as ten of our horses had already died from the horse-sickness within two days, and as we have reason to suppose, by the lowness and sweetness of the field on the other side of the Pongola, that we stand the chance of losing ten horses at least every day, the chief commandant resolved, with the consent of his council, to return to the camp, and directed Nonkalaza, should he obtain any information of Dingaan, after we have left him, to send word to us forthwith, when the chief commandant, with a hundred horsemen, would immediately come thither. We can now positively calculate that the whole kingdom of Dingaan is totally destroyed. He has not only left his town, but has even fled beyond his territory, in the country of other nations, who gladly await him as an old rotten enemy, like the cat expects the mouse as his prey. We therefore began our march back, taking with us ten thousand cattle, and, after a fatiguing journey, encamped near a strong river, in the expectation of reaching our camp at the Black Umvolosi by to-morrow.

9th.—Since the 5th it rained day and night, and as we had wet clothes on during all that time, some of us felt very unwell. We continued our journey, and arrived this evening, quite knocked up, at the Black Umvolosi, at our principal camp. This day, being a Sunday, we were in the open field without a tent or wagon. We therefore were unable to send up our prayers and thanksgivings to the Almighty in a public congregation, as usual; but it was left to the duty of every person to thank his Creator for the good He has conferred on them, and also to glorify Him in their hearts for the favourable conquest, and the prospect of lasting tranquillity, peace, and national prosperity. Domestic religion was therefore attended to in our camp by everyone, in their several tents, in the evening after our arrival.

10th.—This morning, the chief commandant caused Panda and his captains to come before him, and told them “that during his last

absence of five days he had had an opportunity of ascertaining the good faith of himself, of Nonkalaza, and all his people, and he was happy to say that Nonkalaza and his people had behaved as valiant warriors; that he had told Nonkalaza, and that he now repeated it, that our conquest over the powerful Zulu nation was obtained through Providence alone: that we should therefore not feel proud, but that we, fully justified in our claims against Dingaan, were instruments in the hand of God to put an end to the indescribable cruelties and murders committed by Dingaan, and also to deliver you and your people from the tyranny of Dingaan. According to the information I can obtain," said the chief commandant, "of the heathen people, it clearly appears to me that you have a claim to the kingdom of the Zulus. Dingaan has fled amongst other nations, and should we ever get possession of his person, we shall punish him by death for his unprovoked crimes committed upon us. I have now thought proper to appoint you, in the name of the Volksraad of our South African Society, king or chief of the Zulus, of the people under your command, and the fugitives, or remaining Zulus, who have escaped from Dingaan and seek your protection, and such as we shall be able to place under your government. I am also ordered to consider you as our great ally, and to treat your enemies as our enemies. You will not be at liberty to attack any nation previously to obtaining our permission, and on all occasions we shall assist you in destroying your enemies. I must once more repeat my satisfaction at the fidelity and courage of your people."

Panda, who was filled with excessive joy from head to heels, could no longer restrain himself from uttering the most sincere feelings of his heart: "Great Sir, I thank you most heartily for these your frank expressions of good-will towards me and my people. I thank you that I am now delivered from the oppressive tyranny under which I lived for a series of years as an outcast. I can solemnly swear by all that exists, that I shall ever remain faithful to you, and to the whole government of the white people. Should any nation or people ever attempt to do you any injury, you have only to apprise me thereof, and depend upon it that I shall immediately order my whole force to assist you, and for your sake sacrifice my whole army to a man; for I was dead, and you have restored me to life; I was cast away, and you have lifted me up again. All my happiness and prosperity I owe to you."

The expressions of this new Zulu king were really too many to set them down precisely; but his address was sensible beyond all

expression, and I could never have expected so much from a heathen. Panda during his discourse evinced great feeling. As soon as the hostile Zulus shall be under his government (which we shortly expect), the force of this our ally will be about ten thousand strong, and we shall be able to withstand any strong enemy who should be willing to molest us in future. The Zulus, when joined with us in battle, are more courageous than they ever were before, because they consider us a valiant people, and as men strong with their arms.

11th.—In the afternoon two Zulus arrived from Nonkalaza, who sent word to the chief commandant that he was unable to ascertain anything about Dingaan, and that it appeared to him that Kowana and Mapita were doubting the humane promises which the chief commandant had sent them, and were still afraid to come to his or our camp; that he could find no more cattle, and consequently requested the chief commandant would allow him to return with his commando. The chief commandant sent word that he might come to our camp with his people, and that as we could gain no farther information about the enemy, and our horses were daily dying off, we would return to Pietermaritzburg, being our chief town, and also relieve him from further services.

12th.—This afternoon the first part of the cattle arrived which were sent to us by Nonkalaza, and which he had taken from the enemy. A melancholy occurrence also took place this afternoon. It happened that while a man of the name of Botha was bathing in the Black Umfolosi, a youth named Van der Schyff, who was slightly intoxicated, also went thither. Van der Schyff, in a joking manner, held Botha's head under water, and Botha did the same to Van der Schyff, whereupon the latter became very angry, scolded Botha, and gave him a few blows with his fists. Botha bore this patiently, as Van der Schyff appeared to him not quite sober, and left him. But Van der Schyff had not yet given sufficient vent to his anger, and, swearing that he would kill Botha, went to the camp, took up his gun, returned to the river, and shot a little Hottentot, who had lain himself down about the same place where he had seen Botha for the last time. This Hottentot died two hours afterwards, and Van der Schyff was immediately arrested and brought before the chief commandant, who convened the court-martial; but as all the witnesses were not present, he was entrusted to the care of the Field-cornet Bester, who was ordered to keep him in safe custody till the next morning.

13th.—Van der Schyff was this morning again brought before the court-martial; and, after a patient examination, the court-martial declared him guilty of murder; but as the court-martial had no power to pass sentences for criminal offences, the court resolved that Van der Schyff should immediately be handcuffed and transported under an armed escort to Pietermaritzburg, and there delivered up to the civil authorities. Mr. Lingenfelder was also again brought before the court-martial, and reprimanded for most improperly and unlawfully selling wines, whereby several persons in our camp had been brought into a state of intoxication.

The council resolved, in consequence of the disobedience of Lingenfelder, and to prevent mischief which might arise from his selling wines, that a wagon shall be hired for his account, and his remaining wines be sealed properly and sent to Pietermaritzburg. Lingenfelder appears to be very dissatisfied: he wishes to continue selling wines in the camp of the army in the manner he did before, yet he dare not say much here; but according to his expressions, which he utters in secret, I infer that he intends shamefully to blame our Society in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, though we could not have acted otherwise. I am not partial to Mr. Pretorius; but this much I can verify, that no commanding officer would have treated such continuous offences with such mildness, as was done by ours. I believe that Mr. Lingenfelder will be condemned by the Landdrost to pay a heavy fine on his return for selling wines in the camp without permission. Mr. Lingenfelder will, as he says, do everything in his power to vilify the morality of our Society, because our laws will not admit of any of his irregularities here, which he expected perhaps would not be prevented. But we can at once state that if Mr. Lingenfelder will not make himself more useful here than he has hitherto been, we can easily spare him from amongst us without losing anything by his absence.

We left this place, the Black Umfolosi, and after a march of six miles encamped under a high mountain.

14th.—In consequence of the general victory over the Zulus, and having an extra claim against the late Zulu king Dingaan and nation for horse and wagon hire, and other expenses of the army, of one hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred rixdollars, and as we cannot get any information of Dingaan, or to whom we could refer ourselves for the payment of these enormous expenses, the

chief commandant ordered our flag to be hoisted this morning, and caused the secretary of war to read the following Proclamation:—

PROCLAMATION.

I, ANDRIES WILHELMUS JACOBUS PRETORIUS, Chief Commandant and Commanding General of all the Burghers of the Right Worshipful Volksraad of the South African Society, Port Natal, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army placed under my command by the Volksraad, &c., &c., &c.

WHEREAS the Volksraad of the South African Society, on account of the unprovoked war which the Zulu king or the Zulu nation have commenced against the South African Society, without previously declaring the same against them, was compelled to incur an expense of one hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred rixdollars for horse and wagon hire, and other expenses of war: and whereas the Zulu king, according to all appearances and informations, has deserted his territory and crossed the Pongola River (his boundary), and his remaining people conceal themselves in many directions, so that there is no person to whom I can apply for payment of these enormous expenses,—be it hereby made known, that for recovery of said one hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred rixdollars, I do hereby proclaim and make known, that in the name of the said Volksraad of the South African Society, I do seize all the land from the Tugela to the Umfolosi Mnyama (the Black River); that our boundary shall in future be from the sea along the Black River, where it runs through the Double Mountains, near to where it has its source, and so on along the Randberg in the same direction to the Draaksberg, including the St. Lucia's Bay, as also all sea-coasts and harbours which have already been discovered, or may hereafter be discovered, between the Umzimvubu and Black River mouths. These lands and sea-coasts will, however, have to be considered the property of the Society, exclusive from that which the late Mr. Retief obtained from the Zulu nation for our Society.

God save the Volksraad!

Given under my hand, in my camp, at the Umfolosi Mnyama, or the Black River, on this, the 14th day of February, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty.

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS.

As witnesses:

(Signed) H. J. LOMBAARD,	ANDRIES SPIES,
JACOBUS POTGIETER,	MARTINUS SCHEEPERS.

After which a salute of 21 guns was fired in honour of the Volksraad, and a general cry of "Hurrah" was given unanimously throughout the whole army, while all the men, as with one voice, cried out, "Thanks to the Great God, who by His grace has given us the victory." This day I cannot otherwise describe than as one of great rejoicing to us. Panda was also present at this salute, but could not bear the violent roaring of our guns. He told the chief commandant that he feared the force of our guns very much, and that he wished to be excused for returning to his camp: he and his captains then ran with great fear to his camp, and, for fear, stooped down on the earth at every discharge of a gun. After all this, we again inspanned, and continued our march to the White Umfolosi, bringing with us 31,000 head of cattle.

15th.—We were obliged on this day to halt on account of the continual rain.

16th (Sunday).—We performed divine service as usual; but from inevitable circumstances we were obliged to continue our march this afternoon, and arrived at six o'clock at the Tambuzi River. Jobe and Matuwan also came to our camp this day, and Nonkalaza also came at about eight o'clock.

17th.—A general court-martial was convened for this morning, and said three officers of our allies were brought before the said court in order to give an account of all their proceedings in the presence of Panda. Nonkalaza has given a satisfactory account of his conduct as a valiant and an honest warrior, in accordance with his former laudable acts. He said "that since we had left the Pongola, he had been informed that Dingaan had fled through the Pongola in a north-easterly direction: that he had pursued Dingaan and his people thirty miles beyond the Pongola, where he had caught Dingaan's mother, she not being able to proceed further; and had been informed by her that Dingaan was a great distance ahead of her, with a few of his people and a troop of cattle: that he had sent spies further on in order to discover Dingaan, but that no further information could be obtained about him; that he was, therefore, again obliged to return with his army, for fear of the plague which generally raged in that part of the country, and might infect him and his people; and that he had brought with him as a prisoner the mother of Dingaan." This was Nonkalaza's account. But what shall I say about Jobe and Matuwan? Nothing in their favour. It was not only proved by the Mantatees, and our own officers of several patrols, that they had concealed several thousand head of

cattle in the cavernous kloofs, which they had taken for us from the enemy, and had caused them to be secretly taken to the several kraals, but that they had even caused some Mantatees to be murdered, and the lips of some of them to be cut off, and in that state left them to their fate. The chief commandant expressed himself utterly disgusted when he heard of the commission of such detestable offences. "He did not know," he said, "what punishment he could make them undergo for such atrocious deeds, and would therefore send them both to Pietermaritzburg for the purpose of delivering them over to higher authorities." Jobe, much alarmed about his probable punishment, immediately sent word to his father that he was forthwith to return to the chief commandant all the cattle sent by him to his kraal or residence, hoping that by so doing his punishment would not be so severe, or might perhaps be remitted. We left this and encamped at the Blood River.

18th.—We left this and arrived, after a march of two miles, before the Buffel, which by the heavy rains had almost risen to the height of the banks,—a difficulty which we frequently had to contend with during our expedition; but having fastened our goods to the tents, we pushed our wagons into the river, and having exerted ourselves to the utmost for full four hours, our wagons were seen floating through the river, the water reaching as far as the upper sides; on which occasion the following remarkable circumstance took place. It happened that two or three of our wagons got entangled in the river, and some oxen yoked to them had already been drowned, when twenty-five or thirty of our men swam towards the wagons, and taking the yokes, drew the wagons out of the river. We remained all night on this side the said river.

19th.—We proceeded hence this morning, whilst a heavy shower of rain was falling. We had to contend the whole of this day with rain and cold, and arrived at three o'clock at the "Koolspruit," being quite knocked up on account of the many privations. We again encamped until the next morning.

20th.—We left this place this morning, with an unfavourable prospect of being able to proceed as far as we intended. We had to pass over the Honey Mountain in front of us, and began to ascend it at ten o'clock. In our descent we met with dangerous heights and bad mud-holes; but, fortunately, we got over this difficulty, and encamped at the Wasbank at six o'clock. The prospects as to roads are now very favourable; and, if nothing comes in the way, we hope to arrive at the Tugela in three days hence.

21st.—This day we left the Wasbank. This was the first fine day we have had for eight days. We outspanned at the Milietuins River for two hours. At this place the chief commandant had a long consultation with the Mantatee captain who had revealed to us the detestable offences committed by Matuwan. The chief commandant said that he was not only ordered, but was determined by his own personal feeling, to assist faithful subjects and allies, and to reward them for their fidelity and virtue; but that at the same time he would also punish all criminals with the utmost rigour of the law: that he would give to the Mantatee chief and his people (who had formerly lived upon grass, honey, &c., because Dingaan has deprived them of everything), for their fidelity, a troop of cattle on account of the public treasury, and would grant him a piece of ground, on which he and his people might live in peace, without any fear of being molested by any other tribe." We left this place, and at about half-past six o'clock encamped at the Jobe's River,

22nd.—Again proceeding on our march, we arrived at the Klip River, where we encamped at three o'clock, being fifteen miles from the Tugela. At this place Matuwan was brought before the full court-martial, and was clearly convicted by all the evidence brought forward, not only of having stolen an innumerable quantity of cattle, but had even caused the Mantatees to be cruelly murdered: that he had also caused the lips of some of them to be cut off, and had committed many other cruelties towards them. The further proceedings in this case were postponed until another opportunity.

23rd (Sunday).—Religious service was performed as before. This was a fine day.

24th.—This day the commandant divided fourteen thousand head of cattle among those who were ruined by Dingaan, and were still residing on the other side of the Draaksberg, but who will now soon come over; and also to persons who had come from there and joined the commando, for loss of horses, &c.; while the chief commandant will take to Pietermaritzburg twenty-two thousand (as also 5,000 which Jobe will account for the day after to-morrow), to deliver them over to the four commissioners appointed by the Volksraad for dividing the cattle among the ruined persons. Our first division of burghers from Pietermaritzburg, sent to relieve others, arrived this day at the Tugela, while some are already in our camp. The Tugela is hard to ford, and will perhaps give us new troubles. We, however, hope to proceed to Pietermaritzburg to-morrow.

Finally, I must state that I have hitherto recorded everything

to the best of my conscience as an impartial observer. Hundreds of other trifling events have also occurred, and are not herein stated; but to mention trifling events would take up volumes, and not produce more information than what we have now given.

(Signed) P. H. ZIETSMAN, Secretary of War.
Camp, Klip River, 24th February, 1840.

We, the undersigned, chief and other commandants, do certify that the above-mentioned journal, kept by Mr. P. H. Zietsman, has been read to us word for word, and that we declare every word therein mentioned to be correct.

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS, Chief Commandant.
H. J. LOMBAARD, Commandant.

JACS. POTGIETER, "
ANDRIES SPIES, "
M. SCHEPERS, "

Camp, date as above.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Cape Town,
8th January, 1840.

Reports the arrival of the detachment of the 72nd Regiment (under Captain Jervis) which had been in temporary occupation of Natal. Highly commends Captain Jervis for his services, and states that, as the 72nd Regiment is returning to England, his Lordship will be able to communicate with Captain Jervis on any point he may desire.

The Secretary of State refers this recommendation to the Commander-in-Chief.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing-street, 11th February, 1840.

SIR,—I have received your despatches, Nos. 78 of 11th November and 89 of 6th December last, in which, after reporting the measures which you have taken for withdrawing Her Majesty's troops from Port Natal, you express your desire to be made acquainted

with the views of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the nature of the commercial relations which are henceforth to exist between the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the emigrant farmers.

It appears to me that for the present, and until I am furnished with your report upon the project which I have transmitted to you for colonizing Port Natal, I can only instruct you that the relations between the colony and that place must be the same as those which subsist with the inhabitants of all foreign countries to the eastward of the Cape; but that it will be right to retain the existing prohibition against the export of warlike stores to Port Natal.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Major-General Sir G. T. NAPIER, &c., &c.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Cape Town,
17th February, 1840.

Forwards the two last despatches from Captain Jervis previous to the evacuation of Natal.

CAPTAIN JERVIS TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Port Natal, December 8th, 1839.

SIR,—With reference to my report dated 16th ultimo, despatched per "Mary," I have now the honour to acquaint your Excellency that, shortly after the arrival of the Zulus on 15th ultimo, came messengers from Umpande, stating that he was indifferent about Zulus quitting him, but requested that Zulus might be obliged to return some cattle they had taken away.

On 17th ultimo, Fulu delivered to the Boers 700 head of cattle, which on being delivered to Umpande were, I am told, returned to them, with the exception of some milch cows, according to treaty.

It is said Umpande has now delivered upwards of two thousand head.

On 22nd ultimo, a commission consisting of some thirty burghers arrived from Bushmansrand under Messrs. Lombaard and Prinsloo, and were joined by some eight or ten from the camp, for the purpose

of clearing the country of Fulu's people, preventing barter, and to see Umpande, and settle over the Umvoti. In effecting this, it is affirmed that five or six chiefs have been killed and some wounded. It is stated by some that they were of Fulu's people, had assagais, and resisted; by others, that one was a native, that they were in the bush, making off, and only would not stop when called upon. I have not as yet been able to arrive at the truth, or get any deposition that could be depended on. The Boers pretend to have got certain information that Fulu was sent by Dingaan to intercept Umpande's retreat when attacked. Be this as it may, no persuasion could induce him to return to Umpande or live anywhere near him. He has since disappeared, leaving his cattle, and taking some of his wives, and is supposed to have fled to the Amapondas.

Umpande promised to retire beyond the Umvoti before the new moon, 6th instant, but is still on that river.

Although no actual contest has taken place between Dingaan and Umpande, yet I must inform your Excellency that the country remains far from settled. The neighbourhood, likewise, is in a most unsatisfactory state, not only as regards the natives, but also the other inhabitants, both settlers and Boers, arising from the eagerness of everyone to obtain cattle, which I shall endeavour to explain.

Since the cattle affair at the Umgeni, numbers of the natives are dissatisfied because they did not succeed in recovering their own, and many from being dispossessed of those which they had managed to get off with. Again, according to their law, it would only be justice to strip Umpande and Fulu of all they have; but the Boers giving a reward of one in ten to informers, who are generally natives, they are enabled to search out, then seize and confiscate, all cattle obtained by whatever means, thus causing bad feeling among the whole.

The old settlers are likewise dissatisfied because they missed getting back their cattle, and are prevented from trading; their cattle being seized in the same manner as the natives', and suspect the Boers of carrying on a barter themselves, though agreed it would be better if none were permitted to traffic for a time. The emigrant farmers are in a ferment, and their jealousy excited to the highest pitch, suspecting that no proper division or account will be rendered of the cattle thus seized, or that may be given up. I enclose herewith, for your Excellency's information, documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, relative to these occurrences.

With regard to the communications arising from Boers or

settlers, I have judged it best to receive them, but without for a moment permitting myself to entertain any distinction between them, on the subject of their being British subjects; merely regarding them, the one as the stronger, the other as the weaker party.

From Mr. Roos' letter, your Excellency will observe that the Boers' Volksraad, on the plea of their treaty, have publicly prohibited all intercourse with the Zulus; to obtain from no matter whom a certain number of cattle as indemnification for their losses, and doubting the ability of their chiefs to pay them, should a barter be allowed, they are trying to prevent a single head leaving the country till this (their) claim is satisfied.

As to my own conduct under such circumstances, I have proceeded with all the temper and discretion I am master of, endeavouring to impress upon all the necessity of moderation and forbearance, as well for their own present security as for the future peace and settlement of the country; but it is needless for me to point out to your Excellency the utter hopelessness of succeeding with such people, actuated by such motives.

What argument would make the farmer forego his superior claim, or relinquish aught that falls within his grasp? What make the native or settler give up their claim of sharing in the booty, or benefiting to the utmost of the opportunity here offered?

Having thus succinctly stated the views of each, I shall continue to follow the line I have hitherto adopted, till informed how far it meets with your Excellency's approbation.

It is reported that Dingaan has sent some six thousand head of cattle and some ivory to the Tugela, and that the river is impassable; but, whether or not, it is the intention of the Boers to assemble a large commando on or about the 16th proximo, proceed to Umkunkunglovu, call Dingaan, Umpande, and Sapusa, or chief captains together, appoint each their line of country, and receive over the cattle that remain due. Every day the people are increased by runaways, which it is impossible to prevent.

With regard to the troops, I have to acquaint your Excellency that there have been several fresh cases of scurvy since my last report, without any apparent cause. Milk and butter have been brought into the camp daily; but pumpkins, from which they expect to be most benefited, are only just coming in. Their conduct in general has been good, and the duty carried on to my entire satisfaction.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) H. JERVIS, Capt., 72nd Regt.

1. Declaration that J. de Lange, field-commandant of the emigrant farmers, has and did possess himself of certain cattle, the property of the native population and original white settlers of Natal, none of whom have ever, by word or deed, thrown off their allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, by false pretences; the said J. de Lange having asked Umpande, a runaway Zulu chief, whose cattle it was that Umpande kept separate, Umpande told him, "Cattle belonging to the Natal people." De Lange then said the Natal people were starving, and the cattle would be a seasonable relief, and that the said J. de Lange would take them if the said Umpande would let him, and would see them given to their right owners. Umpande said: "Take them and give them to the Natal people." John de Lange then took them, and, when arrived at the Umgeni, about six miles from Natal, drove out forty-three head for himself, and the remainder the Natal people would not have got if they had not taken them. Also that Frans Roos, an appointed leader of the Boers, who has had his oath published in the "Zuid Afrikaan"—to which he is referred—received a lot, a parcel of cattle from Umpande, who, upon giving them over, said: "That lot are from my own cattle, and are for the Boers to divide; that other lot belong to the natives and English at Natal, which I give over to you to take to Natal and deliver to the right owners," but which F. Roos sent to the Bosjesmansrand, and which Carl Landman and others have since divided among the Boers; the natives of Natal having recognized many among the said cattle, and claimed the same, which the said Boers refused to give up. We, the undersigned, do declare that Umpande stated the above to us, and that we know it to be virtually true.

(Signed) R. KING,
 „ J. DOUGLAS.

2. Another declaration of R. King's, that four mounted Boers came to his place and took twenty-five cows, and that he had paid for these.

3. D. C. Toohey states that he sent five men to purchase cattle for the troops and himself. Eighteen were taken by the Boers.

4. Mr. King's and Mr. Toohey's statements sent to the Boer Roos.

5. Roos: Reply from Commandant Fourie that no trade in cattle be permitted with Panda until he has discharged the debt of his nation. Thus the cattle taken from memorialists and others are either among the 710 returned yesterday to Panda, or those confiscated.

6. Congela, 21st November.—Landdrost Roos forwards a notice that flour, coffee, rice, &c., are ready for issue to fifty burghers who are expected.

7. Sir,—A written order from the Volksraad was sent to the Landdrost here, forbidding any dealings of what nature soever with the Kafirs: which was posted up in either camp, and also made known to the parties whose names are signed to these declarations. If such was not the case, there was no need for driving the cattle by night or by a by-path to the kraal. If the parties had not been acquainted with such order, the cattle might have been sent in open day along the public road. The farmers who brought the cattle declare that the complainant turned out the cattle himself at their request, and that there was no force made use of, neither stealing; for it was done publicly, and in the face of the complainant. Twenty-eight head were brought here, and as many more were left at the kraal. The Bastard, Cobus Murray, declares that more than seventy head passed his place, said to be cattle belonging to the parties concerned.

My opinion is that it is highly necessary to publish such an order for the welfare of all classes.

8. Captain Jervis to Messrs. Roos, Fourie, and Badenhorst, Congela:—

Port Natal, Dec. 19, 1839.

Gentlemen,—With reference to the various communications I have made to you relative to the taking possession of, or encroachment on, the natives' gardens by immigrants or others, I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor to protest in his name and by his order against every such unjust and unlawful proceeding; and I am to warn your authorities that all such acts which have been or may be perpetrated, cannot fail of being viewed by Her Majesty's Government and the British nation as a wanton infringement on the rights of an inoffensive people; and further, that, whatever colonial emigrants may think, they cannot throw off their allegiance or cease to be considered as subjects of the Queen of England.

(Signed) H. JERVIS.

Fully aware of your own views respecting the coloured classes, I have directed this letter to you in particular, confidently relying on your giving it the utmost publicity.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing Street, 18th June, 1840.

SIR,—The intelligence which I have received from various quarters, and the representations made to me of the deplorable calamities attending the present state of affairs at Port Natal, have rendered it my duty to instruct you to despatch forthwith a detachment of Her Majesty's troops for the purpose of resuming the military occupation of Port Natal; or, if this should now have become impracticable, of some commanding position in its neighbourhood which shall cover or secure communications with the shipping.

The instructions which you will give to the officer whom you may appoint to command the troops may be substantially the same as those with which you furnished Major Charters in November, 1838, with the exception of that clause of those instructions which authorised the dispossession by force of the actual occupants of the soil.

The object which Her Majesty's Government have more immediately in view in resuming the military occupation of Port Natal, being to establish the influence of the British name in a country which is devastated by the reckless proceedings of the Queen's subjects, the officer whom you may select for superintending this service must be strictly enjoined carefully to avoid every possible cause of collision with the emigrant farmers as a body. But if, contrary to the expectation of Her Majesty's Government, any opposition should be made by the farmers to the landing of the troops, or to the occupation of the site where the commanding officer may judge it indispensably necessary for their security to station them, then in either of these cases the officer, after having remonstrated against such opposition, and warned the parties offering it of the consequences of obstructing Her Majesty's troops in the execution of their duty, is, if resistance be persisted in, to subdue it by force of arms.

Not being able at this distance to foretell what may be the risk or amount of such resistance, I cannot give you precise instructions as to the amount of force which may be required. It may even be possible that you may feel a difficulty in weakening your force at the Cape to the extent required for this operation. If this should be the case, you will report for the information of Her Majesty's Government on the whole state of these affairs.

The officer commanding the troops must not assume any civil authority without direct instructions from you.

I transmit to you enclosed a copy of a paper which has been placed in my hands as containing recent intelligence from Port Natal.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,

22nd June, 1840.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 18 of the 23rd of December last, together with its enclosures, and in obedience to the instructions therein contained, I proceed to lay before you the opinions I have formed regarding the colonization of Port Natal, and the grounds upon which they are based; and if it should appear to your Lordship that I have entered into unnecessary details upon a subject affecting not only the future interests and welfare of the emigrant farmers and aboriginal tribes, but also of this colony, I trust that its importance, and the necessity of a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of it, will be deemed a sufficient apology.

I shall therefore take a short review of the causes which led to this unprecedented emigration, and then proceed, secondly, to consider the present state and condition of the emigrants, the prospect of their ultimate success in forming a permanent settlement, and the probability of their being again brought by gentle means to submit to the authority of the British Government; thirdly, the means which I should conceive necessary to carry into effect successfully the proposed settlement; and, lastly, the effect which the colonization of Port Natal would probably have in ameliorating the condition of the aboriginal tribes.

The abolition of slavery in the colony, the small amount of compensation granted for their slaves, the prevalence of vagrancy, the idleness and insolence of the emancipated population, the unsettled state of the frontier, the losses by the Kafir irruption, and the want of titles to their properties, have been assigned by many as the causes which led them to abandon their native country; that all or some of these grievances led to the estrangement of the affections of the emigrants towards the British Government, and induced many

of them to expatriate themselves, I do not deny, but I am inclined to trace the emigration to other and more influential and pre-existent causes.

The recent history of this colony shows that where unoccupied territory exists, there the Dutch African Boer will force his way in spite of the hardships which such a step must necessarily expose him to; and former Governments have been compelled from time to time to enlarge their South African possessions in order to include within the pale of the law those who prefer the unrestrained freedom of nomadic life to settled pursuits. There is also a strong disinclination on the part of the country colonial youth to follow any but a pastoral life, and an impossibility of now obtaining within the colony sufficient pasturage for the numerous herds and flocks in which the farmers' wealth entirely consists. The rumoured fertility of the uninhabited territory in the vicinity of Port Natal presented at once the means of gratifying the desire of the farmers, and hence the commencement of a settlement which has been increased by the continued emigration of those who, from whatever cause, were dissatisfied with their condition in the colony.

The prospects of the emigrants were at first very discouraging: wearied out by the harassing warfare waged against them by Dingaan, subjected to many hardships and privations from the necessity of living in large parties for mutual protection, and disheartened by sickness among their families, and loss of their cattle, many would then, I believe, have willingly submitted to British government; but now, having destroyed the power of Dingaan, the Zulu chief, and being no longer in fear of external foes, they have begun to spread themselves over the territory they have acquired, divided the lands, elected magistrates, and formed a sort of provisional government. In the absence of any authentic intelligence regarding their actual condition, as every statement is coloured to suit particular views, it is perhaps impossible to come to a very correct conclusion as to how far they are likely to carry on their affairs amicably; but I am inclined to believe that, although jealousies exist among their rulers, still their prospects are at present by no means discouraging; and the longer they are left in the quiet possession of the country they inhabit, and the more settled they become in their new possessions, the more difficult will it be to bring them back under the dominion of the British Crown.

From the alleged causes which led most of the emigrants to abandon the colony, it may justly be inferred they will not willingly

submit to British authority, but would, in the event of a Colonial settlement being formed at Port Natal, leave their locations and move further into the interior. This opinion does not rest upon conjecture alone; for they have already expressed their fixed determination not to renew their allegiance to the British Crown, nor remain within the influence of its dominion. But although many are actuated by these feelings, I have some reason to believe there are others among them who, tired of the continual bickerings and jealousies which must always exist in a community where legal restraints are insufficient, and where the Government for the time being depends upon the momentary popular feeling, would be well inclined to welcome the establishment of regular authorities having the power of affording them protection, merely enabling them to follow their agricultural pursuits in peace.

In my despatch to Lord Glenelg, No. 58, dated 16th October, 1838, I expressed my opinion that the ultimate occupation of Port Natal was rendered necessary by the force of circumstances. I there pointed out to his Lordship the impossibility of bringing the emigrants back to the colony, even were they willing to come, and it then appeared to me the only way of overcoming the difficulty was to declare Port Natal a British settlement.

The harbour of Natal, although by no means a good one, is, I believe, the only port, at least the only one as yet discovered, between the Fish River and Delagoa Bay; and the formation of a settlement there would be attended with this good effect, that even were the emigrants to carry their intention into effect, and remove further into the interior, they would never acquire so much importance, or render themselves so independent, as they may become if left in possession of a seaport of even an inferior description.

Your Lordship remarks that the extension of our colonial possessions must sometimes be inevitable—often advantageous. I am of opinion that the present case is one where such extension is inevitable, from the circumstance that we must either leave a large and increasing body of hardy adventurers within a few hundred miles of our frontier, who are many of them animated by feelings of dislike to the British Government, or we must make choice of what appears to me the lesser evil, namely, the establishment of a settlement at Port Natal, consisting of such of the emigrants already located there as are willing to recognise the British authority, and such settlers as may be inclined to emigrate to that country in preference to any of our other colonial possessions.

My despatch No. 69, of the 30th September last, has apprised your Lordship that I have withdrawn the detachment of troops from the military post at Natal, and has put your Lordship in possession of the reasons which led me to take that step. The reiterated expression by Lords Glenelg and Normanby, of their merely temporary and conditional approval of the military possession of the post, their observations on the expense attending it, and the apparently fixed determination of Her Majesty's Government not to extend her colonial possessions in this quarter of the world, made me feel confident that the colonization of that country would never be sanctioned, and therefore I felt the further retention of the post might give rise to hopes, or even fears, which it was probably the wish of Her Majesty's Ministers not to foster. Within the last few days I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's answer to that despatch, announcing your approval of the measures which, under the circumstances, I had adopted for vacating the military post; but, notwithstanding, this evacuation may add a little to the difficulties attendant on the question. Still, in the event of such a body of troops being sent as would ensure the safety of the settlers, and provided the emigrants were made previously aware of the views of Her Majesty's Government in resuming possession of that country, I apprehend little danger of any collision taking place between the troops and the emigrant farmers. The latter have no doubt declared publicly through their Council that they are determined to oppose by force any invasion of their territory; but I believe that few, if any, of them would be found daring enough to offer an open resistance to the British flag.

This measure would of course be attended with considerable expense, as in order to ensure success the new settlement must be placed on a separate and distinct establishment quite independent of this command; nor could I advise, in the present posture of affairs, that in the first instance a smaller body of troops than 1,200 or 1,500 men should be sent as a protection to the settlers, although probably hereafter the number might be decreased. Whether this expenditure would be ultimately repaid is rather questionable, but from the various accounts of the country proposed to be thus annexed to the British dominions, it is without doubt the most fertile portion of Southern Africa, and capable of being turned to advantage, not only for the purposes of pasturage, but also of agriculture.

That this colony would eventually benefit from the increased traffic with the new settlement is unquestionable, as from the shallow-

ness of the water on the bar of the harbour, none but coasting vessels of a very moderate tonnage ever enter it, and the anchorage outside is very dangerous.

From the delays which have taken place in announcing to the emigrant farmers the intentions of the British Government regarding the relations which are to be maintained with them, a delay which they have construed into a tacit recognition of their right to occupy their present locations, independent of the British Crown, it would, in the event of Her Majesty's Government coming to a decision again to resume possession of Port Natal, be but an act of justice to those individuals who hold their tenures under the titles derived from the provisional government to confirm and ratify these titles.

Should a decision unfavourable to the proposal of the gentlemen who have addressed your Lordship on the subject, however, be come to, I find it stated in your despatch No. 37, of the 11th February last, that the relations between this colony and the emigrant farmers will be the same as those which subsist with the inhabitants of foreign countries to the eastward of the Cape, or, in other words, that they are no longer to be looked upon as British subjects, but treated with as other foreign powers. In soliciting your Lordship's specific instructions upon this point, I would beg leave humbly to submit, whether it would not be necessary at once to enter into a friendly alliance with them, otherwise the interests not only of the aboriginal tribes, but also of this colony, may be seriously affected; for as they increase in numbers, both from natural causes and continued emigration from hence, an extension of their territory in this direction will force such tribes as are disinclined to become dependent on them, down upon those which lie in the more immediate neighbourhood of the Eastern frontier, and bring on collisions which must lead to bloody wars, and might prove fatal to the peace of this colony.

In conclusion, it remains for me to advert to the observation in your Lordship's despatch No. 18, that one of the circumstances which ought to operate as a reason for rejecting any proposal for the extension of our colonial possessions, is, where the occupation of territory hitherto held by aboriginal tribes must lead to flagrant injustice, cruel wars, and protracted misery. That the aboriginal tribes of South Africa have suffered from contact with the colonists, and that wars accompanied with much loss of life have taken place between them are matters of notoriety; but in justice to the emigrant farmers, I am bound to admit that, having penetrated beyond the colonial limits, they were forced into a murderous warfare, first with interior

tribes and afterwards with the Zulus, which occasioned the slaughter of vast numbers of these unfortunate natives as well as many of their own numbers; and, considering the feelings of exasperation which the perfidious slaughter of so many of their friends under the command of Retief must have produced in their minds, it appears to me, as far as I have been able to learn, that their treatment of the natives has not been, generally speaking, characterised by flagrant injustice or productive of misery to these people.

The country in the vicinity of Port Natal is now very thinly peopled, the former occupants having been destroyed by the superior forces of Chaka and Dingaan, and the remnants of the various tribes which have escaped destruction are sunk in the lowest state of degradation: do not cultivate the soil but live upon wild roots and are at times subject to all the horrors of famine. They are extremely docile, and have always evinced the greatest desire to be taken under the protection of the whites who have located themselves there, preferring the security thus afforded them to the more precarious freedom of the savage state; because the alleged misery and cruelties inflicted on the aboriginal tribes by civilized men are light in comparison to the injuries they suffer from perpetual tyranny and despotism among themselves. That the security they at present enjoy under the temporary dominion of the emigrants is less perfect than it would be under an established government is, I think, obvious; because, although the majority of them are not, I believe, animated by feelings which might lead them to the habitual perpetration of cruel acts, still, where men are left without sufficient law to control their acts and punish crime, instances will certainly and often occur in which the natives will suffer more under their present protectors than under the influence of a firmly-established government which possesses the power as well as the inclination to restrain its subjects from the commission of crimes.—I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

THE "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE" TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Pietermaritzburg, Port Natal, 4th September, 1840.

To His Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—By the blessing of God we have perfectly succeeded in establishing with our numerous surrounding savage enemies, not only an advantageous, but, for the so long oppressed

people, a lasting peace, which presents us with the cheering prospect of permanent prosperity. This prospect, though, is somewhat darkened by the conviction that between us and our always-beloved mother country there does not exist that friendly sympathy in our welfare which we would fain wish to see strongly and lastingly established. This general wish had frequently on former occasions been under the consideration of the Volksraad (Council of the People), and has, presently to the exclusion of all other matters, been more particularly under their discussion, which has elicited the following resolution, namely :

To submit to your Excellency, as the honoured representative of Her Majesty the Queen of England, that it may graciously please Her Majesty to acknowledge and declare us a free and independent people (a right so dearly purchased by our blood), and to cede us all those privileges which constitute the boast and greatness of the nation which has the happiness to live under her noble government; and to attain that object the "Council of the People" have resolved that (should your Excellency desire it) two Commissioners shall be sent from hence to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope as our representatives, at such time and to such place as your Excellency shall appoint, both which Commissioners shall be properly and fully empowered to concert such friendly arrangements as may be considered most compatible with the honour of Her Majesty, and best for our permanent good.

If, for the more speedy arrangement of this matter, your Excellency should prefer a negotiation to take place in writing, the "Council of the People" will fully concur in it.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, with the greatest respect, in the name and on behalf of the "Council of the People,"

(Signed) L. BADENHORST, President of the Council.

„ J. J. BURGER, Secretary.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing-street, 5th September, 1840.

* * * *

I am disposed to concur in the suggestions, * * * *
 more especially as they relate to the measures to be taken for conciliating the farmers.

For this purpose, I should wish a President and Council to be

appointed by you from among themselves, with civil authority, reserving to a military officer, acting under your orders, the command of Her Majesty's troops.

If, however, the settlement so to be constituted were considered as a separate colony, and not a part or dependency of the Cape of Good Hope, the sanction of Parliament would be necessary for this arrangement.

It must be clearly understood that Her Majesty's Government cannot sanction slavery in any shape at Port Natal.

I await your report of the proceedings which you shall adopt in pursuance of my instructions of the 18th June.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

[Draft Despatch.]

Downing-street, 5th September, 1840.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches of 22nd and 24th June, in the former of which you express your opinion on the question of colonizing Port Natal, and in the latter you transmit a paper containing the observations of Messrs. Backhouse and Walker, two members of the Society of Friends, on the affairs and prospects of the Natal country.

My despatch, 18th June, will inform you of the determination of Her Majesty's Government to resume the military occupation of Port Natal. But I should be very apprehensive that a forcible occupation by a force of 1,200 or 1,500 men would in all probability lead to fresh difficulties and contests. On the general question, I am favourable to the settlement of Port Natal as a British colony, but not prepared to expend large funds to conquer the territory for the emigrant farmers. I am disposed to concur in the suggestions of Messrs. Backhouse and Walker, more especially as relates to the measures to be taken to conciliate the emigrants.

For this purpose, I should wish a President and Council to be formed by you from among the farmers themselves, with civil authority, reserving to a military officer, acting under you, the command of Her Majesty's troops.

If, however, the settlement so to be constituted were to be considered as a separate colony, and not as a part and dependency of the

Cape, the sanction of Parliament would be necessary for this arrangement.

It must be distinctly understood that Her Majesty cannot sanction slavery in any form in Natal.

I await your report as to the proceedings you shall adopt in pursuance of my instructions of 18th June.

EXTRACTS

FROM

REMARKS OF JAS. BACKHOUSE AND J. WASHINGTON WALKER ON A FEW
IMPORTANT SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE WELFARE OF THE COLONY
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

HAVING completed a visit in South Africa to all towns, villages, and missionary stations within the colony, and to all the places where missionaries are stationed beyond the boundary, undertaken solely in the discharge of a religious duty, under the feeling of Christian love to our fellow-men, and in which engagement we have had the concurrence of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, to which we belong, we wish respectfully to invite the attention of the Colonial Government to some subjects of importance that have deeply excited our interest.

The journey occupied a period of more than nineteen months, during which the opportunities were many for acquiring information and making observations on the state of society in South Africa.

A numerous body of emigrant farmers who have crossed the Kwaahlamba Mountains have occupied portions of the country in the neighbourhood of Port Natal, where they have had many sanguinary combats with the Zulu chief Dingaan, whose character is too notorious to need comment. These farmers recognise one of their number, named Pretorius, as their chief; and by the help of Panda, a Zulu of eminence, they lately overcame Dingaan; and most of his people having gone over to the conquering party, are now in league with the farmers for mutual protection, while Dingaan and most of his adherents are said to have fled the country.

It is unnecessary for us to enumerate the various reasons given for the farmers leaving the colony, many of which are the fruit of early prejudice and of an excited imagination; but the abolition of

slavery and the distance of time which the apprenticeship system created between the emancipation and the payment of compensation, lay at the root of their disgust; and this dissatisfaction was greatly heightened by the payment of it through Government bills, in negotiating which, being generally men little acquainted with money transactions, great advantage was taken of them, so as very materially to reduce the amount of the compensation they actually received. They had also been reared in the midst of a system of slavery, upon which they had been taught to look favourably, and little or no pains were taken to explain the grounds on which the abolition had taken place. These grievances were aggravated by some of the colonial papers, and, a few of the farmers having about this juncture visited the vacant country near Natal, combined with other circumstances to pave the way for their emigration. The reason for emigrating assigned by many of the parties, whom we met on their way from the colony, was that they were leaving because the land to which they were going was more fertile than that they were leaving; but others acknowledged they left the country because they were deprived of their slaves.

When, after visiting some of the more fertile country beyond the colony on the East Coast, we saw the nature of the country these people had vacated, and learned from the individuals who had been engaged as Christian missionaries in Natal, and other credible witnesses, that this fertility increases towards Natal, and continued far beyond it, through a large extent of unoccupied country, we could not wonder at a large emigration setting in that direction. Nor does it appear to us that it is for the interest of the colony, nor even of the coloured population beyond, to discourage the settlement of Natal, for most of the vacated farms are purchased by new settlers, or by the younger branches of old resident families, who are content to remain in the old colony, and to believe that were the Natal country to be colonized, on a system adapted to the emigrant farmers, those in the interior might be induced to draw off from the native tribes, to whom they are an increasing incubus, and become useful subjects of the Crown, while the country itself would have proved a valuable addition to the resources of the nation. In such case the little bands of coloured people who are still residing in it ought to be placed under such restriction, as British subjects, as would prevent them from destruction by the neighbouring tribes that are ever ready to make incursions upon their weaker neighbours who are possessed of cattle. And this protection, no doubt, the people in question would hail with joy.

From the statements of farmers who had returned from Natal, and other persons, we learned that there was much distress among the emigrants. The parents of many had been cut off in their wars with Dingaan; and thus numerous widows and children had become dependent upon their countrymen for support. These circumstances, combined with their reduction in flocks and herds for various causes, and the want of opportunity to till the soil during the unsettled and exposed state of the farmers, had pressed heavily upon many. Not a few, there is reason to suppose, would gladly have returned had their property in the colony not been disposed of, and their other means of subsistence been impaired and consumed. And though the recent victory over Dingaan may have opened a prospect of future settlement and prosperity to the emigrants in the vicinity of Natal, their situation, thus reduced, will probably nevertheless incline them to listen to overtures of a conciliatory tendency. At the same time, the issue of the struggle with Dingaan may, in connection with the remembrance of past sufferings and grievances consequent on their long contest with the aborigines, dispose the evil and worst description to deal more harshly with the natives who may come under their power. Hence the need at this important juncture for the adoption of measures by the British Government calculated to afford a relief and encouragement to the good, as well as to impose salutary restraints on the evil, and thereby regulate the occupation of the country by a people who, though properly subjects, yet if neglected might become systematically opposed to the Colonial Government, and a scourge to the native tribes.

The plan we would suggest for effecting this important object would be:—

To resume possession of Natal and the adjacent country, vacant as regards native tribes, except as before noticed, previously extending general information to the farmers of the determination of the Government in their favour.

To grant and measure to the farmers on the spot, or to any others now living in South Africa beyond the boundary, who might within two years move into Natal, free locations of land of any reasonable extent, and to all emigrants, from the time of the Government formally taking possession. The land to be sold and measured out as in the other newly-settled countries under the British. The funds so raised to be appropriated (1) to defraying the expenses of government; (2) the civilization and advancement of the native tribes; (3) providing for all classes the means of instruction, includ-

ing school-houses and places of public worship; and (4) to bringing out labourers, and to such other objects as might tend to promote the general welfare of the community.

In reference to the feelings of the emigrant farmers, who were generally of Dutch extraction, it might be of advantage that at least the first Lieutenant-Governor should be one of their own country, if one suitable could be found; but he should early be required to make proclamation that the whole population were British subjects.

We feel it our duty to state that if the Natal country be taken possession of by forcible means, and without proper consideration for the feelings of the farmers, the consequence will be that many of them will retire into the interior, to the probable injury of themselves and the aborigines, and the multiplication of difficulties to the Colonial Government. The vacant country on the east bounded by the sea, and on the west by the Kwahlamba Mountains, extends from the south side of the Umzimkulu River nearly to Delagoa Bay, which is a place of little value to the Portuguese, and possibly it might be of advantage to purchase it from them for the British.

The country of the Amaponda Kafir, under Neapayi, commences about fifty miles south of the Umzimkulu, and the tract of country between them and the river is vacant.

In venturing to recommend the adoption of these measures, which we believe may be carried out on purely Christian principles—and experience fully proves that all measures of sound policy must be in accordance with Christian principles—we would urge the necessity of ample lands being secured by measurement and well-defined boundaries to such refugees of the Zulus as may be found within the territory, as well as to the small bands of natives located along the foot of the mountains, and all other aborigines within the country taken possession of. In determining the extent of land that may be appropriated for this purpose, regard should be had to the number of families and cattle belonging to each, the quantity of land available for cultivation, and the requisite supply of water; and, so far as the aboriginal population might be prepared to occupy portions of the respective boundaries of townships, as private property, we would submit they ought to have such portions measured out and secured; and all their possessions should, for a considerable series of years, be inalienable to white men without the special consent of the chief and the Government, in addition to the will of the proprietors.

(Signed) J. BACKHOUSE,
(") J. W. WALKER.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
29th September, 1840.

MY LORD,—Your Lordship's despatch No. 92, of the 18th of June, instructing me to resume military possession of Port Natal, only reached this place upon the 25th instant, and I am happy to observe that your Lordship not only leaves to my judgment to determine upon the amount of force to be detached for this service, but also to my discretion either to comply with those instructions or to report to your Lordship upon the subject.

I beg to avail myself of this latter mode of procedure; because I must candidly state that from the various information I have received, Port Natal could not now be re-occupied as a military post without the chance of strong resistance being made by the emigrant farmers, who have, as far as their means admit, constructed some defensive works commanding the narrow and shallow entrance to the harbour. It would therefore be very imprudent to attempt, and perhaps impossible to effect, a landing except with such a number of troops as would preclude the probability of failure, as in the event of resistance considerable loss of life would ensue.

Under these circumstances, I could not advise a smaller number than 300 soldiers being sent upon this service; and this force under the present unsettled and irritated state of the farmers on the Eastern frontier, occasioned by the constant and unprovoked plunder of their cattle and horses by the Kafirs, I cannot feel justified in detaching, as it would endanger the safety of the colony to an extent far outweighing the good which could be anticipated from a mere military occupation of Port Natal unaccompanied by any specific political instructions defining the exact footing upon which I am to consider that vast body of emigrants who are now in peaceful and firm possession of large tracts of fruitful lands, and who are located not only in the neighbourhood of Natal itself, but likewise at a considerable distance towards the interior.

I must here observe, likewise, that Port Natal is the only safe harbour as yet known where vessels drawing six feet of water can enter, all vessels of a larger description being obliged to remain at the anchorage outside, which is only available for a few hours in the calmest weather without great risk. The danger is indeed so great, that Admiral Elliot officially stated to me that he could not again

consent to send one of Her Majesty's ships to that place, as from the reports of his officers the disembarkation of troops, as well as military stores, even in calm weather, was attended with much risk. I state all this, my Lord, in order that you may clearly understand why I am of opinion that the force sent to effect the mere military occupation of Port Natal, without any reference to ulterior measures, should not be under three hundred men.

In my despatch No. 40, of the 22nd June last, which I presume must have reached your Lordship in the early part of this month, I have to the best of my abilities and judgment given a plain statement of facts, and expressed my opinions and views as distinctly as I was able respecting this most important and difficult subject. Since that time I have heard nothing of the prospects or proceedings of the emigrants which does not strengthen and confirm those opinions, and I ardently hope your Lordship will be enabled to come to some determination by which I shall receive distinct and permanent instructions as to the manner in which I am to proceed in negotiating with the emigrants of Port Natal and the adjacent country.

As a soldier, my Lord, I dread to contemplate the scenes and miseries entailed by civil war, and I am firmly persuaded that this question is not to be solved by force of arms; such a course would not only be attended with great loss of life on both sides, and be the means of inflicting much misery and suffering upon the emigrants, their wives and children, but the feelings of anger and hatred to the British Government would be increased tenfold in the breasts of the discomfited and irritated farmers, who would press further into the interior, and wreak upon the defenceless natives vengeance for their wrongs. Thus the scenes of injustice and cruelty would be renewed, and their crimes would go unpunished, because they would move into a savage country where, for want of provisions and carriage of military stores, it would be impracticable for troops to follow them.

It is pleasing, however, to turn from this view of the question to that which I now present to your Lordship, and which, being founded on kindness and conciliation, has not only a better prospect of success, but will be more agreeable to your Lordship to adopt.

I entertain, in common with most of the best informed persons, the opinion that the emigrants would gladly listen to any proposal which had for its object the granting of an amnesty for their past conduct, and also the offer of a separate jurisdiction under a British governor, a measure which would be absolutely necessary, as the

means of communication between this and Port Natal are too precarious and slow to admit of the Governor of this colony exerting an efficient control over the affairs of that place.

I am fully persuaded that such a proposal, coupled with the assurance of undisturbed possession of the lands at present occupied by each family, under such laws, taxes, and restrictions as are indispensable for the carrying on and supporting the institutions of a civilised community, would have the effect of inducing all the well-disposed emigrants to forsake their present unsettled and unsatisfactory government, and return again under the protection of the mother country.

It is, therefore, my earnest request that your Lordship will authorise me to enter into negotiations with these farmers, to hear their grievances, and ascertain their wishes. I have, as you are aware, invariably declined to recognise their right to occupy the country, or to throw off their allegiance to the Queen of England; and when Port Natal was in possession of the British troops, I declined to authorise the officer in command to hold out to the emigrants the least encouragement or hope that the colonization of that part of Southern Africa would ever be sanctioned, from a desire not to hamper Her Majesty's Government in deciding upon such ulterior measures as it might be considered necessary to adopt; but now the case is altered. Peace has been restored, and others are preparing to join those who have preceded them for the purpose of establishing themselves in a country which has been described as the most fertile portion of Southern Africa.

The native tribes located between this colony and Port Natal view these proceedings with feelings of uneasiness and alarm, and, from a want of confidence in their safety from aggression, are kept from acquiring those habits of industry which can only be taught and fostered under the feeling of security.

Were such a measure as the settlement of these emigrants under the British authority contemplated, it would be advisable, if possible, to have several strong military positions or posts in various parts of the country, in order that strong detachments of troops might be disposable in case of necessity, either for defence against external enemies or for repression of interior tumults and outbreaks; to effect this object, I conceive that not fewer than two regiments of six hundred men each should be sent, which force might probably be reduced hereafter when a settled form of government was introduced.

But even although your Lordship might not have it in your

power to recommend that so large a number of troops should be employed on this service, I do not conceive that any bad effects could result from entering into negotiations with the emigrants in order to ascertain correctly their views and wishes. In fact, it appears to me that such a course would be beneficial, because it is otherwise impossible to obtain such information as to their state and prospects as can be relied on, every report being coloured according to the particular views of the individuals who afford that information, and because there are among these emigrants many who, from ignorance or misconception of the motives of government, have been led into error, and have had their affections for the mother country estranged.

With such, conciliatory measures might be productive of much good, and could be attended with no possible harm.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

FROM THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT (CAPE) TO THE UNDER-
SECRETARY OF STATE.

Colonial Office, Cape Town, Oct. 9, 1840.

SIR,—With reference to Sir George Napier's despatch of 29th ultimo, No. 66, relative to the proceedings of the emigrants and re-occupation of Natal, I have the honour to transmit copy of a communication translated from the Dutch. * * *

4th September.—I conclude that His Excellency will avail himself of the opportunity of exactly ascertaining the views of the emigrants. Meanwhile, I deem it advisable that no time be lost in acquainting Her Majesty's Government with this, the first, proposal of a conciliatory nature that has reached the local Government from the expatriated farmers near Port Natal.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE."

Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope, Nov. 2, 1840.

The President of the Council, Pietermaritzburg.

SIR,—Your letter, dated Pietermaritzburg, 4th September last, reached me on 11th ultimo.

I am glad to learn that it is the general wish of your colleagues

to share in the advantages enjoyed by those who have the happiness to live under the Queen of England's government; and it would be extremely gratifying to myself personally to contribute in securing to the colonial emigrant farmers a full participation therein; but being at present unable to understand in what manner the privileges of British subjects can be properly continued to, and enjoyed by, a people aspiring to political independence, I think it would be premature in me to express the desire which I should otherwise feel to receive the Commissioners whom you propose conditionally to send to this colony, until I shall have been made distinctly aware of the basis on which your amicable propositions are grounded, and also until I shall have received those instructions on the subject for which some time since I applied to Her Majesty's Government, to whom a copy of your letter was transmitted immediately on its receipt.

You have judged rightly in thinking that no arrangement can be consented to by me which shall be in any respect incompatible with the honour of Her Majesty. Consistently with that, however, I shall rejoice in anything that may tend to the permanent good of the people with whom and for whom you are now acting.

As you have expressed your readiness to enter into written negotiations in the event of the proposed Commissioners not being sent, it appears to me that much time may be gained by your furnishing me with an explicit statement of the terms on which you are disposed to treat, and which I sincerely hope may be such as to enable me to meet your wishes for that amicable settlement of the future relations between this colony and the country of Natal which it is our common interest to effect.

I shall hope to receive your communication at this place, where I shall probably remain until about the beginning of next year.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) G. NAPIER.

MR. P. H. ZIETSMAN TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ZUID AFRIKAAN"
(CAPE NEWSPAPER).

Pietermaritzburg, 5th January, 1841.

SIR AND FRIEND,—I intended to have communicated to you in my last correspondence that a small commando was about to be sent off against the Bushmen, who on nine different occasions robbed

our people of the District of Weenen of their cattle and horses; but I was uncertain whether the Volksraad would have granted permission for the same, because they are very scrupulous about authorising attacks on the natives, preferring to arrange everything, if possible, by amicable missions, which were tried in the instance in question, but, I am sorry to say, without effect. It was only through the utmost necessity that the Volksraad consented to the commando against N'Capayi; and when our party reached the dominions of that chief, the commandant sent a message to Faku to tell him not to be in any fear, for that no harm would be done to him: to which Faku replied that he himself had had a war with N'Capayi some weeks before, on account of his (Faku) not wishing to join N'Capayi in his robbing our possessions. The commandant, after having summoned N'Capayi, in the hope of coming to an amicable arrangement, all overtures for which were refused, made the attack with a hundred and ninety men, when, after a desperate fight, N'Capayi fell with a hundred and fifty of his people, the rest being put to flight. It was only owing to the resoluteness of our people that we were able to make head against the vast numbers of the enemy. We took only as much cattle as will repay our people who were robbed. We expect the commando to return, if the weather permits, at the beginning of next week. There is still peace between us and Panda, who intends to pay us a visit, to decide whether he will give his successor to be instructed, at the expense of the Volksraad, in the Christian religion, and thus receive an education adapted to his future situation. We ushered in the new year with the greatest concord, and had races, followed by a ball and supper. We intend to build a large edifice for public amusements, that will serve at the same time for a commercial room, library, &c. We have tolerable crops, and all sorts of vegetables in abundance. The farmers at Port Natal only have more than a hundred muids of dry beans, besides what is still to be reaped.

I heard that there is a report in the colony that we are dealing in slaves, to which I must give a most positive denial. Potgieter, when separated from us, I believe, committed such a crime; but since he has been under our rule, no slave-dealing exists at this or the other side of the Draaksberg. It once, indeed, happened fraudulently that a trader managed to obtain five Zulus, which he was going to take away with him; but the moment our landdrost got aware of the fact, he sent a patrol off and had the Zulus liberated. Like with the captured negroes at the Cape, so it is at this place with orphan

Zulus, who, if unable to earn a livelihood, are indentured to certain persons, under a strict penalty against any bad treatment. The following is the form of the contract:—

“Be it known to all whom it may concern, that the Civil Commissioner at Pietermaritzburg has indentured this day the Zulu orphan-boy Jonas, aged fourteen years, to Paul Hermanus Zietsman, under condition that the said Zietsman shall provide the said Jonas with food and clothing, and not maltreat him in any manner, under the penalty of the law. The said Jonas to serve until he shall have attained his majority, after which he shall be at liberty to hire himself out to anyone he may choose.

“Thus done, at Pietermaritzburg, this 9th day of March, 1840.

“(Signed) J. P. ZIETSMAN.”

Hoping this may prove interesting,—I am, &c.,

“(Signed) P. H. ZIETSMAN.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE “COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE.”

Graham's Town, 5th January, 1841.

To the President of the Council, Pietermaritzburg.

SIR,—Your letter acknowledging the receipt of mine of 2nd November last reached me some weeks ago, and I should have postponed any further correspondence with you until the arrival of the answer of the Council to my said letter; but I must take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you, and through you the emigrant farmers residing in the neighbourhood of Port Natal, that it is with feelings of deep and unfeigned regret that I have received intelligence through that most excellent and respectable body, the Wesleyan missionaries, of a wanton and, as I am given to understand, unprovoked attack made by Her Majesty's subjects, the emigrant farmers, upon the Kafir chief Ncapai and his tribe; the result of which has been the capture of nearly half the cattle and the slaughter of a great number of the people of the tribe.

I am unwilling to believe that such a report can be correct, or that the emigrant farmers have been guilty of such wickedness. I can hardly bring myself to believe that men calling themselves Christians, and offering up prayers to the Almighty, as the Judge of their

conduct and actions, should so profane the holy name of religion as to make a mockery of the word of God, and become the abettors of such cruelty and oppression.

I sincerely trust, therefore, that this report may turn out to be unfounded; but if, unhappily, the emigrant farmers cannot deny the accusation made against them, as British subjects (which I wish to impress upon them they still are, and ever must be, considered), it becomes my duty to protest against their proceedings, and in the name of Her Majesty the Queen solemnly to warn them that a continuance of such wanton and unprovoked attacks upon the natives will oblige the British Government to adopt such decisive measures as will effectually prevent the recurrence of aggressions at once lawless and inexcusable.

I address myself to you and to other enlightened men who have authority among Her Majesty's emigrant subjects, in the hope that you and they will point out the evil and the folly of pursuing a line of conduct which is at variance with the express wishes and commands of Her Majesty's Government, which must alienate from the cause of the emigrant farmers all just and good men, and which must eventually bring ruin and misery upon them, their families, and their fortunes. I trust, therefore, that this remonstrance may not be disregarded, as it is made in all truth and sincerity, and in the ardent hope that ere long the emigrant colonists at Natal and the adjacent country will see that their preservation and future welfare can only be secured by a return to the immediate rule and jurisdiction of Her Majesty, thus ensuring to themselves all those blessings of peace and security which can alone exist under a well-organized and paternal government.

In the hope that this message will be received by the emigrants as it is given, in the spirit of peace and humanity,—I am, &c.,

(Signed) G. NAPIER, Governor.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO GOVERNOR (CAPE).

[Draft Despatch.]

Downing-street, 6th January, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch 67, of 29th September, stating the reasons which had induced you to resume military occupation of Port Natal, and representing, in connection with your proposal to be allowed to negotiate

with the emigrants of that and the adjoining country, with a view to their ulterior settlement under British authority, that a disposable force of not less than two regiments of 600 men each will be necessary for you to guard against any emergency with which such a measure in so distant a part of the colony might be attended.

In reply, I have to express to you my entire approval of the proposed negotiations, as, indeed, you will have perceived from former despatches; but as regards your demand for troops, present circumstances will render it impossible that they should be spared for such a service. —I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

P.S.—(Mr. Stephen.)—I subjoin an extract from a letter I have received from the Cape. The writer's means of information may be relied upon.

“Cape Town, 8th April, 1840.

“My advices from Natal are to be relied upon. A commando was sent by the Volksraad to co-operate with the chief Panda against Dingaan. They came up with the troops of the latter, when the wily Boers let the blacks fight it out without firing a shot themselves, in consequence of which, although Panda was victorious, he lost 1,000 men. Had only twenty of the Boers used their arms, the same advantage might have been gained without such a sacrifice. Such is the correspondent's opinion, and I believe him to be a competent judge. A very great number of black cattle constituted the spoil. The agreement between Panda and the Boers was that the latter should have for their share 40,000 head. These were duly delivered to them; but now their cupidity makes them insist upon a further delivery by Panda of 15,000.

“The division of the cattle, on the return of the expedition, was a scene of plunder and bad faith, for some who purchased tickets for 200 head, walked off with twice that number; and the authorities are weak, and too timid to visit such offences. Crime appears to thrive with impunity, as was evident in the case of a poor Hottentot shot through the head, and no notice taken of the circumstance.

“The murder of Dambusa, Dingaan's minister-plenipotentiary, was a most revolting act. That man was deputed to the Volksraad by his master at a time of profound peace. Whilst delivering his message to the Volksraad, he was pointed out by Panda as the author of Retief's murder, and forthwith arrested and shot. He did not for a moment lose courage, but spoke out boldly, saying he was

aware his head was in their power, but so long as it remained on his shoulders he would make use of it, as became a man. When asked if he believed in a future state, and in rewards and punishments, he replied in the affirmative, and stated also his conviction that his fidelity to his master, Dingaan, would be duly rewarded by the great spirit, and by some minor deity whom he mentioned. Hereupon they shot him. Upwards of 1,000 blacks were brought into Natal and assigned as apprentices (slaves ?) by fours to each family. One or two individuals refusing to take any, were suspected of disaffection and closely interrogated as to their reasons for so doing. The farmers now feel safe, and they begin to cover the country.

"It would have been more to the advantage of the poor natives had *we* regularly (interfered ?).

"The immigration from this colony will soon re-commence to a greater extent than ever. Many of our friends who before looked upon departure as madness, have gone or intend going; and all the wagons leaving our territory go painted of the colour which they designate as 'Oranje boven.'"

THE "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE" TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Pietermaritzburg, Natal, January 14, 1841.

To His Excellency SIR GEORGE NAPIER, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c., &c., of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—

In our Council having been this day produced the answer of your Excellency in reply to our request of 4th September last, wherein we took the liberty of soliciting your Excellency to lay before the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the reasons therein mentioned, that we requested and entreated to be acknowledged by Her Majesty as a free and independent State, and wherein we also stated our request to remain in the participation of some of the rights of British subjects,—which answer is dated Graham's Town, the 2nd November, 1840, in which your Excellency graciously expressed your willingness of promoting our interest and that of the colony under your Excellency's administration, provided the same were not repugnant to the dignity of Her Majesty, and wherein your Excellency further stated that you could not receive the Commis-

sioners by us appointed for that purpose, unless your Excellency were first informed, in writing from us, on what basis we founded our friendly propositions, &c.;—we have, therefore, after due deliberation, decided to submit to your Excellency that, as the representatives of all the Dutch emigrants from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, we are willing and desirous of entering into a perpetual alliance with the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, on the following principles:—

1st. That the honoured Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England would be pleased to acknowledge and declare our settlement here as a free and independent State, under the name of the “Republic of Port Natal and adjoining countries,” the boundaries whereof can be hereafter defined.

2nd. That Her Majesty’s Government declare itself willing to treat with the said Republic in the relation of an ally.

3rd. That the said Republic reciprocally declares itself to stand in the closest alliance with the British Government.

4th. That Her Majesty’s Government shall be at liberty, in case of any hostile undertaking against this Republic by sea by any other power whatever, to interpose itself either in a friendly manner or to repel the same by force.

5th. That in case of war between the British Government and any other power, this Republic shall be viewed as neutral, and all private commercial vessels lying at anchor in the ports of the Republic shall be left unmolested.

6th. That the British Government shall have the right to place here a representative agent or ambassador.

7th. That the trade of British merchandise shall not be made subject to higher imposts than those of other people or nations, but the same, as far as practicable, shall be regulated according to the duties on British goods as levied in its own colonies, with the exception of wines, strong liquors, and other articles prejudicial to this Republic, the unnecessary import of which it would be advisable to restrain by higher duties. In consideration of which all articles of trade of this Republic should be received in all British possessions, and not be subject to higher duties than those of British settlements.

8th. That this Republic promises never to make any hostile movement against any of the natives or inland tribes who may reside between the boundaries of the said Republic and that of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, without first giving notice thereof to the representative of that Government here, or to the Governor for the

time being of the colony aforesaid, as also the cause which may have given rise thereto; with the exception, however, of such occasions wherein it will be our duty to take immediate steps against the enemy either in opposing or repelling their inroads or contemplated attacks upon us or any of the natives on our frontier and in alliance with us, or in any case of robbery to pursue immediately the robbers and overtake them, and in all such other cases wherein delay or neglect would be dangerous and prejudicial to us.

9th. That we further bind ourselves not to extend our boundary line further to the detriment or disadvantage of any of the surrounding tribes, nor to make any hostile movement upon them, unless such tribe by any preceding hostile attack shall have given us occasion thereto, so that we, for the maintenance of our rights, or for the security of our property, shall be compelled to take up arms against such tribe.

10th. That the Republic promises to give every encouragement to the spreading of the Gospel amongst, and for the civilization of, the heathen tribes which surround or are residing under our government.

11th. That this Republic promises not to give any aid or assistance in any manner to the declared or public enemies of the British Government in any hostile undertakings against the same, nor to permit such known enemies' vessels to enter our ports or to provision them; but, on the contrary, in the case of war with the colony by Kafirs or other tribes residing between us and the colony, should the Governor of the colony be desirous either by land or sea or overland to march an armed force through our territory, to assist the same with provisions, means of transport, &c., and further, as far as possible, to accommodate them.

12th. That this Republic undertake and bind themselves never to enter into any slave trade, or to encourage or to assist the same, or to permit any vessel or craft of that trade to enter our ports, or to furnish them with any refreshments.

13th. That the British subjects residing in this Republic shall be equally protected in their persons or property, and shall not be subject to higher taxes or duties than the burghers of this Republic are.

We take the liberty to add, further, that as your Excellency will perceive by the foregoing that we are desirous to be always on the best and friendly terms with the British Government, and if possible to live in peace with the surrounding nations, and only wishing to protect and govern ourselves in our lawfully acquired territory, with-

out detriment to your Government, or the natives surrounding us if they are willing to live in peace with us, your Excellency will have no objection to recommend our application to Her Majesty's Government; and we can assure your Excellency that we will on our side forget all that we have suffered, and by our future conduct show that we are as worthy to be received as allies, as we before showed as dutiful and obedient subjects; and notwithstanding the continual wrong imputations, ungrounded, and completely destitute of truth, which from certain channels have been cast upon us, and repeatedly forced upon Her Majesty's Government in England, we do not hesitate to say that we hope to convince the world that, so far from tending to serve as a destroyer or corrupter of the heathen nations in this region, we are, in the hands of God, the means of preventing robbery, murder, and violence, and even tend to the greater security of the Cape Colony, and to the furtherance of Christian religion among many thousands who up to this time have been in a state of benighted darkness, which many of the heathen tribes who are living under our protection, and others with whom we have concluded peace, will readily acknowledge.

We have the honour to be, with much respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed) K. P. LANDMAN, President,

C. V. BUCHNER,	JOHS. JACS. BURGER,
L. BADENHORST,	G. J. SCHEEPERS,
F. L. MEYER,	J. C. KLOPPER,
J. J. UYS,	J. C. POTGIETER,
J. C. MOOLMAN,	R. S. VAN RENSBURG,
A. W. J. PRETORIUS,	G. R. VAN ROOYEN.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE."

Graham's Town, 27th January, 1841.

To the President of the Council, Pietermaritzburg.

SIR,—Upon the 20th instant I received from the Rev. W. Shaw, the head of the Wesleyan Mission in this colony, a letter enclosing documents confirming the truth of the attack which rumour stated had been made upon the tribe of Ncapai by a body of the emigrant farmers in the neighbourhood of Port Natal. This attack, it now appears, has been attended with considerable loss of life, the capture

of many cattle, and the abduction of some women and children. I likewise received through the same channel a message from Faku, the chief of the Ama-ponda Kafirs, intimating that orders were sent to him to appear before the Council of the emigrant farmers, which command it not being his intention to obey, he feared that an attack would be made upon him, and therefore applied to the Government for protection from any aggression on the part of the Queen's emigrant subjects.

I have, therefore, despatched a strong detachment of Her Majesty's troops, under the command of Captain Smith, of the 27th Regiment, to take a military position within the territory of Faku, in order to afford this faithful ally of the Government that protection which he has asked for, and which his long friendship for the colony entitles him to expect. Should an attack on this chief, therefore, have been contemplated by any portion of the emigrant farmers, they had better pause in their career, for they may rest assured that the officer in command of the detachment will repel the same by force; and any collision between Her Majesty's troops and the emigrant farmers would, by placing the latter in the situation of subjects rebelling against their sovereign, place invincible barriers to any peaceful negotiations which I might otherwise have it in my power to enter into for their future government.

I trust that the Council and all those who have any influence in guiding the present measures of the emigrant farmers, will point out to them the fatal consequences which are certain to ensue if these wicked and unprovoked aggressions on the native tribes continue to take place; and I beg you will take the most public manner to make known to them that this detachment of troops is sent for the special purpose of protecting the tribes within their own territories, and not with the view of disturbing the emigrants, as long as they continue in the peaceful occupation of their present territory.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

FROM THE "ZUID AFRIKAAN" (CAPE NEWSPAPER), MARCH 19, 1841.

[Translation.]

To the Editor :

Pietermaritzburg, Feb. 10, 1841.

* * * *

I regret that the people in the colony have to pay for all such untruths, and more especially that they should entertain bad thoughts of their friends and countrymen, occasioned by such misrepresen-

tations, to disclaim or deny which we almost would require to uphold an office.

Not being inclined, however, to allow all this to pass unnoticed, I wish to state that all the information you received in the colony about our slave-dealing is false and void of truth. The Zulu children who after the war fell into our hands as orphans, or who were brought to us by their parents, who had been robbed of all their cattle by Dingaan, lest they should perish by starvation, are indentured here by the Landdrost—the boys until they shall attain the age of twenty-five, and the girls that of twenty-one years. And the landdrosts have been directed to watch with a vigilant eye that no fraud be practised in this respect. It is also strongly forbidden that any dealing in these apprentices shall take place, or that they be removed beyond our limits, under a penalty of Rds. 500. I will not deny that something of this kind may have taken place on our northern boundaries; but were you acquainted with the extent of these countries, the habitations, and the distance of the magistracies, the continual trouble with which we had to contend during the war, and to which we had to direct all our attention, the differences which existed amongst our fellow emigrants at Mooi River, and who only joined us in October last, and many other circumstances which I might here quote,—were you acquainted with all this, I say, it will not surprise you, perhaps, that offences of this sort might have taken place, with which we were unacquainted, and which we could not prevent. At present, however, our Council has issued peremptory orders to all the fieldcornets to direct a vigilant eye to that part.

It also appears to me that people wish to lay to our charge whatever might happen to the children of Bushmen, &c., beyond our boundaries (Vet River), from which to the Great (Orange) River numbers of people reside; but with such we are unacquainted, and it cannot be charged to our responsibility. At all events, we do not acknowledge or hold lawful the claim to any Zulu, or other child of colour, except those indentured by our magistrates.

Another charge laid against us, as I hear, is that we harbour those who absconded from the colony on account of debts contracted or offences committed. This may be true; but it is equally true that we heartily wish to be relieved from such sort of people, for they are to us of more trouble than service: and we would be glad if proof of their guilt were sent to this place, and they themselves claimed, for without such proof we could not give them any pain.

My chief object, however, at present is to answer a certain

report made by the missionary, Garner, concerning our expedition against Ncapayi, as I saw it inserted in the "Graham's Town Journal," in the form of an extract. And for the information of his Reverence, I have merely to state that our expedition against Ncapayi did not take the field before we were decidedly convinced that he had at various times sent his people (conjointly with certain Bushmen who had in a great mass assembled in his neighbourhood) to rob us, and who had from time to time succeeded in carrying off many head of cattle from our borders, where the Tugela has its source to the Umkomas, some of which were on former occasions traced by small patrols to the kraals of Ncapayi, some of the robbers being at times killed, and the cattle partly retaken. We had also undoubted information that he had endeavoured to induce our ally, Faku, to join him in an invasion of our frontiers; that Faku sent to us for assistance against the hostile attacks of Ncapayi; and that on our arrival we actually found him at war with Faku. Our expedition consisted of only 260 men, and the number of cattle captured by us amounted to about 3,000 head, from which the stolen cattle were repaid, and only a small portion of our expenses, leaving nothing by which the stolen horses (not yet recovered) could be paid. The cattle we saw at his kraals amounted to six or seven times as much; and we could have taken more, but wished that Ncapayi should take this as a lesson, and abstain for the future from robbing us, and leave Faku unmolested. We returned after having first informed him what he had to expect hereafter, should he not keep himself quiet.

In further answer to his Reverence, I have to state that, amongst the cattle taken by us from Ncapayi, several were found which had been stolen from us, and which were sworn to by the owners; that several of Ncapayi's people, who had fallen into our hands, and whom we again set at liberty, confirmed the information we had already received, and even told us more than we knew; and, if we may believe the statement of one of them (for we have as little reason to doubt it as his Reverence has not to doubt the statement of Ncapayi), who gave us a correct description of a certain span or team of oxen (mostly all white with red ribs) which were stolen from one of the inhabitants at the Tugela, then Ncapayi has made a present of these oxen to this selfsame missionary; and, if so, did not that gentleman know the difference between Kafir oxen and trained farmers' oxen? We also found among Ncapayi's cattle some of those stolen from the Olifant's Hoek during the late Kafir war.

Finally, I have to remark that Mr. Garner need not entertain

any fear about the destruction of Faku, so long as he does not commit any hostilities against us; and not even for that of Ncapayi, should he (Mr. Garner) have influence enough with him to restore our stolen horses, to bridle the Bushmen kraals under his authority, and to leave us unmolested.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) H. S. LOMBAARD, Commandant.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL,
SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
11th March, 1841.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter which I lately received from the Council of the People at Port Natal, containing certain propositions regarding the future connection they are anxious should be established between Her Majesty's Government and themselves.

I have not thought it either advisable or necessary, after this open declaration of their independence, to hold further intercourse with them until those definite instructions which I trust soon to receive, in answer to my despatch No. 67 of the 29th September last, shall arrive.

I may, however, remark that such manifestoes put forth by the so-called Council of the People are not to be taken as the deliberate expression of the feelings or sentiments of the whole body of the emigrant farmers.

In societies constituted as they have been for some years past, and still continue to be, without the semblance of law or restraint, it is natural that the more daring, desperate, and injudicious men among them should assume and retain a lead in their councils, while the better disposed and more rational portion of the community take little interest in the conduct of the public affairs, so long as they are left at liberty to pursue their own private concerns; and, in addition to this, the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with reference to this subject have been much misrepresented by those who fancy it is conducive to their interest, or ambition, to perpetuate such a deplorable state of society.

I have already on several occasions had reason to lament the utter impossibility of procuring such information, regarding the real

state of these emigrants, as I could confidently ask your Lordship to place reliance upon; if, however, their trade be taken as a criterion of their prosperity, I imagine their circumstances are as bad as possible. Most of the merchants who embarked in that trade have gradually withdrawn from it, finding that the money which the emigrants took with them from the colony has already been expended in the purchase of such articles as they were in the habit of consuming, while their unsettled mode of life has hitherto prevented the cultivation of more produce than is necessary for their bare subsistence.

Having taken upon myself to place a detachment of troops in such a position as effectually to check any further attacks upon the natives inhabiting the country between the frontier and Natal, and thereby endangering the peace and prosperity of the colony, I do not feel apprehensive that the delay which must still take place in the settlement of this question will be at all prejudicial; and in the meantime the emigrant farmers being thus made aware that their proceedings are observed by the Colonial Government, will be more cautious, for some time at least, in making further forays upon the natives. I trust, nevertheless, that your Lordship's answer to my despatch above alluded to will lay down such definite instructions as will enable me, without further reference to Her Majesty's Government, to communicate either by means of a commissioner or otherwise, as may appear most desirable, the precise views and intention of the Government as to the ultimate occupation of that part of Southern Africa.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

THE "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE" TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Pietermaritzburg, 7th April, 1841.

To His Excellency Major-General Sir G. NAPIER, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communications of the 5th and 27th of last January, which reached this place, the first on the 7th, and the last on the 16th ultimo, and were this day laid on the table in our Assembly.

We regret being obliged to say that we cannot conceal that the contents of the first-mentioned letter were far from agreeable to us,

in consequence of the very severe reflections which your Excellency has thought fit to make upon us and our proceedings, upon *ex parte* and, as we believe, partial information, with respect to the readiness displayed by your Excellency to designate, by anticipation, our attack upon Capaai "a groundless and unprovoked attack," &c., before it was possible that your Excellency could have heard both sides of the case; and, lastly, with respect to your Excellency's announcement, that we must consider ourselves as British subjects, which last point was to us as incomprehensible as it was unexpected; the object of *now making* which declaration we cannot understand, and upon which we could make many remarks. But as we are rather disposed to interpret everything in the spirit displayed by your Excellency in the concluding portion of your letter, namely, in the spirit of amity and humanity, we will gladly avoid all discussion of an opposite tendency, and confine ourselves to the case in question, namely, our recent measures against Capaai.

We are willing to give an explanation of our proceedings in that case—first, because your Excellency's protection was solicited as well by the missionaries as by Faku and Capaai; secondly, because they lie betwixt us and the colonial territory, and we cannot, therefore, deem your Excellency's interference unreasonable; and, lastly, because we are inclined to lay all our public proceedings entirely open, and to submit ourselves to the judgment of the civilized world; not that we imagine that we are unblameable, or that we may not have erred in one way or other, for we fear that few even of the most politic governments in the world can boast of such exemption from error, but because we are convinced in our own consciences that it is not our object to injure, persecute, attack, or commit violence upon anyone who has not previously done so to us, or when we are constrained, for our own safety and protection, and for the maintenance of our just rights, to have recourse to arms. We shall, therefore, gladly submit ourselves to the general laws of equity and justice; and should be sincerely grieved had we been led by erroneous information to do the slightest injury to those who are really innocent.

Those who have long lived in the vicinity of Kafirs, or have come into frequent collision with that people, best know with what dexterity they have learned to steal from their youth upwards, and with what artifices they can colour or conceal their deeds, boldly denying them in the face of the clearest proofs; and we, accordingly, long allowed ourselves to be plundered by the predatory gangs of Capaai, before we came to the resolution of checking them. Ever

since the year 1838, there have been sundry instances of thefts of cattle, of which the traces were followed to considerable distances in the direction of Capaai's kraals. We soon learned from other Kafirs that the robbers consisted of an assemblage of rapacious and sanguinary Bushmen, whose kraals lay in ravines not far from those of Capaai, and whom the latter joined in their expeditions, as well in the direction of the colonial boundary as against us. Some of our patrols also overtook some of the Bushmen with the stolen cattle, and killed some few of them, and they were almost always accompanied by Kafirs, some of whom those patrols took prisoners, who confessed that they belonged to Capaai, and corroborated our previous information; the patrols on that occasion even pursued the traces until within sight of Ncapaai's kraal. And, besides, this chief was long known to us as a restless person, and one who loved war; who was known as the murderer of a certain Englishman, named Walker, with his companions, when on their way to the colony from this quarter; and, as in the year 1838, by an interchange of letters, concluded a sort of amicable understanding with Faku, we were even requested by him, in the course of last year, to allow captain Foto to come to assist him against an attack from Capaai. It is also known to us that this chief was constantly strengthening his force by enlisting robbers and deserters, even from among the Zulus; and as our loss in stolen cattle which we had traced in the direction of his residence (not to mention the great numbers which had been lost, but which were not traced, and of which some were notwithstanding now found in his kraals) already exceeded 700 oxen and cows and 50 horses, so that some of our men were plundered of all means of subsistence, it at length became unavoidable to send an expedition against these robbers, as was done accordingly in December last. When on their march, the commandant, Mr. Pretorius, sent to Faku three of our burghers, who then found that, just before our arrival, Capaai had again been in hostile collision with Faku; they even saw some of the killed. Faku was then apprised of our expedition, and of its object; and at the same time assured of our friendship, and requested to come to the commandant, who was desirous of taking that opportunity of entering into a permanent treaty of peace, &c. He, on the other hand, expressed himself highly gratified with the mission, but declined to come, on the ground of old age and ill health, adding that he deemed it unnecessary to make peace with us, as we had always been friends and never enemies. Our messengers further obtained from Faku and his captains a full confirmation of all the information which we had

previously received, and also that Capaai was our sworn enemy ; that he had before, in the war with Dingaan, offered to assist him against us, and had tried to induce Faku to join him in an attack upon us, and, on his refusal, had now made war upon him with a view to possessing himself of his (Faku's) power and authority in order to undertake his intended attack against us. He informed us further that Capaai had still many of our stolen cattle in his possession ; that the Bushmen only kept the horses for hunting ; that he even believed that among some of the booty he had recently taken from Capaai there were some cattle which belonged to us, and which he professed his readiness to restore.

Upon this information we proceeded against Capaai ; and it appeared by the result that we had not been misinformed, for among the cattle which we took we found several of our stolen cattle ; and the women, whom we interrogated separately, unanimously confirmed what we had heard from Faku as to Capaai's hostility to us and his repeated depredations, adding that Capaai would have already made an attack upon us had not his people been deterred by fear from such an undertaking ; also that the stolen cattle had been driven by circuitous routes which, when described, were the same on which our patrols had followed the traces ; that the Bushmen nearly always kept the horses, and that most of the stolen cattle were in Capaai's own kraal, which we had not reached ; that he kept most of them himself, because the colonial cattle were finer than the Kafir cattle. They also told us, unasked, one circumstance, namely, that when, on a particular occasion, Capaai's people brought a fine lot of oxen from the upper part of the Tugela, among which there were many white with red on the ribs (agreeing exactly with the description of oxen stolen from Jacob Snyman and others at the Tugela, and of which the traces had been followed a long distance), he, Capaai, examined them all the same night by firelight, and subsequently sent twenty of them to the missionary, who was much pleased with them, and expressed much gratitude to Capaai on that account.

The commandant then sent these three women to Capaai with a threatening message, that should he henceforth continue to steal, he might expect a more serious visit. We learned, however, that Foto's Kafirs had carried off some women.

Our expedition took about 3,000 head of cattle, of which one-third were calves, thus barely enough to compensate for the plunder—independent of the great expenses usually incurred by such expeditions ; and although there were still many thousand cattle in sight, the expedition would take no more, but returned forthwith ;

having first sent another mission to Faku, with a present as a mark of friendship, which (mission) was received by him like the former ; and, as the commandant now sent his saddle-horse, Faku was again invited to come to him, but excused himself as before, sending, however, one of his captains to act for him, who was received with much friendship by the commandant, and dismissed with assurances of a friendly disposition on our part. From this it is difficult to understand how Faku could have seen reason to request protection against an attack from us, unless it were furnished to him by the missionary or some other person. We are, however, very glad that your Excellency has stationed a detachment of troops at the Umzimvubu, as we trust that the troops will have sufficient influence to protect Faku against Capaai ; and that they will also assure the latter that their protection is no license to him to enable him now to plunder us more securely.

We could extend these observations, but are assured that this must be more than enough for the present, and that it will remove all suspicion, at least, of our having made a groundless and unprovoked attack on Capaai, or that we could have undertaken such an expedition on account of any prospects of gain, as we have not been able even to compensate the wear and tear of wagons and harness, the loss of oxen and horses, &c., although it was in our power to have taken more cattle.

Finally, we can assure your Excellency that neither Capaai nor Faku, nor any one else, need ever fear any the slightest offence from us, if they will only let us alone ; but, on the other hand, we might just as well allow ourselves to be all killed as to see our property stolen from us from time to time, sitting looking on like cowardly spectators, without maintaining our rights against such aggressors.

We have learned with concern that a proposition has been made to the Government in England, by a respectable Society, to form a combination against us among the wild, rapacious, and sanguinary barbarians. We hope, however, that such an inhuman and cruel course of policy will not be adopted ; and cannot believe that the British Government has fallen into the error of desiring to find nothing but guilt in the whites, and to hear nothing but excuses for the blacks, for it is surely the most certain mode for maintaining a lasting peace that crime be repressed as well in blacks as in whites.

We have the honour to be, with all respect,

Your Excellency's humble and obedient servants,

(Signed) J. PRINSLO, President.

J. J. BURGER, Secretary.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing-street, 17th April, 1841.

* * * *

I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 3, of 6th January, reporting the terms of the communication which you had addressed to the chief of the emigrant farmers at Port Natal, on the subject of the attack which they are supposed to have made on the N'Capai tribe of Kafirs in the neighbourhood of Natal.

The Queen, before whom I have laid those despatches, has commanded me to signify to you Her Majesty's gracious approbation of your proceedings as therein reported; and to acquaint you that Her Majesty is pleased to accept and ratify the alterations in, and the additions to, the treaty with the Chiefs of the Gaika tribe of Kafirs as promulgated in your proclamation of 7th December last; provided, always, that it be fully understood that the alterations and additions made in and to that treaty, as well as the treaty itself are to be considered liable to be modified hereafter, if, on further trial, these enactments shall be found oppressive to the Kafirs. I have further to acquaint you that I approve of the terms of your communication to the chief of the emigrant farmers. You will make it known that Her Majesty's Government are determined to support you in having recourse to the most decisive measures for repressing and effectually preventing the recurrence of such lawless and unjustifiable aggressions as the rumoured attack on the N'Capai tribe.

If, as you seem to anticipate, any of the Kafir tribes which are threatened by the emigrant farmers should offer to place themselves under the Queen's protection, you are authorised to promise it to them, but not to annex their territory to the colony under your government. It will be proper in that case to send a special agent to reside at the chief seat of the Kafirs to whom you shall have promised Her Majesty's protection.

It will be your policy to draw closer the connection between the colony and the Kafir tribes; to influence the latter by means of the missionaries and resident agents, and to punish any colonist who may do them injury, so that they may look up to the British power as their friend and protector.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN
RUSSELL, SECRETARY OF STATE, &c.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,

8th June, 1841.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information the accompanying translation of a letter lately received by me from the President of the Council of the emigrant farmers at Maritzburg, in the neighbourhood of Port Natal, in reply to mine of the 5th and 27th January last, relative to the attack made upon the tribe of "Capai."

As those misjudging and ill-advised persons still consider themselves entirely independent of Her Majesty's Government, I shall direct Captain Smith, the officer commanding the detachment at the Umgazi River, to inform them that, without a distinct acknowledgment of their allegiance to the Queen, it is impossible for me to hold any further communication with them for the present, as I cannot treat with them on any other footing than as British subjects, and, as such, amenable to British authority.

I take this opportunity of informing your Lordship that the troops under the command of Captain Smith are encamped on the Umgazi River, a short distance on this side of the Umzimvubu. The officer in command is busily employed in hutting the men and making the fort secure from attack,—an event, however, of which I am not at all apprehensive, as the natives under the chiefs "Faku" and "Capai" are exceedingly quiet and peaceable, and highly grateful for the protection afforded to them from the alleged aggressions of the emigrant farmers.

Your Lordship will also perceive that the farmers have no intention of attempting to disturb the tranquillity of the country; and from the authentic intelligence which I have received from Captain Smith, I find that all the emigrant farmers, with the exception of one man, have left the Port of Natal, and removed to Pietermaritzburg, in consequence of my having sent troops to the territory of "Faku," which is about 170 miles distant from Natal, but which movement was rumoured as preparatory to the re-occupation of that country. This being ascertained, I shall have no difficulty in taking possession of Natal by moving a part of Captain Smith's detachment thither whenever it shall be deemed advisable; but for the present it appears to me that the protection of the native tribes is as likely to

be secured by maintaining the position on the Umgazi River, as by occupying Natal as a mere military post; while the former has this advantage over the latter position, that the frontier defences are strengthened, and the Kafirs inhabiting the country between the Umgazi River and the colony are kept in check by this force being stationed in their rear.

The only disadvantage attendant on the maintenance of this detachment is the expense of the transport of provisions and stores. I learn, however, that some private individuals resident at Port Elizabeth intend to despatch a vessel to that coast in order to attempt the entrance of the river for trading purposes. I await the issue of the attempt, as in the event of the river being accessible from the sea, the expense of provisioning the troops would not exceed the amount required for the same service at Natal.

I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting to your Lordship a return of the number of vessels which have cleared out from the ports of this colony to that of Natal during the past year, as well as of the nature and value of their cargoes, as such a statement will afford the most satisfactory evidence of the prosperity of the settlement under the present rulers. That the circumstances and prospects are by no means cheering, is to be presumed from the fact that all the farmers who have lately visited the emigrants with a view of ascertaining how far a removal thither would benefit themselves and their families, have returned here with the conviction that it is better to remain where they are than encounter hardships and privations similar to those which their compatriots have suffered, and still continue to suffer, through their abandonment of the colony.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

ENCLOSURE IN DESPATCH (SIR G. NAPIER) TO SECRETARY OF STATE,
6TH DECEMBER, 1841.

The President of the Volksraad, Pietermaritzburg.

Government House, Cape Town, 10th June, 1841.

His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope has received the last communication, dated 7th April, 1841, from the President of the Volksraad of the emigrant farmers at present located in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, and the adjoin-

ing territory; and although His Excellency is much gratified with their disclaiming all intention of molesting the Kafirs or other native tribes, and with the expression of their wish to live in peace and amity with all men, the Governor cannot enter into any negotiation or further negotiation with them until they distinctly acknowledge their full and entire allegiance as British subjects to their sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen of England, and further declare their willingness to obey the lawful authority of the British Government.

When the emigrant farmers do this, His Excellency the Governor will be most happy and willing to communicate with them, and enter into negotiations and arrangements which shall be based upon such principles of justice and generosity on the part of the British Government as, His Excellency doubts not, will secure to the emigrants, as well as the aborigines, that tranquillity and peaceful possession of property so much to be desired, and without which the emigrant farmers, Her Majesty's subjects, must be aware, no real security can exist; for, so long as they disclaim the authority of the British Government, and attempt to withdraw their allegiance from the Queen, His Excellency, as Her Majesty's representative in Southern Africa, can only view them as misguided and erring British subjects.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER, Governor.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing-street, 26th June, 1841.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of 11th March, No. 14, with a translation therein enclosed of a communication which has been made to you by the Council of the emigrant farmers at Port Natal, explanatory of their views as to the relations in which they wish in future to stand towards Great Britain.

In regard to that communication, you state that you have not thought it advisable or necessary to hold any further intercourse with the farmers, until you shall be in possession of definite instructions in answer to your despatch No. 67, of 29th September last.

The object of that despatch was to request permission to negotiate with the farmers on the basis proposed by you, and to apply for additional troops to ensure the military occupation of Port Natal, and you must by this time be in possession of my answer on both these points.

As matters now stand, the emigrant farmers must be informed that the Queen cannot acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent Republic; but that, upon their receiving a military force from the Cape, their trade will be placed on the footing of a trade of a British possession. Otherwise we shall act as the interests of the Crown require and circumstances may render desirable.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

EXTRACT FROM RESOLUTION

TAKEN BY THE HONOURABLE VOLKSRAAD, AT THEIR MEETING, HELD AT PIETERMARITZBURG, ON MONDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1841.

[From the "Zuid Afrikaan" newspaper (Cape), 17th June, 1842.]

Present: Joachim Prinslo, President. Members: A. W. J. Pretorius, G. R. v. Rooyen, Matths. Marée, Johs. Bruwer, Philip Nel, M. J. Fourie, P. S. Grobbelaar, Jan du Plessis, Sk. v. d. Merwe, J. Boshof, W. F. Jonbert.

On information received from Mr. W. Wessels, and on further complaints that the Kafirs begin to multiply amongst us, and that depredations are not only increasing, but that they make locations on inhabited places, erect numerous kraals, and may become dangerous to our inhabitants; and as it has appeared to our Council that it is necessary that provision should be forthwith made to avoid endangering the whole country:

It is resolved:

That it is highly necessary for the safety of this community that all the Kafirs who are now residing amongst us be separately located on one side, instead of allowing them to live amongst us; that the said Kafirs, with the exception of a few, who lived at Natal, had no right or claim to any part of the country, they having only come amongst us after the emigrants had come hither, with a view of being protected by us; but not wishing that they should be driven away without any provision being made in their behalf, the Council is of opinion:

That, as the tract of ground from the mouth of the Umtamfuna to the Umzimvubu, along the coast, is well adapted for a great Kafir

nation, from its extent and fertility, and abundance of wood and water, that said tract of country be granted to the Kafirs, to be by them occupied as long as they behave well, and are obedient to and acknowledge the authority of this community; and under further condition that they shall submit to such laws and arrangements as the Council shall from time to time think fit to make, and that a chief captain or resident commander be appointed over them by this Council.

Resolved further:

That the Commandant-General shall, as soon as possible, adopt measures for the removal of all Kafirs who shall be considered as unsafe for the country, or such as will not leave the inhabitants, either willingly, if possible, or, should they refuse to obey, by force to the above-mentioned tract of ground, and to order for this purpose the assistance of the burghers. It is, however, recommended first to endeavour as much as possible to prevail upon the several Kafir chiefs willingly to approve of the proposed plan, so that they voluntarily proceed thither, either at once or within a certain fixed time; but, should it become necessary to have recourse to compulsory measures, in that case first to begin with those Kafir kraals who live within parts already inhabited, and in a manner, unless in case of great necessity, that the employment of too great a number of burghers be avoided.

The Commandant-General shall also nominate the resident commanders, and, by virtue of the afore-mentioned resolution, enter into treaties with the said Kafirs. The Commandant-General shall also have the power to act with the Kafirs in Natal, who are considered as old inhabitants, in a manner as circumstances shall appear to require, whether they remove willingly or remain for a time.

On all this the Commandant-General, should he think it necessary, may take the opinion of the inhabitants of Natal, either in a public meeting or by private consultations with the best informed amongst them.

A true copy of the original.

(Signed) JOHS. JACS. BURGER, Secretary.

PORT NATAL.

[From the "Zuid Afrikaan," Cape newspaper, 20th August, 1841.]

* * * *

MR. LOMBAARD having some time ago transmitted to us for publication a letter which appeared in our number of 19th March last, No. 582, having for object a justification of the conduct and proceedings of the people at Port Natal respecting Ncapayi, we now insert hereunder a reply of the Rev. W. Shaw, which we copy from the "Graham's Town Journal" of the 5th August, together with the opinion thereon of its editor. We do this in order to place Mr. Lombaard and the Port Natal people in the situation of rebutting, if they can, any of the charges preferred against them respecting that affair, not doubting but they will perceive that both their character and the good opinion of their friends require it.

THE BOERS' ATTACK ON NCAPYI.

To the Editor :

Fort Peddie, August 3, 1841.

SIR,—In the early part of this year you were kind enough to publish at my request a statement made by Messrs. Palmer, Jenkins, and Garnar, Wesleyan missionaries, relative to an attack of a party of the emigrant farmers on the chief Ncapyi, in December, 1840, when they killed many people and carried off a large number of cattle. This statement I felt it my duty to forward to His Excellency the Governor; but as I did not choose to forward grave charges against a body of men without affording them an opportunity of clearing themselves, I transmitted it to you for publication. It appeared to me to be drawn up just as such a document ought to be when the attention of the Government is called to a case of cruelty and oppression. It set forth the time, the place, the circumstances, and the persons concerned with the proceeding complained of, and thus anyone who was able and willing to show either that the statement was too highly coloured, or that it was false in any of its material points, had by this means a fair and full opportunity of doing so.

Some time afterwards you published a letter signed by one of the native immigrants, named Lombaard; but in that letter, though written purposely to defend the Dutch farmers engaged in the commando

against Ncapayi, *none of the facts relative to the attack on that chief are even denied*; and it is now certain that, as the missionaries "set down nought" against the Boers "in malice," so neither did they exaggerate anything, but they did so far "extenuate" the offence as to set down the facts much below their actual degree of atrocity, in the number of persons killed and cattle carried off.

I do not intend this letter as a reply to Mr. Lombaard. The missionaries concerned do not complain of the *publication* of that letter, although it contains a most unfounded insinuation against one of their number; but they regret that in adverting to the subject you should have said that you had reason to believe that "Ncapayi was not so innocent as you were at first led to believe."—(See No. 483.) Now, in comparing the conflicting statements of the missionaries and Mr. Lombaard on this point, the former think that their statement ought not to have been superseded by the information conveyed in Mr. Lombaard's letter, for the following good reasons:—1st. They were near the spot, while Mr. Lombaard resides at least two hundred miles distant. 2nd. They were not living with Ncapayi, and liable to be misled by him, but received most of their information from tribes who were at enmity and at war with him. 3rd. These missionaries were in no degree implicated in the business—their statement was, therefore, that of disinterested persons—while Lombaard was professedly writing a defence of the parties implicated.

The doubt thus raised respecting the correctness of the missionary statement, that Ncapayi had not provoked the emigrant farmers to attack him by disturbing or plundering them, has naturally induced the missionaries to sift the matter thoroughly, and I am now in possession of an overwhelming mass of evidence to prove that Ncapayi was entirely guiltless of any aggressive act against the emigrant farmers, previously to their attack upon him; and, indeed, that nothing had occurred to warrant even the smallest suspicion that the cattle and horses stolen from the farmers near Natal had been taken into his country. The emigrant farmers know perfectly well that their horses, &c., were stolen by Bushmen; and this is the reason why a considerable number of respectable and conscientious individuals amongst them disapproved of the attack upon Ncapayi, and, as you stated last week, refused to receive any portion of the plunder taken on that occasion.

With regard to Mr. Lombaard's insinuation that one of the missionaries had received something like a bribe from Ncapayi in the shape of a span of trained oxen, I conceive that a man who could offer

so gratuitous an insult, as to make so grave a charge against a minister of religion in a newspaper upon a most vague rumour, is not entitled to an answer; but for the information of the Christian public, who are rightly jealous of the character of the missionaries, I may state that I have ascertained that, so far from receiving a span of trained oxen from Ncapayi, Mr. Garner has not received from that chief any ox whatever, trained or untrained. It is true that, according to African custom, on Mr. Garner's being inducted as Ncapayi's resident missionary, some presents were exchanged between them—the chief giving to the missionary three or four head of cattle (not a span of oxen), and the missionary making him presents of a variety of articles, which were much greater in value than the cattle which he received. I simply state the facts; and if Mr. Lombaard or anyone else can find bribery in them, he is perfectly at liberty to retain his opinion; to argue against the imbecility or prejudice which such an inference would display, would indeed be to tilt with a windmill.

I am aware that the policy of sending a British force to the Umzimvubu, for the protection of the natives against further attacks of a similar character as that made upon Ncapayi, has been severely animadverted upon. Matters of policy are always matters of opinion. Now, as I am supposed to possess rather better means of obtaining information and forming a correct opinion as to the general effect of this measure on the safety of the colony and the welfare of the natives than almost any individual residing on the border can have, I will, with your permission, state that in my humble opinion the sending an expedition to the Umzimvubu was a measure of the very best character, and it is difficult to say whether its policy or its humanity is most to be praised. It tends to the security of our immediate frontier by its influence on the Kafirs, and it has already favourably influenced public sentiment amongst the emigrant farmers at Natal. It has placed the shield of British protection over a large and powerful tribe (Faku's) who are allies of the colony, and it was perhaps partly intended as a necessary step towards the accomplishment of an event greatly to be desired, being alike beneficial to the emigrant farmers, to the inhabitants of our own colony, and to the natives at large—I mean the peaceable establishment of British rule at Port Natal. These are the positive advantages of the measure. Now, the only set-off against this amount of good is the cost: it seems a few thousand pounds will be expended in transporting overland the needful supplies; but I am one of those who think that a great public benefit may be far more

valuable to the community at large than the money paid for securing it. And, indeed, in this instance we can have no ground for complaint, since the cost is charged to the military chest, and our colonists have nothing more to do with it, but to receive it into their pockets in the shape of wagon-hire, &c.

I must, therefore, confess that I cannot understand why some very shrewd writers and others manifest a disposition to quarrel with the policy of the Umzimvubu expedition. The only persons who seem to me to have something like a reason for disliking the measure are the military, especially the excellent officers and well-behaved soldiers who are employed on the expedition, and who, being so far removed from the other troops, and from civilised society, must of necessity find their situation to be irksome and disagreeable.

But I did not commence this letter with any intention of going at large into these questions: my object being simply to apprise you that, after the most thorough investigation, I have found the statement of the missionaries relative to the attack upon Ncapayi to be entirely correct in every material point; but that subsequent information, derived in part from the emigrant farmers themselves, has shown that the missionaries rather understated the facts, being anxious, I presume, not to exceed the truth in their representations.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) W. SHAW.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing-street, 21st August, 1841.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 52, of 8th June, with the translation therein enclosed of a communication which has been addressed to you by the President of the Council of the emigrant farmers at Pietermaritzburg.

I have to instruct you to make arrangements for re-occupying Port Natal in such a manner as to command the port, and to obtain supplies for Captain Smith's detachment on the Umgazi. But you will take care not to interfere with the emigrant farmers, unless the troops or the colonists, or our friends among the Kafir tribes, are attacked.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO PRESIDENT OF "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE."

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
3rd September, 1841.

SIR,—With reference to my communication of 10th June last, I have now to acquaint you, for the information of your fellow-colonists at present occupying the country in the neighbourhood of Port Natal, that Her Majesty has received and considered the proposals made by the Council explanatory of their views as to the relation in which they wish in future to stand towards Great Britain, and Her Majesty has desired me to inform the emigrant farmers that she cannot acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent Republic, but that on their receiving a military force from this place, their trade will be placed on the footing of a trade of a British possession.

I am, therefore, desirous to learn that the emigrant farmers are so far well advised and well disposed as to accede to the commands of the Queen; and in the event of their forwarding to me, through their Council, the expression of their readiness to comply with these commands, I shall be prepared to treat with them on such terms as will be conducive to their permanent interests, as well as to the directions of Her Majesty; and I shall be prepared to recommend to Her Majesty the adoption of such measures, in regard to the settlement of their lands, as shall be proposed by the Council, and shall be found to be based on justice and expediency.

I am, sir, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER, Governor,
Cape of Good Hope.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN T. C. SMITH,
COMMANDANT AT PORT NATAL.

Umgazi Camp, September 27th, 1841.

SIR,—By this opportunity I have forwarded to J. S. Maritz, the Landdrost of Natal, a letter from the Governor in duplicate, one copy being in Dutch, to the Volksraad, wherein it is stated that the Queen had "received and considered the proposal made by the Council, explanatory of their views of the position in which they wish to stand

in future towards Great Britain," and had desired the Governor "to inform the emigrant farmers that she cannot acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent Republic; but that on their receiving a military force from the colony, their trade will be placed on the footing of a trade of a British possession." "I am, therefore," the Governor adds, "desirous to learn that the emigrant farmers are so far well advised and well disposed as to accede to the commands of the Queen; and in the event of their forwarding to me through their Council the expression of their readiness to comply with those commands, I shall be prepared to treat with them on such terms as will be conducive to their permanent interests, as well as to the directions of Her Majesty; and I shall be prepared to recommend to Her Majesty the adoption of such measures in regard to the settlement of their lands as shall be proposed by the Council, and found to be based on justice and expediency."

Such are the liberal views expressed in this letter, and I know I can answer you, and such of the farmers as may be disposed to enter into its discussion, that nothing can be more open and generous than the intentions of the Government towards them as regards the lands now in their possession, and their property in general. I most earnestly hope, therefore, that the communication may be received and discussed in a spirit of conciliation, and that the farmers may perceive that, in coming to an amicable arrangement with the Government, they are only pursuing the course best adapted to secure their own interests and the stability of their present possessions. I have been thus full in entering on the question because it will enable you to disabuse those to whom the meaning of the Governor's letter may be shown in a distorted shape, and also because it is probable you may not see the original letter.

How they can be so unwise as to dream of existing as an independent people, when they must be aware that Natal (their only port) can at any time be taken from them, seems to me very strange; and I yet hope, therefore, by pursuing the conciliatory course His Excellency's communication recommends, they may once again be united to the original Government from which they have separated themselves; and now they cannot well doubt of its kind intentions towards them.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) T. C. SMITH, Captain,
Commandant.

THE REV. J. ARCHBELL

(WESLEYAN MISSION) TO EDITOR OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

September, 1841.

SIR,—Having recently visited Natal, and made myself acquainted with its local, civil, and political circumstances, I embrace the earliest opportunity of forwarding to you the result of some of my observations.

The distance of Natal from Graham's Town is by land something more than 600 miles, as seventeen days' ride, averaging at least thirty-five miles per diem, brought me to the Dutch camp at Umlazi, eight miles from the port.

The intervening country varies greatly in quality and feature, and may on account of the distinctness of its character be divided into four parts, each rising in beauty and fertility above the other as we proceed to the eastward.

The lines of demarcation are the principal rivers which intersect it at nearly equal distances, each part being distinguished by its peculiar mineral and botanical productions. The parts adjacent to Natal are superior to the rest, and exceed in capability any country I have yet seen in South Africa. The verdant hills and prolific valleys, fertilised by numerous inexhaustible streams, teeming with rich vegetation of great variety, constitute it another Goshen, and fully justify the rapturous exclamations and glowing imagery employed in its description. A view of the country from an eminence is enchantingly picturesque and romantic, being agreeably broken and acclivous, and richly studded with extensive patches of dense jungle, just rendered pervious by the pioneers of civilization and the depredations which have been made upon the magnificent timber which there abounds. Such is the country running parallel with the coast for the distance of about thirty miles inland, whence, to the very verge of the Quahlamba range, it assumes a more undulating and entirely open character. Trees and bush are so rare, that even fuel is difficult to be obtained.

The soil is similar to that everywhere found at the same distances from the sea; but here it is rendered peculiarly prolific by its tropical position and natural structure. Near to the sea it is sandy, but the interior parts are of red and fawn-coloured clay, especially on the elevations. The soil of the valleys, and about the sources of rivers and fountains, is a black, mossy loam.

With the exception of the vine, every foreign plant that has been taken there has thriven well, and the native fruits indicate a propensity in the soil for uncommon luxuriance. Some of these fruits are of exquisite flavour, and will doubtless be held in great esteem, and introduced into extensive use. One of these, the amah-lala, is very similar in appearance to and about the size of a large orange. Another, equally abundant, and much more agreeable and useful, is the Natakulwa. It is made into a very valuable and pleasant preserve.

Sweet potatoes are raised here in almost unconsumable quantities, but principally near the coast, the sandy soil of which is well suited to their culture. The banana is found in some parts, and the castor-oil tree is common here, and attains to a large size. From the seeds of the latter the natives, and I believe some of the emigrants, extract the oil, which has been pronounced very good, and the Zulus use it as a substitute for fat, which of late years has become very scarce among them. Cane also is found here in great abundance, and grows to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. This, as well as the juice of the euphorbia, which is everywhere found in large trees, may ultimately become articles of valuable export. The above juice has been ascertained by recent experiment to be reducible to a texture and elasticity similar to that of indiarubber, and may be found to answer some of the purposes for which that material is now in such great demand.

The woods of the country are, many of them, similar to those found in other parts of South-East Africa, such as black and white stinkwood, red and white pear, iron, sneeze, and assagai wood. There is also a kind of ebony, beautiful as rosewood, and taking a fine polish. The emigrants, as well as the Zulus, call it "Tambuti." In short, as to wood, here is a superabundance, both in quantity and quality, for any purpose. I had almost forgotten that inferior timber, the common yellowwood, which grows everywhere.

The climate of Natal is mild and temperate, being attended generally with a brilliant atmosphere, and free from those noxious vapours which rise from low, swampy, and marshy localities. The structure of the country points it out as one particularly favourable to health and longevity; and it is reported by those who have now certainly had a sufficient trial to enable them to speak from experience, that it is free from most of the disorders which frequently visit some of the neighbouring parts. As, however, civilization advances, I suppose these will multiply, and, like the rust in the wheat, which

was unknown till 1820, will become a common plague. It is, however, certain that the fatal atmosphere of Delagoa is not felt here, nor in any of the adjacent parts yet visited. While the winters are mild, the summers are not injuriously hot; and this equality of temperature renders it a very agreeable and very fruitful country.

Though in its present luxuriant state the parts near the coast are evidently not suited for sheep, yet they are well adapted for the grazing of cattle, as the herds of the emigrants seem to be doing well. The open, denuded country approaching the Quahlamba will be found moderately adapted for sheep-walks, when a sufficient number shall have been introduced to keep down the vigorous vegetation; and, upon the whole, it is perhaps not the country that is unsuited for sheep so much as the state of the pasturage.

With regard to the horse epidemic, last year's experience has proved that at Natal it is not more fatal than in any other part where it prevails. Numbers, it is true, died of it, and in some parts not a horse was spared; but there are other parts where the influence of the epidemic was not felt. From this it may be inferred that, as regards this almost irremediable disease, the Natal country will not be worse at least than others.

The civil condition of the emigrants is much better than, from men in their circumstances, might have been looked for. They are settling down upon their farms without any regard to, or fear of, the changes which, from all we hear, must shortly take place. Their anxieties are about their flocks and their lands, which latter they are cultivating extensively, and, as they have no want of water, they will doubtless, under a permanent government, obtain a good return. Their habitations are mostly temporary, and their gardens, though well stocked with vegetables of every kind, and fruit-trees of the second year, are not yet fenced and brought into that state of security from quadruped depredations which time only can effect.

The farmers and their families are decently dressed, and, though articles of clothing at Natal are enormously expensive, they have not degenerated in their costume. Nor are they inattentive to religion. Some, it is well known, possessed more than a nominal Christianity before they left the Cape Colony; and their disastrous removal has not caused their zeal to abate. They have built a large temporary church at the Umlazi, and a more permanent one at Bushmansrand, where the Rev. Mr. Lindley is now officiating; and there, at least, the exterior of religion will be perpetuated. This, however, is not all that may be said on this subject. Many families that I visited con-

tinue to perform their private devotions, and regard religion, not as a matter of form merely, but of practice and enjoyment. On my arrival, they received me very cordially, and assembled from all circumjacent parts to attend divine worship in the church at the Umlazi camp.

The natives, who are very numerous interspersed in villages among the emigrants, are a perfectly free people, and not the slaves we were some time ago led to suppose them. The principles of freedom have been proclaimed throughout the whole emigration; and those orphans who, by war, have fallen into their hands, are regularly indentured to respectable men, who must possess some reasonable probability of being able to fulfil the terms of the indenture. During my stay there, one of these indentures fell into my hands, which I took the liberty of copying. The following is the copy, which, to prevent mistake, I give in the Dutch as I found it:—

“Het gy door deze kennelyk, dat Johan Philip Zietsman, Landdrost te Pietermaritzburg, op heden heb uitbonden de Zula weeskinderen, Zwaartboy, na gissing 12 jaren, en Klaas, oud 8 jaren en onder, aan den Heer ———, aan deze maatschappy behorende; en onder deze voorwarden nogthans, dat hy, ———, verbonden en verplicht zal zyn deze weeskinderen behooryk te voorzien met de noodige voedsel en dekzel, en bekwaam te maken tot een bestaanbare zelfs onderhoud, en geene mishandeling aan dezelve te pleegen, tot een ieder van hen den ouderdom van 25 jaren zal hebben bekomen en bereikt, na welke tyd een ieder van hen de regt zal hebben by iemand anders te mogen verhuuren.

“Hetwelk doende, enz.

“(Getd.) J. P. ZIETSMAN.

“Accordeerd met bovenstaande verbinteniss.

“Pietermaritzburg, 16 Jan., 1841.” *

The name of the person is here left out, as I do not think I should be warranted in taking the liberty of inserting it without the individual's

* Translation :

“Be it by this made known, that I, John Philip Zietsman, Landdrost at Pietermaritzburg, have this day indentured the Zulu orphan children, Zwaartboy, aged apparently twelve years, and Klaas, eight years old or under, to Mr. ———, belonging to this community; subject, however, to these conditions: that he, ———, shall be held and bound duly to provide the said orphans with food and clothing, and qualify them duly to a sufficient self-support, and shall inflict no ill-usage on them, until each shall have arrived at and attained the age of twenty-five years; after which time each shall have the right to hire his services to someone else.

“Which doing, &c.

“(Signed) J. P. ZIETSMAN.

“Agreed in terms of above contract, &c.”

permission, and it is not essential to my design in inserting the document in this communication. As to the document itself, while some question might be entertained as to the details, it leaves no doubt as to the general views of the emigrants on the subject of slavery.

The character of the Natal administration is republican. The management of affairs rests upon an Assembly consisting of twenty-five members, chosen annually. They meet quarterly, and a president is elected at every sitting. The public servants are three landdrosts, one commandant-general, one harbour-master, and a few subordinates in office. The former receive salaries of £100 each per annum.

There are a number of villages forming, but the places of any present importance are Pietermaritzburg, also called Bushmansrand, and the Port. The former place is at present famous as the seat of government, but it obviously does not possess the suitability required for extensive resort or great commercial importance. The country at Pietermaritzburg and about this spot is flat, and on account of the abundant supply of water from the Bushman's River, well suited to agricultural purposes; but its denuded appearance not merely detracts from its beauty, but actually stamps deformity upon its appearance, whilst its entire lack of fuel, which is not to be found within fifteen or twenty miles of its site, must for ever prevent it attaining superiority as a place of residence or becoming of commercial importance. The town consists of about eighty houses, none of which, with the exception of four or five, are of a permanent character. Several small buildings are in progress; yet it does not require much penetration to perceive that, with so many and decidedly superior inland sites, it never can become the metropolis of the colony or the emporium of trade.

Port Natal (the town itself having received no other name) possesses advantages which cannot be described in too striking colours: its contiguity to the bay; its superabundance of fuel, as well as large timber; its inexhaustible supply of water from four rivers, one of which has ten times more of water than supplies the whole of Cape Town,—all point out the great importance of the locality. Two of these rivers run into the bay, and a third (the Umlazi) within four miles of its margin. The stream of this river is equal to that of the Fish River, and may be conducted over a rich and fertile flat, leading to the present town and bay. The Umgeni, which Nature seems to have designed for supplying the town, can be led out without difficulty, and, by little more than opening a furrow, will flow through the streets with a current commensurable with the utmost demands that can

possibly be made upon it. In short, the whole, whether viewed in reference to quality or position, presents, as it were, material of the most suitable quality, waiting only to be transformed, as art or fancy may deem best, into one of the most populous and delightfully-situated towns on the coast of Africa.

The population about the bay is already considerable, and is daily receiving new accessions by the removal of several of the Dutch from the interior. The eagerness of many to procure plots of ground for building upon is a sufficient guarantee for the early and large extension of the town.—I remain, &c.,

(Signed) J. ARCHBELL.

THE "COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE" TO SIR G. NAPIER.

Pietermaritzburg, 11th October, 1841.

SIR,—Your Excellency's communication of 3rd September last was received by us yesterday, and was this day laid before our Council, which was just holding its session. We have the honour to state, in reply thereto, that we regret the refusal of Her Majesty to acknowledge us as an independent Republic, still considering us as a portion of Her Majesty's subjects, and that your Excellency should make that communication to us for the information of our fellow-colonists, with a further offer that if we would receive a military force from Cape Town, we should be placed, in regard to trade, upon the same footing as any British possession. We presume that both Her Majesty and your Excellency have been misinformed regarding us, our title to the right of independence, and with respect to the right we have to the land we occupy. We are Dutch South-Africans by birth: immediately after we quitted Her Majesty's territories in South Africa, we published our independence, and from that time to this moment we have acted as an independent people, governed ourselves according to our own laws, and consequently ceased to be British subjects; the country we inhabit we have legally acquired, and has never been a British province or colony to this moment. As it has, therefore, pleased Her Majesty the Queen of England to reject our fair proposals, as we consider them to be, we are inclined on our part to remain on the same footing as we have to this moment considered ourselves from the time we left the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in regard to Her Majesty's

Government ; and, notwithstanding your Excellency's repeated communications of our being British subjects and colonists, we must maintain that, according to all rights of civilized nations, we can neither be considered the one nor the other ; nor can we consent to Her Majesty's proposal to receive a military force, while we have not asked for it, and have no need for it at present for our protection, particularly now that we are at peace with all nations.

Your Excellency's proposal to enter into a treaty with us, under the influence of a military force, and without our being acquainted with the terms of agreement, with the exception of a conditional possession of landed properties (estates) to which we presume we have an undoubted right, appears to us so unintelligible and undefined, that, unless we are further elucidated on the subject, we are compelled to acknowledge that we cannot comprehend the object of it.—We have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) J. PRINSLO, President,
JAC. JOHS. BURGER, Secretary,

In the name and by desire of the " Council of the People."

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c., &c.

WHEREAS certain persons, being subjects and chiefly natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, have heretofore at various times emigrated from this colony, and have taken possession of Port Natal and of certain territories adjacent or appertaining thereto :

And whereas I have lately received a letter, addressed to me, dated at Pietermaritzburg, the 11th October, 1841, signed by J. Prinslo, as President, and Jacs. Johs. Burger, as Secretary, of the Council of Emigrant Farmers now residing at Port Natal, and in the territories adjacent thereto, in which they inform me, in the name, and by the desire of the said Council, as they allege, that they claim to be, and to be recognized as, an independent State or People, and declare that they are Dutch-Africans by birth, and have ceased to be British subjects, and refuse to be recognized and treated as such ;

and whereas I have been informed that the said Council, at a meeting held on 2nd August, 1841, and subsequent days, passed a resolution by which they resolved that all Kafirs inhabiting Port Natal, and the territories thereunto appertaining, as well those Kafirs who were established at Port Natal long previous to its occupation by the emigrant farmers, as others the subjects of Chiefs at peace with Her Majesty, and living in peace with all Her Majesty's subjects, shall be removed, without their consent, from Port Natal, and the territory thereunto appertaining, into the territory lying between the mouth of the Umtafuna and that of the Umzimvubu, which territory forms part of the country belonging to Faku, a chief at peace with Her Majesty, without having obtained the consent of the said Faku, from which most unjust and illegal proceeding there is reason to apprehend that warfare and bloodshed will be occasioned; and whereas I am desirous to prevent any of Her Majesty's subjects from being, through ignorance, misled by the evil-disposed and mischievous or misguided persons who have written, or authorized the writing and forwarding to me of the said letter, dated 11th October, 1841, and am determined to prevent, to the utmost of my power, the possibility of the recurrence of warfare and bloodshed within any of the said territories: I have, therefore, deemed it expedient and necessary to declare, as I do hereby proclaim and declare, that the said Emigrants have no right or claim to be recognized as an independent State or People; that Her Majesty will not recognize them as such, and will not permit or suffer any portion of her subjects to form themselves into an independent State or People within any of the said territories; and that, in obedience to the orders of my sovereign, I shall resume the military occupation of the same, by sending thither without delay a detachment of Her Majesty's forces. And I hereby warn all British-born subjects, and particularly those who, after the 18th day of January, 1806, have been born within this colony of parents who, at the time of their birth, by reason of their permanent residence in this colony, or otherwise, owed allegiance to, and were subjects of, the Crown, that they cannot, by their removal from this colony to any other place whatsoever, divest themselves of the allegiance which they owe, by reason of their birth, to the British Crown, or of the character of British subjects, and notwithstanding any such removal must and will still be considered, and are liable to be treated as, British subjects. And I hereby warn all British subjects, whether by birth or otherwise, against the consequences of in any way resisting or opposing

Her Majesty's forces, or the due exercise of Her Majesty's rightful authority, and that they, and all others who shall engage in any seditious practices, or show any disaffection to Her Majesty, will forfeit all claim, as well for their families as for themselves, to any favourable consideration of their claims to any lands now possessed by them, in any settlement or arrangement which Her Majesty may deem it right or fitting to make touching and concerning the same.

And I further warn all persons not being British subjects, and not acting under the commission or authority of some established and recognized State or Potentate, who shall within any of the territories hereinbefore mentioned, be in arms for the purpose of attacking, or forcibly resisting or opposing Her Majesty's forces, or of attacking the subjects of any native chief at peace with, or under the protection of, Her Majesty, that they will thereby contravene the law of nations, place themselves out of the protection of the law, and render themselves liable to be dealt with as the interests of the Crown may require, and circumstances may render advisable.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my hand and the Public Seal of the Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, this 2nd day of December, 1841.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,
Acting Secretary to Government.

PORT NATAL.

SIR GEORGE NAPIER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL,
SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
6th December, 1841.

MY LORD,—Upon the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 188, of the 10th June last, which reached me in the end of the month of August following, I immediately addressed to the President of the Council at Pietermaritzburg a letter, a copy of which I enclose, embodying the substance of that despatch, and on the 17th ultimo I received the answer. I also enclose a translated copy.

I have likewise the honour to transmit a translation of some resolutions passed by the said Council, which, although not furnished to me by their President, contain, I am inclined to believe from corroborative evidence, authentic indications of the measures which they intend to pursue in regard to the removal of the remnant of the native tribes located in the country to which the emigrant farmers lay claim.

Such a line of proceeding is so opposite to the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and to the instructions I have received from your Lordship, to afford the native tribes of Africa the protection of the British arms against the aggressions of Her Majesty's subjects, that, in order to prevent the bloodshed, warfare, and embarrassment attendant on removing a number of the natives from the territory they at present occupy, to the possessions of a chief (Faku) who is at present in friendly alliance with this colony, and who has not signified his consent to the proposed measure, I have felt it necessary no longer to delay in announcing to the emigrants by a Proclamation, of which I enclose a copy, my intention to resume the military occupation of Port Natal.

In obedience, therefore, to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 213, of the 21st August last, I shall, as soon as the rains which commenced last month shall have ceased, and the rivers will admit of the passage of the troops, order the detachment on the Umgazi, under command of Captain Smith, to move forward and occupy such a position as will command the entrance to the harbour of Port Natal.

I have every reason to believe that the detachment will reach its destination in the course of seventeen days from the date of its leaving the Umgazi River; and in the interim I shall seize every opportunity of bringing these misguided emigrants to a just sense of the folly of persevering in a line of conduct so inconsistent with justice, and so detrimental to their own ultimate welfare.

That I shall be able to re-occupy Port Natal without the least risk of collision between the troops and the emigrant farmers, I have every reason to feel assured of. All my information tends to show that there is a large and gradually increasing party among them who, weary of the anarchy and confusion of their present government, seek for the establishment of some law and authority among them, and that this section only waits for the arrival of the troops to declare that they by no means participate in the visionary idea of creating so near to this colony a Republic composed for the most part of Her Majesty's natural-born subjects.

However much such an idea may be pleasing to the vanity of those who expected to sway the councils of the new settlement, the feeling is not shared by any of the true friends of the emigrants, whether residing at Natal or within the colony. That their views meet with the disapprobation of the latter is evident from the fact that none who have lately visited them have found the state of society such as to induce them to dispose of their property within the colony and join their countrymen on the other side of the Drakensberg.

I am, therefore, little apprehensive of any difficulty in the re-occupation; although it shall be my care to adopt every reasonable precaution to avoid the possibility of such an occurrence. Indeed, the presence of Captain Smith, an officer of long experience, and of the justness and soundness of whose views, in regard to all matters connected with Natal, I have every reason to be satisfied, is sufficient to make me quite easy on this point, being convinced that no precaution will be omitted in occupying his position, and that no opportunity will be lost of treating with the emigrants in a friendly and conciliatory manner.

After this second military occupation of that country, however, it will be necessary to consider upon what tenure Her Majesty's Government are prepared to hold it. Your Lordship has already informed me that on the general question you are favourable to the settlement of Natal as a British colony: that you should wish a President and Council to be appointed by me from among themselves with civil authority, reserving to a military officer acting under my orders the command of Her Majesty's troops; but that if the settlement so to be constituted were considered as a separate colony, and not a port or dependency of the Cape of Good Hope, the sanction of Parliament would be necessary for this arrangement.

Being, therefore, convinced that the settlement of this question in some shape or other can no longer be delayed, I shall proceed to lay before your Lordship, as concisely as I can, the reasons upon which I have come to a conclusion that Natal should not be considered a dependency of this colony, and to explain the difficulties which I conceive, under the proposal of appointing a President and Council to exercise civil authority among them, not only anomalous in principle, but objectionable in practice.

To a colony already too extensive and too poor to develop the resources contained within its present limits, it is almost needless to observe that the annexure of a large tract of country, which must at first be a source of expense, would be anything but an acquisition.

With a revenue hardly sufficient to carry on the ordinary expenses of the Government, and with no means of increasing that revenue, even to such an extent as to place at the disposal of Government funds for opening up roads, and thereby increasing our produce and our commerce, it cannot be expected that the necessities of a new Government, even on the most economical scale, could be defrayed by the colonial treasury. But, independent of this grave objection, there are others of no less magnitude.

The distance from the nearest part of this colony to Natal is full four hundred (400) miles, the means of communication very uncertain, and therefore, for any purposes of control, the power of the Governor of this colony must be very limited; and although nominally the responsibility of a Government over which he can exercise little influence might be vested in him, still in reality the authority of the subordinate Governor would often require to be exerted without waiting for orders.

That constant reference to this Government, especially in a new settlement, would be productive of much mischief, and could not in fact be put in practice, is so evident, that it is only necessary to advert to it, observing that in operation the result would be that the officer in command at Natal would be obliged to act without waiting for orders from the supreme Government, and ought in justice to be held responsible for his actions.

Another consideration which would seem to preclude the establishment of a settlement at Natal as a dependency of the Cape is this: that every law in force within the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under its present constitution, must be extended and applied to the territory thus annexed as a dependency of the colony, and to all Her Majesty's subjects, and other persons whomsoever, residing or being within that territory. It would thus follow that all the Kafirs, Zulus, and other natives living within the territory thus annexed, would by that very annexure become amenable to laws, of the principles of which they can form no conception; they would be rendered liable to be convicted of, and punished for, the commission of crimes which in their eyes are not considered as such; and all the difficulty and oppression of applying to a barbarous and uncivilized community the laws which govern civilized men, would spring from the annexure to this colony of a tract of country, one of the main reasons of annexing which was to prevent the oppression of the natives by Her Majesty's subjects.

These, my Lord, are what I conceive to be the insurmountable difficulties which oppose themselves to the constitution of Natal as a dependency of this colony; and I now come to the consideration of the proposals to govern the new settlement by means of a President and Council exercising civil authority.

What extent of authority would be thus vested in the Council, or how far they would be legally entitled to interfere with the natives resident in that country, or in what manner their power would be limited and restricted by the military commandant, I have not yet been made aware by your Lordship; but this I know, that for a time it would be absolutely necessary to divest them of anything like the management of their own affairs. They are disunited by jealousy and private animosity; the partition of the lands would become a prolific source of further dissension, and the laws and regulations they would adopt in their Council relative to the native tribes would in all probability be utterly repugnant to the views of Her Majesty's Government.

If these people are to be empowered to make and execute laws, it appears to me that they should show themselves capable of appreciating the principles of justice and humanity. I by no means wish to depreciate their merits, for there are many among them who, under proper restraint, would become again, as they were heretofore, useful and respectable members of society; but I know enough of the South African farmer to be convinced that the proceedings of the emigrants would be directed by a few men who possess, perhaps, more activity and intelligence than their neighbours, and are more willing to devote their time to the public business of their community, but who are animated by no feelings of good-will either to Her Majesty's Government or to the native tribes, and who fear that the occupation of Natal is a prelude to the diminution of their importance.

Such men as these would sway any popular assembly in the same manner as they at present guide the councils of the emigrants, and the result would be the adoption of resolutions relative to the natives within their jurisdiction of a nature similar to those detailed in the meeting in August last. The idea, therefore, of vesting in a Council to be chosen from themselves the powers of government, seems to be to me irreconcilable with the present state of the emigrant farmers, and the administration of British laws by such men is, I conceive, very unlikely to prove satisfactory.

Under these grounds, therefore, I am clearly of opinion that the

annexure to this colony of that territory, or the administration of the government thereof by a President and Council, would be measures the failure of which I am bold enough to predict.

The course, therefore, which I shall pursue, pending the final decision of the point, will be to retain mere military possession of the position which Captain Smith may select so as to command the Port of Natal, and I shall instruct him not to interfere with the emigrant farmers unless the troops, or the colonists, or our friends among the Kafir tribes, are attacked; in the event of which he shall, after having remonstrated with the emigrants, repel any such attack by force of arms, a result which I have already informed your Lordship I by no means anticipate.

Then comes the consideration of the necessity which exists for determining what ulterior measures are to be adopted for the government of these people.

It seems clear to me that it is impossible to tolerate the erection of any independent Republic in a portion of Africa so contiguous to this colony; and it is also equally clear that the interests of the British Government imperatively demand resistance to any other nation effecting a settlement in that country. The idea that such would be beneficial to any other State, except as the means of annoying Her Majesty, is out of the question; because the harbour can only be entered by the smallest description of coasting vessels, and the anchorage outside is so dangerous at particular seasons, as to be unfit for larger vessels to ride there in safety for the purpose of discharging or receiving cargo.

Any new settlement would of course be attended at first with considerable expense; because, even although the establishment were placed on the most economical and moderate scale, still a certain yearly expenditure must be incurred in providing the settlers with the means not only of legally protecting their property, but with those institutions, civil and religious, which the natural-born subjects of Her Majesty have a right to expect will be afforded to them.

The farmers who are already in that country possess neither sufficient enterprise nor capital to develop the resources of the country, whatever they may be found to be. Their agricultural pursuits have hitherto been conducted on a most limited scale; and the returns which I forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch No. 13, of the 29th June last, will prove that hitherto their export trade has been totally insignificant as compared with their imports,—a state of things which shows that the money they took with them has

been the means to which they have hitherto resorted for supplying those luxuries which are not the produce of their own soil.

From every information which I have been able to collect on the subject, there seems to be little doubt that the soil is peculiarly fertile, the country is well wooded and well watered; but even these appearances do not prove incontestably that it is well adapted for agricultural or grazing purposes. Some of the most beautiful portions of Southern Africa are ill adapted for either, because the rust is apt to attack the wheat, and sickness to destroy the cattle fed in those districts. It is only, therefore, by experience that we can obtain a correct knowledge of the capabilities of a country which all agree in depicting as equal, if not superior, to the possessions of Her Majesty within the limits of this colony.

It is of course the policy of the English settlers at Natal to colour and perhaps to exaggerate its merits, because the presence of the troops and a settled government would be peculiarly advantageous to them, as they are chiefly occupied in commerce, and therefore look to an increased trade by the occupation and settlement of Natal.

Whether it is, or is not, a settlement which would eventually support itself, is impossible for me to determine; but when I consider its position with reference to this colony, the actual settlement of a considerable portion of Her Majesty's subjects, the necessity of adopting some measures for governing and restraining them, the right that the native tribes have to our protection, and the utter impossibility of bringing back to the colony the band of emigrants who have been so settled there for some years, I feel that the ultimate colonisation of that country must eventually take place, and that delay will render the questions which will arise more difficult to be settled.

Upon these grounds I advocate the necessity of coming to an early and final decision on a question to which I have often referred, and in the discussion of which at this present opportunity I have already perhaps trespassed too long on your Lordship's time and attention.

I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

THE EMIGRANTS AT PORT NATAL.

 BY G. G. OHRIG.*

HISTORY furnishes in almost every page the most striking examples of courage, perseverance, love of liberty, vigour of mind, and all the noble qualities of the soul, by which man so pre-eminently proves his superiority above all created beings. It informs us that these striking qualities have not been bestowed in preference upon any particular climate or nation. Even in the moral existence of man, there prevails the same incomprehensible oneness, the same uniformity which pervades the whole of material nature. It is these qualities which prove that the being who possesses them is of noble origin, and destined to a higher doom: that he is lord of all created beings around him: that he is man. The inhabitants of the most northerly part of the globe, and of the region which is scorched by the perpendicular rays of the sun, have both historical evidence to confirm this, to prove that they also possess these moral qualities, which, though not so well regulated and directed, would, if their understanding had been better developed and they had been more civilized, have made them equally adapted for the attainment of all that is good and noble, by which they would thus have answered the purpose for which they were designed.

But it is not always that those qualities are applied to this great end. History teaches us that even with more civilized man they have been, on the contrary, frequently employed for the accomplishment of that which dishonours him, which is unworthy of his origin and his destination.

As well in the ambitious man, the tyrant, the avowed oppressor of his country, to whom the terms liberty and public weal have no meaning, no signification, as in the nation blinded by glory and false honour, chained to the triumphal car of a conqueror, or endowed with physical force and strength, which shamelessly co-operates to destroy that liberty and public weal; in both, those qualities cannot be denied nor this great end disavowed.

Even also in the violator of the highest privileges of man, as well as in the tyrant who subjects more than one nation to his inflexible will, and knows how to make them serviceable to him, so likewise in a people who, with insufferable pride, imagine themselves

justified in ensnaring and destroying the liberty and social existence of others,—in both exist qualities of the soul which, if applied to a nobler object, would make them the benefactors of mankind; by which they would demonstrate that they fulfil the end for which man received these inestimable gifts, and in the amplest manner obtain the thanks of their country. It is, however, flattering and gratifying to the philanthropist to perceive that, however such qualities may be denied or abused by others, that denial or this abuse cannot totally stifle or extinguish them in the minds of those who, though howsoever much they may have yielded to the power of strangers, do not lose their love of liberty, and whose courage and energy of mind, once inflamed and excited by a sense of their own merits, manfully break the yoke imposed upon them, and, proud as they are free and independent, resume to themselves those rights of which they had been deprived, overwhelming their oppressors with disgrace and ignominy.

We know, and history verifies the fact, that those developed qualities have performed wonders. We know how often a nation, apparently unrenowned, but animated by its moral strength, has defended its rights and independence against its powerful oppressor with the most brilliant results. We know that the liberty of a nation whose existence was scarcely recognized, and of whose success in obtaining that liberty it would have been folly and presumption to think for a moment, has often been gained with unequal physical force. In confirmation of this, we have truly no need to extract evidence from the annals of antiquity. If we only refer to our own country, we have there the most striking illustration of what a moral and powerful people can do.

But how many beautiful pages soever history may present to us upon the subject, how much soever the mind may become ravished and excited by the contemplation of so much past greatness, it is no less elevating to the present generation to perceive that the same nobility of soul which conduces to so much greatness and honour is not extinguished. It slumbers not, but continues to manifest to the philanthropist the most magnificent results of its power and operation.

For the interests of mankind, we may rejoice at the conclusion of the bloody struggle of the modern Greeks which restored to them their liberty: we may be astonished at the manifold instances of moral strength, and participate in the general sympathy which they so well merited; but we are moved, and our admiration knows no

bounds, when we contemplate the sublime spectacle that presents itself to our notice on the other side of the ocean. We are the more astonished, and our sympathy is increased twofold, when we reflect that they are descendants of the Dutch : that they are, as it were, our own countrymen, who exhibit to the world what determined will, courage, and perseverance can do to obtain justice ; who considered nothing too difficult to attain it, who made every possible sacrifice for their cause, the cause of liberty, and who dared manfully resist their oppressors, their powerful rulers,—thus exciting their astonishment, and the respect and admiration of the world. For the brilliant result of their holy cause, no Dutchman can hesitate to offer up at least a prayer.

The Dutch colony, the Cape of Good Hope, planted and peopled by the Dutch, but which subsequently in course of time devolved to the English, has contained for some time past a number of discontented persons, whose discontent arose out of the arbitrary and self-willed conduct of their rulers. These persons thought and felt too boldly and patriotically to submit meekly to the arbitrariness of the new Government. Hence it was that a considerable part of the population forsook the land of their forefathers, and settled in a new country, called Port Natal. It is this important and unheard-of event, with all the consequences which it may have upon us, Hollanders, that the author of this pamphlet will endeavour further to explain.

In the year 1487, Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese, discovered the most southerly point of Africa, and called it the Cape of Storms, a name not inapplicable to it, on account of the frequent and dangerous storms which always raged with frightful violence in that part of the world. Afterwards, when public attention was directed to the discovery of a passage by sea to the Indies, it was called the Cape of Good Hope, and was only visited by outward and homeward bound vessels, and used as a watering place solely, until the year 1650, when the Dutch, at the suggestion of the ship's surgeon, Riebeck, and at the expense of the Dutch East-India Company, planted a colony there, and sent thither at first a relatively small number of persons of both sexes, which was afterwards considerably augmented. The first settlers received a further addition to their numbers on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when many Frenchmen were obliged to leave their country and encouraged to settle in this colony, where they were so fortunate as to introduce the culture of the vine, which subsequently became so celebrated.

The descendants of the Dutch settlers, who amount to about 100,000 in number, and who are mostly known by the name of Boers, consist of corn and cattle farmers, although most of them breed cattle, some of whom possess very extensive lands and numerous flocks, the cultivation of corn scarcely affording sufficient to supply their daily wants. We may be able to form an opinion of their staple article, cattle, when we find that in the year 1834 it amounted to 312,659 head of horned cattle, and 2,000,000 sheep, whose wool has been greatly refined by Spanish and other sheep, and 1,500,000 goats. In consequence of the farms being situated so far apart from each other, the trifling wants of the colony, and the ease with which they can be satisfied in so fine a climate, the value of these extensive flocks is very small, especially if they happen to be far from Cape Town. This colony, which could be of so much importance to our extensive trade to the East Indies, was voluntarily ceded to England in the year 1814, together with some other possessions, in exchange for Belgium,—and thus an important possession was lost to us: in return for which, since the events of 1830, we now possess nothing. This wholesale proceeding with respect to entire countries and their population, thus deprived these settlers of the protection and government of Holland, mercilessly dissevered the ties of kindred with the mother country, and doomed them to respect the laws of strangers and submit themselves to their yoke. For where the lot of so many thousands were decided so despotically and arbitrarily, without taking into consideration a single complaint against it,—where the population and their possessions are considered as an article of commerce, to be weighed and set off one against another,—there no paternal government, none founded upon the worth of man, can exist. There it was considered as a possession which might be dealt with at pleasure. When we complain of the violation of laws and ancient customs, and dare claim compensation for them, it is to this we should point, for there was the crime. The connection between the colony and the mother country having ceased after this political cession, and our knowledge of what took place under the new Government being slight in consequence, we are not altogether exactly acquainted with the grievances of the settlers against the Government, and the causes which led to them; but we may safely suppose that they were of the greatest moment, as the refusal to redress them produced so bold a decision. We may, however, in some measure, infer what they were from the accounts we have received from the English themselves, from which we must conclude

that extortion, oppression, the violation of laws and ancient institutions, were the causes of their opposition to the English Government. For how noble soever, considered in itself, the abolition of slavery by this Government may be, the Government ought to have taken care that the compensation granted and secured by law did not become in every way diminished and reduced, in such wise that scarcely one-third of the value of the slaves was received by their owners, the settlers,—thus itself openly setting an example of violation both of the law and of public property. The extortion of the English functionaries, under the connivance of the Government, was manifested chiefly at the sale of lands, when it was stipulated that a certain sum should be paid by the purchaser to defray the expense of survey, which sums were claimed from these simple men often twice, even thrice, in a deceitful and shameful manner; and in fixing the boundaries of the lands, there done by pacing them off, which is a troublesome practice, the functionary was bribed to take larger paces, by which the owner was seriously injured in his property. It is truly shameful, when a Government and its servants, trampling under foot all right and reason, regard those who are committed to their charge merely as a prey wherewith to satisfy their insatiable rapacity, and cause them to be treated as such. Not being able to get these grievances, these unjust and arbitrary proceedings, redressed, hatred and contempt against their oppressors were necessarily engendered in the minds of the settlers, which increased by acts of continued humiliation and oppression; and these feelings threatened to burst out long ago, for the quiet possession of their property was no longer secured to them. They who were called by the station they held to protest and defend it against the foreign enemy, were the first to lay a violent hand upon the property so dearly acquired, and to destroy what had been obtained with so much trouble and labour,—what had been defended and preserved with so much danger, and at so great a sacrifice. Not only the subordinate, the unpolished soldier, but even the commanders, they who ought to prove by word and deed that they could fulfil their duty in that situation and still be men,—they whose duty it was, above all, to defend the property of the inhabitants to the utmost,—they it was who, during the last expedition against the common enemy, the Kafirs, attacked and laid waste that property, and taught them the mournful lesson that an organized and regulated plunder is the most dreadful fate that can befall the native who trusts to that power. He who, after so many oppressions and such violations of right and law, does not

feel deeply indignant, and does not determine to resist such conduct with energy, and to free himself from so hateful a yoke, deserves to be a slave, and to bend his neck submissively to the yoke: let his portion be that of contempt and ridicule. But when in the deeply wronged, the deeply abased men, a sense of his human, of his own individual worth begins to glow, and the passion disengages itself to break asunder the bond which keeps him fettered, then man rejoices at each attempt that is made to tear the hateful bond, to place himself again by his own mental energy in the full enjoyment and possession of the rights granted to him by heaven.

Yes; that just hatred which remained so long suppressed, the passion to be free, developed itself among the descendants of the Dutch, who, as they wanted physical force to contend against their oppressors, adopted the unheard-of decision to bid adieu to the land of their forefathers, and to abandon it with all the associations connected with it: that land where they had in former times lived quietly and contentedly under a mild government, but who at present, seeing that they were continually humbled and disgraced, and being mindful of their origin, preferred venturing everything, and with their goods and chattels, their wives and children, abandoning a place where they were no longer happy or free. So powerful was their love of liberty, so determined their will, and so strong their spirit, they preferred to encounter every danger, to make every sacrifice, and suffer every privation, to discover a new home where their liberty might remain unimpaired, and their bones rest in peace.

It was in the year 1838 that this high resolve was formed, and this extensive emigration took place. The emigrants shaped their course in a north-easterly direction from the Cape towards Port Natal, which is situated between the 28th and 32nd degrees of south latitude. They purchased there from "Dingaan," the chief of the tribe of Zulus, or Watmas, all the land which is situated between the rivers Tugela and St. John, comprising an area of about 900 square miles. The sufferings and difficulties which the emigrants endured before they could establish themselves in the peaceful possession of the land they have purchased are inconceivable. The revengeful and implacable tribes, whose hatred was wilfully inflamed and kept up by their former rulers, and whose impotent rage when their prey escaped them is not yet stilled, rendered it necessary for the settlers incessantly, with arms in their hands, to defend their lives, their liberty, and their property, until at last, by unshaken courage and intrepidity, their superiority being acknowledged, the

tribes in question, and especially the Zulus, 5,000 of whom they killed in two engagements, were forced to sue for peace, which was concluded in April, 1839, between "Dingaan" and Pretorius, the chief leader of the Boers.

It need not here be said that this event excited the greatest interest, and made the strongest impression in the mind of every friend of liberty and the common weal; and are we, Hollanders, then, not to be penetrated with esteem, respect, and admiration for a people whose forefathers lived here, who are of the same race as ourselves, and whom we may call our brothers; for a people who have proved, by their love of liberty and independence, by their abhorrence of oppression and violence, to be fully worthy of that appellation; a people who, in consequence of so many acts of injustice, have been forced to break a shameful yoke? Who does not recognise and discover in that spirit, in that determined will, in that high resolve, the descendants of that race from whom we also trace our origin, and which in former times made every sacrifice for the cause of liberty, and preferred to seek a new country than there, where they first saw light, to submit to foreign sway?

A people animated with such virtues and qualities, and so firm of will and power, must ultimately reap the richest reward for the sacrifices, privations, and great dangers cheerfully encountered by them for the cause of mankind and of their independence; and finally, sooner or later, we shall be forced to acknowledge them as a free, independent, and separate people, and to assign to them a place worthy of them in the rank of nations; for they possess all the elements and qualities which can ensure enduring independence and happiness to a people. Already they have constituted themselves a nation, *de facto*; and the provocations of their former rulers, their cunning, and the influence of their gold, being unable to prevail over such unshaken courage and perseverance, they reluctantly saw with suppressed rage that the Boers had overcome all their dangers and established themselves in their new possessions. Worthy of their origin, they have always given the most unequivocal proofs that the land of their forefathers was sacred and dear to them, that their thoughts are altogether Dutch, and that all that is Dutch, or that comes from Holland, has for them the greatest value. Their attachment to this land, to which they have so long fruitlessly directed their view, is generally known, and it has clearly revealed itself in the choice of a common union signal, or national flag, whose colours embellish ours, and under which their forefathers peopled and ferti-

lised the country which they have now abandoned. In like manner, as they have preserved their attachment to Holland, so have they also maintained inviolate to this day the morals of the mother country. Sedate, laborious, industrious, and frugal, they possess all the qualities which can secure the prosperity of a new country.

Their religious persuasion and their moral sentiments are known, and the violence done to them by the extravagant mode of life and the depredations of the Hottentots and free blacks, which were left unrestrained by the Government, was likewise one of the principal causes of their emigration. At present there exists amongst them a regular government, and their affairs are administered by a council of twenty-four (24) members, laws are established and published, and a tariff of imports and exports has been fixed. This new Republic desires nothing more ardently than to connect itself with other nations; and the people look forward with eagerness to see if no sympathy and support, of which they still stand in so great and pressing need, can be extended to them by the land of their forefathers also. For, abandoned by all, left to their own strength and resources, surrounded by barbarous tribes, having continually to struggle against open and secret combinations, deprived as well of religious as moral improvement and education, debarred of pastors and teachers, it has the most urgent need of physical and moral support; and it must give pain to the philanthropist, the promoter of knowledge and civilization, to see so many thousands, not only of our fellow-creatures, but as it were of our countrymen, who speak the same language as ourselves, deprived of the noblest and the greatest good that man can possess, namely, civilization and knowledge, founded upon and derived from true religion.

Such a people may not be abandoned and repulsed, if there were no other object to be promoted by affording them assistance, than furnishing them at least with moral support. This requires from us, "Hollanders," to know the connection in which they stand to us. The ties of consanguinity which unite them to us cannot be denied, although arbitrariness endeavoured to dis sever them; their language, their manners, are ours, and we mutually derive our origin from the same ancestors. Our national feelings could never bear the reproach, were it said: "You, who boast of having done so much for liberty, for the promotion of knowledge and civilization, who have reason to be proud of your institutions of religious and public instruction,—you, who by your religious sentiments distinguish yourselves from so many other nations, who have always shown that you not only

compassionate the fate of so many unfortunate persons among your own countrymen, but have always contributed to mitigate the sufferings of those who live beyond the circle of your native place,—you, who have supported strangers who merely appealed to your love of liberty against their barbarous oppressors, who continue to diffuse civilization and knowledge amongst the most uncivilized and scattered nations,—you have, at the call of so many thousands of your descendants, closed your otherwise generous hearts; you have not allowed yourselves to be moved at the situation in which they are placed; you have disowned the tie that still binds them to you, and by so doing denied yourselves as well as your ancestors. When we entreated you, you did not concern yourselves about our moral condition: we alone are excluded from a participation in your fellow feeling for the sufferings of others, and thousands who at present roam about without religion and education, you could have saved for eternity by your assistance and support; you have incompassionately rejected the prayers which were addressed to you in the name of mankind. Much will you have to answer for to Him, in whose mighty hand your lot and final destiny are placed.” No; such a reproach would be insupportable to us, and even in the eyes of the whole civilized world.

It was these and other considerations of minor importance which induced the author to enquire into the important events which had taken place at the promontory of South Africa. Sincerely sympathizing with them, and heartily wishing that something might be done to assist these noble emigrants, he was desirous of exerting all his energies to be useful to them, especially as, by establishing commercial relations, it could be done in a manner which might greatly promote the worldly interests of this new Republic, as well as of our own.

It is now our task to state the grounds which render it extremely desirable and necessary to establish relations with these emigrants, and afterwards to explain the means which appear to us most suitable for the purpose. We shall, therefore, first consider this important subject in a commercial point of view. It is principally to the enlarged and unlimited spirit of enterprise of our great forefathers, to their vigour of mind and enlightened knowledge, that we are indebted for the flourishing state and exceeding greatness which our country once attained. It was by the voyages they undertook, by their courage, which defied everything and despised all danger, by their discovery and civilization of unknown countries, by the establishment of advan-

tageous relations of trade with the inhabitants of those discovered countries, where the produce of the mother country and her industry, and of other civilized countries, found an unknown demand, that their trade became so extended that it was seldom equalled, much less exceeded, by other countries. So much wealth and prosperity were in consequence distributed, that it was thereby alone enabled, during a period of many hundred years, to wage perseveringly, with variable success, most bloody and expensive wars, both by sea and land, for the maintenance of its independence and separate existence. It is those forefathers to whom we are indebted for the many valuable colonies which we still possess both in the East and West Indies; and among these the pearl of the Netherlands crown in the Indian Archipelago, which yield so many advantages and promotes the prosperity of the country,—was left to us by that great ancestry after many sacrifices, and the development of the richest private virtues. These are the irrefragable proofs of what that ancestry formerly was, and what it dare attempt. The great public events and the vicissitudes of the times might have contributed to them, but it is undeniably true that we have not imitated our forefathers in the practice of all these virtues. It is proved that in general that spirit of enterprise has not been sufficiently excited and maintained. Whilst we rejoice in the quiet possession of what had been left to us above so many others, and thankfully reaped the advantages we had derived from them, the spirit remained inactive, and we thought less of endeavouring to find out new sources of wealth, and thereby to encourage the trade which had become so depressed, which had formerly caused the flag of the mother country to be generally respected, and to make good the loss of that which we had been deprived of by jealous and treacherous neighbours, and by the circumstances of the times. Far from following the example of those neighbours, who have latterly proceeded with giant strides to extend their trade and to establish it in those countries which were formerly less visited and known, amongst which were those discovered by us, Hollanders, but the trade with which is now, alas! denied us, of those who have there established settlements, made the primitive inhabitants tributary to them, and themselves acquainted with their wants, to supply which they readily taxed themselves, by which their trade, their industry, and their manufactures have increased so amazingly of late years. Far from emulating them herein, we, on the contrary, regarded their policy with indifference, and that spirit which had so greatly distinguished our forefathers seemed to have forsaken us;

that spirit by which alone we can be animated and induced to enter upon such undertakings, which, although the result of them could not be mathematically certain, could alone lead to the formation of new commercial relations, and advantageous and extensive outlets for trade, industry, and the arts. It is unnecessary to say what an extension of trade and manufactures may be expected in a country where commerce makes such rapid strides to attain this end.

An entire change of the spirit of the times, and of manners and customs, the altered state of trade in comparison with that of former days, render it urgently necessary for us to follow the example of the foreigner: no longer to remain stationary where everything is in a state of advancement, and not to be satisfied simply with what we at present possess and enjoy, without bearing in mind that that possession and this enjoyment are not secured to us, and that what remains to us, which has happened to so many now, can be taken from us sooner or later (which heaven forbid), without taking care in time, and without endeavouring in the day of our peaceable possession to preserve our injured trade from absolute ruin, and to open other channels. We already see that our navigation seriously suffers in consequence of the diminished activity of our trade to the East Indies, that we have a number of fine and valuable vessels which we know not how to employ, and that we are obliged patiently to wait until trade shall be restored to its former vigour. What would become of all the treasure expended in the building of so many vessels, if sooner or later that trade, which is now only temporarily interrupted, were to be completely suspended? And yet, for we see the illustration in the case of our neighbours, it is not absolutely necessary that a country should have possessions to carry on an extensive and considerable trade. When, in consequence, the attention is fixed solely upon one object, when, to attain certain advantages, little labour and thought are necessary, when the genius of commerce slumbers, and all other relations of trade are neglected and cut off, that trade to which our native country was indebted for so great a part of its grandeur and splendour, then we might rather consider it morally injurious. For a man unaccustomed to think for himself, and to originate new ideas, would immediately find himself perplexed and helpless if, habituated to a regular course of events, he happened to be brought into any difficulty, chance how it might. When we thus see the necessity of extending our commerce by searching out new relations and outlets, it is our duty to direct our labours to that end, without allowing ourselves to be discouraged

or deterred by difficulties, dangers, or impediments, which are the constant companions of every new enterprise. It is then that the work should be commenced with firmness and deliberation; and should the result not immediately answer the expectation and design which had been cherished, even then the consequences of a first undertaking would exercise a beneficial influence. By perseverance and experience, the subsequent attainment of the object would be encouraged; and by these endeavours having made a noble use of the talents committed to our charge, we should be able to ward off the reproach that we had unprofitably employed them. It is true that such commercial relations are not always formed without great sacrifices, and blood and treasure were frequently offered up by our forefathers for that purpose, and it would not be inexplicable nor unjustifiable, supposing the necessary spirit were wanting, if it were also to fail us to make such heavy sacrifices; but when, on the contrary, the events of the times offer us the finest opportunity to form a connection with a country, without such an exhibition of force, the inhabitants of which, being our descendants, wish for nothing more than to establish with us, with Holland, in preference, the most cordial and friendly relations, then an indifference and lukewarmness in respect of those descendants, of our own welfare, and of the public weal, could not be explained or justified.

Such a country and such a people we find, after what we have already said, in the emigrants at Port Natal, who wish particularly to connect themselves with Holland, who would assuredly salute and receive the flag of Holland, on its first appearance, with the utmost cordiality and enthusiasm. Let us suppose a people of which the number in 1838, when the place was first settled, amounted to between 15,000 and 16,000 souls, and which number since that time has been continually increasing, in want as it were of everything, as well of the first necessities of life as of those articles which are more useful and agreeable to civilized man. A people still in the infancy of their political existence, and in want of all those objects with which they must endeavour to preserve and defend their material being, and we are forced to acknowledge that it is urgently necessary, for the interests of commerce and the promotion of industry, that such an opportunity should not be suffered to pass by unavailed of. What a prospect would it not offer to our home manufactures, which are now just reviving: what a demand would not our produce, which is so much sought after, meet with there? But how considerably would not its importance increase

when, at a later period, the social condition of the people being improved, they succeed either in subduing the surrounding tribes or maintaining with them a good understanding, or a peaceable and friendly intercourse. This may not be considered ideal, as their moral condition is so far superior, and especially when the fruits of civilization and knowledge shall have been diffused there, which makes it desirable that those blessings should be dispensed amongst the emigrants by the aid of the mother country. The field of operation is there unlimited, and an intercourse and traffic might be established between these new Republicans and the surrounding tribes that would infuse a liveliness into our trade, manufactures, and industry, of which we at present feel the want, and which is so highly essential to the public welfare.

The land selected by the emigrants for their new country, being intersected by navigable rivers, furnishes the easiest communications for this inland trade. The chief town has a harbour, the approach to which is at present being made better adapted for vessels of large size, and along the whole coast there is good anchorage and a safe roadstead, which renders it secure against dangerous winds. A reference to the annexed map will abundantly prove this. The mild and healthy climate, and fertile soil, would render the land well adapted for the cultivation of various products, which perhaps would be found hereafter fit articles for export, and thus a mutual trade would be gradually promoted.

It is unnecessary here to explain more fully the interest which the whole of the mother country would have in a successful enterprise of this kind, since it is generally known what great influence trade exercises over the public welfare, and how important it is that activity should prevail in our home manufactures; of this we may assure ourselves, that there are scarcely any articles amongst them which would not obtain a demand in that new State, especially when we bear in mind that the emigrants would give a preference to the consumption of Dutch produce. Our slight acquaintance as yet with the various products, renders it impossible for us to say positively what articles they could give in exchange for what we might import there. When, however, we consider what we have already said respecting the importance of their staple article, cattle, and the little value of their extensive flocks, it is not to be doubted that we should be immediately able to establish an advantageous barter, and exchange our produce for hides or wool—at least we may be assured that we should be able to obtain these articles there in sufficient quantity.

It thus appears to us, from the view we have taken of this subject, that an adventure to those parts would be highly important and desirable; and in this opinion we are confirmed if we consider the subject in a scientific and political light, which we will endeavour briefly to do.

It is indisputably true that geography, the knowledge of the manners and customs of different nations, as well as objects of physical science in the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms, are deeply indebted to trade, which has contributed to perfect and extend that knowledge.

It was frequently to the adventurous voyages of the first discoverers that we were indebted for the knowledge of so many countries and nations; and although an honourable pursuit of gain might have been the motive that impelled them, they have nevertheless done an invaluable service to science. It was the same powerful motive that excited and applied the great courage and perseverance which were necessary to overcome the many dangers that attended those voyages. It was the same motive which made us better acquainted with the produce of foreign countries, enabled us to investigate their qualities, and informed us of all that concerned their growth, development, and cultivation, and thereby taught us for what end or purpose to employ them. It was the same motive that induced them to examine the bowels of the earth, to try if also there objects could be found to promote their views. The most amazing discoveries were in consequence frequently made: and in the most wonderful productions they acknowledged the hand and the almighty power of the Superior Being. Thus we may truly say that statistics, geography, natural philosophy, botany, and zoology, with all the kindred sciences, are immeasurably indebted to trade, without which we should probably be very backward in the knowledge of them. It is also notorious that Africa, that wonderful quarter of the globe, is the least known and visited of all others, and that our knowledge of it, in comparison with other countries, is very limited.

It is true much has been done for it, and we cannot but acknowledge the great courage and love of the sciences manifested by those who have made so many dangerous attempts to unfold to us the treasures and wonders which are contained in that part of the world. Still much remains to be done; and we cannot but applaud the attempts which are made to acquire additional knowledge. The result cannot be doubtful, as we may infer from what we already know, that much of what is grand, beautiful, wonderful, is still concealed there.

Our connection with these emigrants, their acquaintance with the country and the surrounding tribes, would thus materially contribute, if our endeavours were purposely applied to make us better acquainted with Africa, to bring what is there hidden in the three kingdoms of Nature to the knowledge of man, whose skill would soon teach him the end and adaptation of all,—whether to increase his wonder of the Almighty Creator of Nature, or to make a more limited useful application of them, and through them contribute to the promotion of commerce in general.

Lastly, we conceive that in a political view it cannot be indifferent to us to possess in those remote regions a place of refuge—a friendly ally who could render us the greatest and most essential services when opportunity offered, to which end well-established relations with the inhabitants would be very serviceable to us.

Our forefathers have taught us, and we constantly see the example followed by one of our most powerful neighbours, that a commercial nation, a naval power, essentially requires, in all seas, and if possible on all important points of the globe, to possess forts fitted to exercise an influence around them, where magazines of every kind may be found, with which, if necessary, losses and disasters may be redressed, and where a safe retreat may be offered to those who require it. These might be considered as so many guard-posts, from which the surrounding country could be commanded and kept in subjection, and which on every opportunity that occurred would be immediately prepared to act on the spot with vigour and energy until sufficient support could be given by the remote mother country, by the delay of which an object is sometimes accomplished, and an irreparable loss sustained by the mother country, which might have been obviated by a speedier display of power.

Even as we have important positions and forts for the defence of the mother country, which are guarded and defended in preference to others, either in order to offer an enemy a more effectual resistance, to retard him in his operations, to interrupt him in his further designs, or to furnish all such necessaries and assistance as may be required by those who are charged with the defence of them in the open field, or in case of emergency to establish a rallying point and place of refuge. In like manner, a naval power may consider the entire country belonging to commerce which it traverses, and all parts of the earth and ocean, where trade is at all carried on, as a region the defence of which is entrusted to him, and where, if necessary, a sufficient force should always be in readiness to act

immediately with promptitude. These strong positions might be considered as so many forts, which are of the same importance in those seas that others are upon land. This system is not pursued by any nation more diligently than by our neighbours, the English, whose endeavours are continually exerted to establish as many such strong positions as possible, according to the importance of the place.

If we merely glance at the Mediterranean Sea, or the wide ocean, we see them everywhere established at the most important and suitable places. It is not to be denied that we were deprived on similar grounds of the Cape of Good Hope, which as a settlement, or productive country, did not certainly present that advantage which it offered in a political view; and as if what they already possess on the route to the East Indies were not sufficient, it is now understood that at the present moment they have become possessed by purchase of two important positions, namely, the Islands of Fernando Po and Annabon, situated on the coast of Africa, and belonging to Spain; and in their contests with the Chinese, they have made every endeavour to acquire possession of a fort opposite to them; and with this view, in every possible way, but in vain, to induce the Portuguese to cede to them the Island of Macao. This line of policy should not be neglected, even were we to pay no regard to what our forefathers have already taught us; and now, owing to the want, which we so sensibly experience of those positions in our extensive and important East-India trade, we ought to be glad to avail ourselves of any means whatsoever by which that want can be partially supplied.

We willingly acknowledge, however, that Port Natal cannot, perhaps, under the circumstances stated, be of that importance to us which the Cape of Good Hope formerly was; but if we consider that from our possessions in the East Indies to the mother country, we have scarcely any place where, in the event of any accidents at sea, our richly-laden fleet could reach a safe port before it chanced to fall into the hands of the enemy,—a fact of which we experienced the most disastrous results during the embargo in 1832,—then, in how-ever trifling a way the want in question can be supplied, it could not be indifferent to us to find, on our return voyage from the East Indies, a port and a people where we should be safe, and where we should obtain all that friendly and cordial support and protection we should consequently need. Whatever interest is therefore considered—whether it be that of humanity, of trade and industry, science or politics—each is of itself separately of the greatest importance; but,

taken collectively, that importance must increase more than two-fold, and constrain us to make one attempt, at least, to obtain so much of what is noble, grand, and good.

It was these considerations which encouraged the author a considerable time ago, and induced him to think of the fittest means which could conduce to so grand an object, animated as he also was with the desire to fulfil his duty to society, as far as in him lay,—a duty which belongs to each citizen, and which is imposed upon him to aid with all his energy and ability in the promotion of the public prosperity.

It often happens, however, that though we may warmly wish and be prepared to apply our abilities to that purpose, the task is too comprehensive, too intricate and important to be accomplished by means of individual exertion alone. The assistance, support, and co-operation of those who entertain similar thoughts and feelings are often required to aid in it. And the author is animated with the hope that the public will coincide with him in this principle, that where we have in view the accomplishment of an object tending to dignify man, our fellow-being, where it concerns the honour, welfare, and prosperity of the mother country, where we endeavour to promote the public interests, their general co-operation and support should aid the efforts of individual exertion.

It is with this object that the author has written these few lines, to endeavour to excite in the minds of others a fellow-feeling for our descendants—a desire to promote our own prosperity and the public weal, and to induce them to co-operate with him for that purpose: with which view he has formed the following plan, namely, to send a vessel to Port Natal as secretly as possible, and without any stir whatever, and to load it with as many articles as possible of Dutch produce, comprising the first necessities of life, as also such other articles as we may reasonably presume would there find a ready sale. It need not be said that prudence enjoins that we should give as little publicity as possible to this plan, when we consider the connection in which these emigrants formerly stood with respect to England, and which prevents us from openly calling upon the Government of the country for aid and support herein, in order that other great and dear interests may not be injured.

With respect to the description and selection of the goods to be sent, we cannot do a greater service to a people so thoroughly attached to Holland, and who are so readily desirous of possessing all that comes from hence in preference, than to send to them those

articles which are of native produce, and which would there find a ready sale. It is also necessary to keep in mind their moral and temporal condition, remembering that an infant State is still, as it were, in the infancy of its social existence, is in want of everything, and those wants from that consideration are easily inferred. Prudence and circumspection must, however, be our guides, since as yet we know so little of this new State, and we must, therefore, carefully abstain from all excess. The object of this first adventure must merely be to enquire and discover what could hereafter be profitably undertaken, the means which would have to be applied to establish a regular and advantageous trade with these emigrants: to learn their primary and essential wants; to ascertain and fix the geographical position of the place; to enquire into the nature and state of the climate and soil—in one word, it would be, as it were, a voyage of discovery, by which the proceedings for the future would be regulated, and from which it would appear what could be done for the interests of the emigrants and ourselves.

It is, therefore, that we should be prudent in the selection of the goods to be sent, and chiefly choose such as we may be almost certain would find ready storage, and a prompt sale in other countries. There is also another important reason why the selection of the outward cargo requires more than usual caution. It is not to be disguised that an adventure of the kind in question is always more or less a risk, as the word itself implies, and it always remains an adventure of which the good or bad result is not assured to us. At the commencement we should calculate and foresee the chances as far as possible, and take measures accordingly; so that, although we may derive no advantage from them, we may be secured against serious loss. Thus, for example, the vessel proposed to be sent might not reach Port Natal, owing to some cause or other, or might be repulsed by open force, and find it impossible to land the cargo. In such an event, the injury to the ship and cargo would be great if it was not provided for. In those remote seas, which are so little visited, nothing would remain for her, were she detained by open force from running into the port, than to sail for our Dutch East-India possessions, they being the nearest, where the goods might be sold and a return cargo bought. As we ought to provide for such a contingency, we should be careful so to select the outward cargo that, in the event supposed, it would suit the Java market. Thus it should principally consist of cheese, gin, tobacco, flour, wine, pipes, liqueurs, paper, refined sugar, and home cotton and cloth, &c., and of

theological, literary, and scientific works. It would also be necessary that qualified persons should accompany this adventure, a person who takes to heart the interests of trade, is thoroughly acquainted with it, who would ascertain what would be profitable hereafter to import and export, and make himself well acquainted with the wants, the mode of life, &c., of the people; and a person who would have more leisure to study their moral concerns and be useful to science, who could acquaint us with the form of government, the institutions and laws there in force, the nature of the soil and climate, the course of the rivers, and their availableness for easy inland communication—and, in brief, with everything that we require to know of a new State—in order that in future we may be able to cement and maintain regular and friendly relations with it. If, however, the vessel should arrive safely at Port Natal without encountering any obstacle, it will then no longer be a matter of doubt whether the goods sent thither will meet with an advantageous market and find a ready sale, and whether a profitable trade can be carried on, especially as, which we have already observed, cattle (the staple article of the emigrants), however important, is of very little value, and thus whatever might be most advantageous as fit for our market, such as hides or wool, could be taken in exchange for the goods we import.

The sum required for accomplishing this first adventure would amount to between *f.* 25,000 and *f.* 30,000 at the utmost, which if shared in by others is not, the author imagines, of such importance as to deter us from so grand a plan.

The author not being able to do all himself, especially in a matter such as that now under consideration, which he trusts will not be ill-judged of by any, it appeared to him that the best mode would be to raise the funds required in shares of *f.* 1,000 each, in order that, if the accounts and prospects received of this previous adventure should justify the opinion that we shall find in this new State a powerful prop to our trade and manufactures, and that in course of time business could be carried on with it successfully, the several shareholders may form themselves into a company, appoint directors from amongst themselves if necessary, increase the original capital, and in this manner accomplish and carry out the plan of which we have here given a faint outline.

It will not be taken amiss of the author if he states that a vessel has been built for this service by the firm of J. A. Klyn & Co., to which the undersigned belongs, which, although not quite completed, will be ready for sea in a short time, which has been expressly con-

structed in such a manner as was judged best adapted for an adventure of the nature proposed, being coppered and copper-fastened, having room for about 170 lasts of rye, being built expressly for swift sailing, abundantly provided with good accommodations for passengers, and having nothing to wish for on the score of either tightness or staunchness.

The said firm would bind themselves, for account of themselves and some friends, to take from eight to ten shares of *f.* 1,000 each, and they have already adopted preparatory measures to ensure the best result to this cause, under the blessing of Providence, especially in selecting and instructing the persons required; and it is part of the author's plan if, on the arrival of the vessel at Port Natal, it evidently appears that this adventure will have the effect we anticipate, to endeavour to enter into certain engagements with the Government of this new State, and to stipulate for advantages and privileges for the said company, which first displayed there the flag of the mother country; so that afterwards an advantageous competition could be maintained, which would certainly not be wanting if it were seen that the trade with this State could be carried on with success. But, as has already been observed, an adventure is uncertain, and, far from raising and assuring agreeable expectations, the future can alone decide the result. As the author, his firm, and his friends think on this subject, so he trusts his countrymen will think. It is in this confidence that he invites them to participate in this noble cause,—them upon whom the voice of humanity, the voice of the Almighty, the welfare and prosperity of the mother country in the promotion of trade and industry, is a call; and in whom the sciences find such powerful patrons.

Amsterdam, 8th August, 1841.

[A true translation :—(Signed) H. TENNANT, Sworn Translator.]

GENERAL ORDERS BY LIEUT.-COL. CLOETE.

Headquarters, Cape Town, January 14, 1842.

1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to appoint Captain T. C. Smith, 27th Regiment, Commandant of Port Natal; and all detachments of troops stationed in Faku's country, the territories of Natal, and its dependencies, are placed under his immediate orders.

2. Captain Smith, on being relieved at the Umgazi Camp, will march with his detachment to Port Natal, according to such instructions as he shall receive.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lieut.-Colonel,
Depy.-Gr.-Mr.-General.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL (CAPE COLONY).

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1842.

Present: His Excellency the Governor and all the members, except the Hon. Mr. van Breda.

The GOVERNOR: * * * I now wish to call the attention of the Council to what has taken place with regard to Natal. The Council are, I believe, generally aware that a correspondence has taken place between the Colonial Government and a number of British subjects who have left the colony and settled in that quarter. My honourable and learned friend opposite (Mr. Advocate Cloete), who from the interest he felt in them, offered some time ago, in the handsomest manner, to give up his professional pursuits and proceed to Natal with the view of endeavouring, on the part of the Government, to bring these misguided people to entertain proper views of their situation, and who—although it was not then deemed necessary to take advantage of his services in this respect—has been made aware of all the steps that have been taken, and has had access to all despatches and other communications that have passed upon the subject, will, I doubt not, be able to bear testimony to the anxiety of the Colonial Government to take only such measures as were likely to promote the best interests of the emigrants themselves. As I think it right that this Council, and through them the public, should also have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with all that has transpired in reference to this very important subject, I shall proceed to read the whole of the correspondence which has taken place. * * *

His Excellency then read the following letters: *

* * *

The GOVERNOR then said: I have now read the whole of the communications that have passed between the Colonial Government

* 4th September, 1840; 2nd November, 1840; 14th January, 27th January, 7th April, 10th June, 3rd September, 11th October, 1841,—which will be found in their places according to date.

and the emigrant farmers. It was clearly impossible to carry such a correspondence further with people who thus persisted in throwing off their allegiance; but I think it will be universally admitted that the Government have used every possible forbearance in the matter. All my despatches, as I have stated, have been seen by the honourable and learned member who offered his services to be employed in any way that might lead to an amicable adjustment, and I believe he will acknowledge that they do not contain one word from beginning to end that does not breathe a spirit of amity, or that does not at the same time indicate a determination to adhere to the principles on which, on the part of the Government, the whole proceedings have been conducted. I have occasion to know that although Mr. Pretorius, Mr. Prinslo, and a few others, profess to act on behalf of the whole of the farmers, they have only influence among a small portion of them; and that, in fact, two-thirds of the farmers never saw them, know nothing of them, but as a parcel of designing men who have misled a number of their countrymen, and keep them in ignorance to promote their own views. I see continually statements in the papers, published as intelligence from Natal, which are actually written in utter ignorance of what has taken place: and I have now laid the whole matter before this Council, that they, and through them the public, should be put in possession of correct information on the subject. It will be seen that I have forborne till the last moment; and that should anything unpleasant occur—which, however, I do not anticipate—the Government cannot fairly be blamed. I do not believe that Captain Smith will meet with the slightest resistance from the people at Port Natal. The great majority of them are anxious to remain in possession of the privileges of British subjects; and if they were only aware that their landed property would be secured to them, I believe that they would long since have signified their willingness to submit. I should mention that another circumstance which urged me to issue my proclamation, was my having received information that there was an intention on the part of the Boers to turn the natives out of their gardens and take possession of them themselves. This information was not official; and I merely mention the fact to account for my having stated in my proclamation that this would not be allowed. I have only further to add, that everything is in readiness to occupy Natal, and the troops have orders to march forward immediately.

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DESPATCH FROM SIR GEORGE NAPIER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD STANLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
4th February, 1842.

MY LORD,—Referring to my despatch No. 136, of 6th December last, acquainting your Lordship with my intention of taking military possession of Port Natal, by moving forward Captain Smith's detachment at the Umgazi as soon as the rainy season was over, and the troops were able to march, I have the honour further to inform your Lordship that I have deemed it prudent to retain possession of the post at the Umgazi until Captain Smith shall be securely established at Port Natal, and his communication by sea opens.

For this purpose, a detachment of the 27th Regiment, as per enclosed return, under the command of Captain Lonsdale, accompanied by a reinforcement to strengthen the force proceeding to Natal, marched from Graham's Town on the morning of the 28th ultimo; and as soon after their arrival at the Umgazi Post as the state of the weather will admit, Captain Smith, with a force as per Return No. 2, will proceed towards Natal and assume the command of that Port.

I beg leave to transmit for your Lordship's approval a copy of the instructions which I have furnished to that officer, both civil and military, in which I have avoided any interference with the internal arrangements of the emigrant farmers, unless the troops or the colonists, or the native tribes are attacked, and have taken care not to embarrass Her Majesty's Government in the final settlement of the question of the colonization of Natal.

From the appearance of the season, I do not expect that Captain Smith's detachment will arrive at Port Natal before the end of March, soon after which period I shall hope to receive your Lordship's answer to my despatch of the 6th December upon this subject, which I trust will contain full instructions for my future guidance as to the relations which are to subsist between the British Government and the emigrant farmers.

I cannot conclude this despatch without assuring your Lordship of my entire confidence in the abilities and judgment of Captain Smith, whom I have selected for this service, and whom I consider

well qualified for any duty, either civil or military, in which your Lordship may have occasion to employ him while he is stationed at Natal.—I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

RETURN OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TO BE SENT TO NATAL.

Two Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Staff Surgeon, 1 Sergeant, 3 Drummers, 237 Men, 10 Horses, 3 Guns.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN SMITH.

Government House, Cape Town,
14th January, 1842.

SIR,—As no definite instructions have yet been sent from the Secretary of State in reference to the future civil relations which are to subsist between the emigrants and the other British subjects now residing in or occupying the Port of Natal and the surrounding country, and the Government of this colony, the following instructions are for your temporary guidance until Her Majesty's pleasure be known:—

1. You will act in conformity with my proclamation of 2nd December, 1841, abstaining from all interference in the civil concerns of the farmers, whose internal arrangements are not to be abrogated or disturbed either by yourself or any person acting under your orders.

2. The farmers, therefore, may continue their import and export duties, and other taxes according to present arrangements; but on no account are you to permit a duty to be levied on any of Her Majesty's stores, by land or water. * * *

3. Should it come to your knowledge that a commando is being organised against the tribes or others on pretence of stolen cattle, or what the emigrants may consider an offence against them, you will immediately send to prohibit such commando, and desire the persons concerned to give you a written statement of the facts, and of their reasons for wishing to attack the tribe against which the commando is to proceed; and upon receiving such statement, you will make every enquiry into the details of the case: and then I must leave it to your own judgment, having first used every means in your power, by negotiation with the natives, to settle the matter in dispute, to decide upon the necessity of permitting a commando of the emi-

grants, accompanied by an adequate military force, to enter the territory of such tribe for the purpose of demanding restitution of the property plundered, or atonement for the injury committed; and if such forcible entry be made, it will be the duty of the officer under whose orders you place the commando to see that no aggressive bloodshed or cruelty takes place, but merely the restitution of cattle or other stolen property, and a reasonable compensation for loss of time to the farmers, together with punishment of the robbers by their tribe according to their own laws; and on no account are you ever to permit women or children to be seized and brought into the territory occupied by the emigrants; neither are you to tolerate slavery in any shape within the territory occupied by Her Majesty's subjects.

4. Should an attack be made by any native tribe upon the territory inhabited by the emigrants, you will immediately send a detachment to protect the latter, and punish the tribe which may be guilty of the attack according as adjustment and the circumstances of the case may require.

5. In everything connected with your intercourse, both civil and military, you must act with the greatest caution, so as not to pledge the Government to any recognition of the emigrants in any other way than that of Queen's subjects, amenable to Her Majesty's authority, until her pleasure as regards their future relations be known.

6. You will keep records of all your transactions with the natives and emigrants. * * *

[He then cautions Captain Smith as to maintaining a kind and civil demeanour towards the natives and emigrants.]

(Signed) G. NAPIER.

THE VOLKSRAAD TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

[Translation.—J. B.]

Pietermaritzburg, Natal, February 21, 1842.

To His Excellency Major-General Sir G. T. NAPIER, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c., &c., of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, president and members of the Volksraad, who have met in our assembly at this place, have thought it fitting to inform your Excellency that we have received a certain

Proclamation, dated 2nd December, 1841, issued by your Excellency, in which it is declared that your Excellency, in pursuance of instructions received by you, has thought fit to resume the military occupation of this place, and that we are British subjects, and will not be acknowledged by Her Majesty as a free and independent people, &c. ; and as the friendly communications which we have begun with your Excellency, and the proposals made by us with the view of securing an ever-enduring peace and alliance with the British Government, if only we could be left to our own control (a privilege not denied even to the Griquas dwelling on the borders of your colony, although that people consists of no other than emigrants from the Cape Colony, even as we), are now used as a cause for drawing down on us the most fearful consequences,—we have, therefore, in order to ascertain accurately the feelings of all our fellow-emigrants, caused the said proclamation to be circulated amongst them, and have invited them, by means of public meetings, to discuss the subject freely, and to acquaint us with the result. We are in a position to inform your Excellency that the general feeling of our fellow-emigrants is, and that they have requested us to declare, as we do hereby declare it to be, that we regard your said proclamation as unjust in the extreme to us, and calculated (if it be brought into operation) to bring about precisely that which is therein set forth as the principal object to be avoided—war and bloodshed.

As this may, perhaps, be the last communication of the kind that we may have the opportunity of having with your Excellency, we think it necessary again to deal with the subject in its full extent. Above all, we wish it to be well understood that it is not our object to injure, to deal in reproaches, or to give any impulse to warlike tendencies, for it is our heartfelt wish and desire to preserve peace with all people; and nothing will induce us to take up arms and shed human blood, except the firm conviction that we cannot avoid doing so, or in the event of the protection of our property (which we regard as having been dearly and bitterly obtained) and of our own existence rendering it necessary, or when we see that violence, and not right, is practised in our regard. We know that a God lives who rules heaven and earth, and who is both able and willing to protect the wronged, though the weaker, against those who use force. To Him, and to the justice of our cause, we commit ourselves; and if it be His will that universal desolation is to be brought upon us, our wives and children, and all that we possess, we shall submit ourselves, and acknowledge that we have deserved this from Him; but

not from men. We are aware of the power of Great Britain, and it is not our object in any way to defy that power; but we can at the same time as little allow that violence instead of right shall triumph over us, unless we shall have exerted all our efforts to resist such violence. We do not accuse the British Government of intending this; but experience has taught us that the wrong and groundless projects (as it is again manifest that the case is in our regard) having their origin in a far distant country, have but too often brought to bear measures that are oppressive and unjust.

We also disavow most positively that we are animated by an ingrained hatred towards the English nation. Every man on earth is naturally more attached to his own people than to any other: but as Christians we have learned to love all men; and although we, South African Boers, have often been regarded with disdain and contempt by Englishmen, let the many English (and among them we reckon the Scotch, with whom we were personally acquainted in our native country, and amongst whom we even had teachers for whom we evinced all esteem) bear witness; let the officers and soldiers with whom we have served together in arms, bear witness; let our former rulers and those having local authority over us, bear witness; and let even the respectable English who are now living amongst and associating with us in security, bear witness, whether any such hatred against the English is fostered in our bosoms. Still we shall not deny that the measures resolved upon in the colony in our regard from time to time by the English Government, and the laws enacted by them, have been the only cause why we have quitted the country of our birth and of our kindred, and have committed ourselves, as it were, to the barrenness of the wilderness in order to be able to be free from the control of that Government. To adduce some instances:—

Who was it that forced upon us the increasing evils of slavery? Who was it that assured us of a right of property in it? Was it not the same Government that afterwards took it from us, and that in such a way that we ourselves had not the smallest voice as to the best or most fitting means in which that should be brought about? Who was it that promised us full compensation for our slaves? Was it not the same Government that put us off with a third part of the actual value of our property, and then left us a prey to grasping and gain-seeking dealers, who enriched themselves at the expense of our purses? Who was it that employed us, without reward and at our own expense, for the protection of the frontiers of the colony against

the hostile, the war-loving, or robber-hearted Kafirs? Was it not the same Government that afterwards denied us all claim for compensation, wrongfully giving out that we, by pilfering from the Kafirs, had drawn down their revenge legitimately on our heads? Who took away from us the best Governor that we had ever had, only because, being a conscientious man, he had defended the Cape colonists, and, by punishing their desolating enemy, sought their practical security and protection? Who after that sent us political speculators, bound hand and foot, whose arrangements of a frontier exposed us to be robbed and threatened by the Kafir without ceasing and without punishment, and that accompanied by heavy expenses to the country, to be levied from the purse of the ruined Boer? Was it not the same Government that left the country open to roaming vagabonds, who led a life of idleness and listlessness, and lived upon the herds and other property of the already sufficiently impoverished Boer? Thus from the Boer, deprived of labourers, or, if he had any, deprived of all requisite control over them (and under these grievances the colonists still suffer), all energy was taken away, so that, seeing his repeated remonstrances and petitions unanswered or unnoticed, he had the darkest prospect before him.

We ascribe all these evils to one only cause, namely, the want of a representative government, which is refused to us by the Executive Government of that very people who regard that very privilege as one of its most sacred citizen rights, and for which every true Briton would give up his life. And what did we do under all those oppressions? Did we take up arms, demanding that justice should be done us, as lately happened in Canada? No; we gave the coat also to him who had taken the cloak from us: we got rid of our immovable property at ridiculous prices: we told the Government publicly that we should withdraw from our country and from its control. This was conceded to us: at least it was not forbidden. We were even surprised when we heard of a most reasonable and just declaration made by the Lieutenant-Governor, that it was an indispensable right that any one, being dissatisfied with the control of a government, had a right to withdraw from it. Immediately after our emigration we declared our independence: we established a government of our own: we made war upon those who unexpectedly assailed us, and made peace: we took possession of unoccupied regions, as well those that fell to our lot by amicable arrangements with the heathen races, as those that we had to purchase by our property and blood.

Meanwhile, what did the Colonial Government in the course of all these circumstances? Did it cause us to be informed that we could not divest ourselves of our obligation as subjects wherever we might find ourselves? Or did it offer us any help when we were in distress, and had the prospect of being at any moment annihilated by savage and bloodthirsty enemies, and when already six hundred of our number had been most treacherously and undeservedly murdered? Or did it regard with indifference the misery of its former subjects, whilst total destruction threatened them? But, what is more, were not their murderers supported and helped, as soon as they (the emigrants) appeared to have any chance of gaining the upper-hand, by forbidding the export of any arms or ammunition to them? Yes; even by threatening us with a military occupation, and the confiscation of our own arms and ammunition,—and this whilst giving out that it was done from a humane wish to avoid the shedding of more blood, at a time when there was no fear for the shedding of Christian blood, but when revenge was to be visited on those whose hands were still stained with it. Further, by stopping the course of trade, so that several of the emigrants during the visitation of an infectious disease (the measles) died for want of the necessary remedies, or food required or indispensable at such a time. Had not the same Government already treated us as foreigners, even with reference to our trade by sea? How is it possible that, with all such arguments on our side, your Excellency can expect that we can regard ourselves as transgressors or disturbers in opposition to our lawful Government? We declare that we cannot see how the British Government, under the circumstances above rehearsed, can make a claim with any the least shadow of justice or reason on us as its subjects, unless this proceeds only from other motives of policy, or pretexts be sought against us from motives of jealousy, to bring again, with some show of equity, under the yoke the emigrants so despised and left to their fate. We doubt very much whether, if we had withdrawn into the heart of Africa or Delagoa, we should have been interfered with there. But we still cherish the hope that when the present Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England and the British nation shall have been made well and truly acquainted with the whole circumstances of the case, measures will be devised to bring about mutual satisfaction otherwise than by the sword and bloodshed. We entreat your Excellency to take the matter again into consideration, and not to adopt any course of action by which we might be driven to take steps which, however much against our

inclination, or however painful to ourselves they may be, yet will be unavoidable for our existence and security, and bring upon your Excellency a responsibility which sooner or later may weigh heavily.

As regards the cause set forth in your proclamation, by reason of which this military occupation is rendered necessary, to wit, our resolution adopted here, in regard to the Kafirs, on 2nd August, 1841, we only wish to remark that, as usually happens, the person from whom your Excellency has derived your information is either himself not acquainted with actual circumstances, or has of set purpose concealed them from you. We are in a position to be able to convince any upright philanthropist that our design, in regard to the Kafirs, as well old inhabitants as new comers, in making arrangements for their removal, as well by the resolution already referred to as by another since adopted on the same subject, is founded on motives of true humanity, as we have sought thereby to prevent or to avoid the probability of hostility and bloodshed, which must otherwise inevitably have ensued if we had allowed Zulus and other natives to quit their old abodes and to set themselves down by thousands amongst us—as is the case at this moment; for, having first been protected by us against their enemies, and having since grown strong, they would have been placed in the most favourable position in the world for exterminating us, if only to possess themselves of our cattle; or, their attempt being discovered, they would have obliged us without delay to assail and drive them out by force of arms.

Our measures have been arranged with the object of providing, as far as practicable, against the possibility of any such occurrence, and not to let the evil grow too much, or to become first irremediable, and then to become active. The subject would grow too extensive if we were now to recite all that we have to say on that head. We shall, therefore, proceed to show that, even if Faku had any claim to that tract of country mentioned in your Excellency's proclamation, he alone would have been to blame if we had made any use of that tract. First, we have it proved that, as far back as 1834, he had already declared that he made no claim to the land, with the exception of some kraals for spies (scouts), nor has he ever occupied it, so far as we have been able to ascertain. We have also caused to be published the treaty entered into with Dingaan by the late Mr. Retief, as well as our proclamation in which our frontier is defined to be at the Umzimvubu River. In addition to this, Faku himself entered into an amicable arrangement with us, and we obtained from and gave him an assurance of peacefulness and even

of protection ; so that no hindrance stood in the way of his protesting, if we had disposed of any portion of his territory ; but, besides, he voluntarily declared to our delegates that the country as far as the Umzimvubu had lawfully belonged to Chaka, and Dingaan in succession to him, and that he acknowledged our claim to it as founded in justice, both by the treaty before mentioned, and by our victory over the nation. He went further, and said that Chaka and Dingaan had included the tract even beyond the Umzimvubu, and that he regarded himself and his people as being there by sufferance from us. May we not then ask, where is there a colony or a region acquired by conquest, now in the possession of Great Britain or of any other power, the claim to which is more based upon right ? We are convinced of the contrary ; but if Faku can show that neither Chaka nor Dingaan ever had any claim to the tract *in question*, and that this unoccupied extent has always been in his possession, who can convince us that in despite of this we have insisted on the occupation of it, and that, therefore, by reason of it, any shadow of a cause can be alleged for the threatened military occupation of our harbours and territory.

We acknowledge, moreover, that we cannot comprehend, as far as we are concerned, the right of being regarded as subjects by birth, as elsewhere in your proclamation advanced by your Excellency. But, setting this question aside, we are bound to declare our conviction that there is no possibility for us to be in security in this country, or even to exist, if we were again to give ourselves up to the jurisdiction of a Colonial Government, as heretofore. The country, of which your Excellency already disposes by anticipation, threatening to take it away from us and from our children, would in such case be of no value to us. What prospect have we of being able to enjoy a better protection than that which falls to the lot of the frontier inhabitants of your colony, and on account of which many of our number were obliged to fly from that country ? What prospects have we of even enjoying as much of protection ?

Your Excellency's dealings in our regard give more than reason to suppose that your solicitude and care exist only for the uncivilized races, and that it would be productive of very little anxiety if we, with our wives, our children, and servants, were to be dragged by them like sheep to the slaughter ; yes—that the philanthropists of our day would still find false accusations numerous enough to make the world believe that we had richly deserved our fate, and that it is our own fault. The will of destiny, then, seems to drive us to one

of two choices, namely, to bow ourselves down as beasts of burden, to bear willingly the burden imposed upon us, till, finding it too heavy, we again, as before, set out on a new emigration, leaving behind us here all we possess in the world ; or to clench a gun in our fist, for the protection of our rights, of our property, even of our existence, to strive against our oppressors, and, falling and dropping down, put an end to our earthly miseries. We submit it to your Excellency's judgment, and to that of every right-minded Englishman, which of the two is preferable ? Let it no longer be supposed that we seek to mislead, or that we are ourselves misled. Experience has, more or less, given us all severe lessons ; and whatever may be our political differences as to matters of civil administration, your Excellency will find that very little variance exists on that one point. If we were all to be brought low at the cost of much blood and treasure, the flame would be only smothered or stifled, to burst out the more violently in the day of revenge. It is in your Excellency's power to prevent these evils ; and if it be truly in your Excellency's power to avoid further bloodshed, it will be an easy matter for your Excellency to find reasons enough to hold in abeyance the contemplated military occupation, and to employ other means, the operation of which will be attended with more of human feeling and blessing.

It has created in us a deep feeling of pain, that ever since the outset of our emigration we have been made aware how we have been unfairly held up to the world as rude people, who, tired of civilized law and the discipline of the church, sought to live without restraint, each according to the disposition of his heart. More than once we have put our accusers to shame. Although we may be inexperienced farmers, who in the land of our birth were never permitted to take any part in matters of public importance to the country, we have, however, succeeded in placing our form of government on such a footing that we are beginning, from day to day, more and more, to win public confidence. Religion itself has been provided for on an orderly basis, and buildings and cultivation make greater progress each day. Already we have raised a respectable building for the celebration of public worship, and the education of the young has been placed upon a good footing.

The war-craving Zulus, by whom we are surrounded, have been checked in their hitherto incessant passion for war, so that even now, from fear of us, they take up their weapons stealthily and very seldom. Two missionaries are already at work amongst them under our pro-

tection; and we have already the best prospects that the civilization of that people will advance more rapidly than that of the Kafirs on the borders of the colony. All this has been already accomplished, now that we are bnt just beginning to emerge from our great difficulties. Your Excellency may, therefore, well conceive that it will pain us to see the foundation of all our hopes thrown over. A single wrong or unstatesmanlike experiment would create irreparable disadvantage to us. Already there are active agents busy in exciting the Kafir races against us to their or our misfortune, and in impressing them that we are their oppressors, but the English their protectors, and that they, if they cling to the English, will have as booty our cattle for their reward. Possibly your Excellency has given no permission for this: it is, however, being done. Will the civilized world ever be able to blame us, that we, in such circumstances, and under such inhuman persecution, should do and venture the utmost for the preservation of our lives? And if we have to shrink back before superior force, and to seek for safety further inland, where we shall be more concentrated and contend against our enemy at greater advantage, shall anyone then reproach us if, for our losses sustained as well in the colony as since our emigration, and for our lands, houses, and other possessions which we shall be obliged to leave a prey to desolation, we seek to compensate ourselves from our old debtors, the Kafirs, and even beyond them? We pray that the Almighty may forbid this, and that it may please Him to give us a happier issue of events.

Lastly, as well on our own behalf as at the earnest request of our fellow-emigrants, we must most strongly protest against the taking possession of any part of this country, as threatened in your Excellency's proclamation of 2nd December, before mentioned, and to declare that from this time forth we intend to regard ourselves as irresponsible for the dreadful consequences of such a step, before God, before our own consciences, and before the world.

We have the honour, with all respect, to name ourselves

Your Excellency's most obedient servants,

(Signed) JOACHIM PRINSLO, President,

(„) J. J. BURGER, Secretary,

On behalf of all the members of the Council.

[1842.—March.]

EXTRACT FROM A NARRATIVE

COMMUNICATED BY MR. WILLIAM PALMER, DEPUTY COMMISSARY-GENERAL.

I was with the force at the Umgazi under Capt. Smith, 27th Regiment. In March, 1842, the order was received from Headquarters to march to D'Urban, Port Natal.

The force moved on at once, but was about six weeks on its way to D'Urban. The advance was impeded by continuous heavy rain, and by the want of roads. It was in many places absolutely necessary to construct roads to enable the baggage wagons to pass onward. The march was not impeded by any obstruction on the part of the natives; nor did we see any of the emigrant Boers until we had reached the Umbilo, near Seaview, about five miles from D'Urban. At the Umkomas we had been met by several Englishmen resident at the port, who came to welcome Captain Smith and the troops. At the Umbilo, a Boer named Jan Meyer came to meet us. He represented himself to be a deputy sent by the authorities among the Boers to enquire the reason of our advance, and to protest against the presence of the British troops in the country. He had three or four attendants, but no one else spoke. I interpreted. Capt. Smith replied that he had been ordered to occupy Natal, and that he must do so.

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DESPATCH FROM LORD STANLEY TO SIR G. NAPIER.

Downing-street, 10th April, 1842.

Major-General Sir G. NAPIER, K.C.B., &c., &c.,
Cape of Good Hope.

SIR,—I have received your despatch of 6th December last, No. 136, in which you report that you had resumed the military occupation of Port Natal and the adjacent country, and in which you recommended that there should be established there a distinct colony, of which the Government should be either dependent upon, or independent of, your own, as may be thought most convenient.

On receipt of this despatch, it became my duty, in concurrence with the other confidential advisers of the Crown, to examine attentively the correspondence of former years, and all the other

voluminous correspondence within our reach, from which any light could be thrown on the subject of colonizing Port Natal and the adjacent territory. In communicating to you the result of the deliberations of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, I must confine myself to a comparatively brief statement of the motives by which it has been dictated; brief, that is, whether as compared with the importance and difficulty of the subject, or the mass of intelligence bearing upon it which has been brought under our notice. To exhibit at any length the substance of that information, and to adjust the balance of conflicting testimony, would lead me into details far too extensive for an official communication of this kind, which is written with a view to your guidance on urgent practical questions.

Many considerations concur to dissuade the establishment of a new colony in Southern Africa, whether independent of, or depending on, the existing Government of the Cape of Good Hope Colony. Some of them are derived from a general survey of the actual extent of our colonial possessions in different parts of the world; from the magnitude of the naval and military force required for the defence of such settlements, and from the demands to which the national revenue is already subject. These are topics to which, for obvious reasons, I make only a brief and passing allusion; but when I advert to the reports which had been collected from every public officer who has been stationed at or near Port Natal, and from almost every private person who has visited that country,—reports filling a considerable volume, and very carefully digested and arranged by the orders of my immediate predecessor in office,—I am compelled to conclude that Port Natal is nearly worthless in itself as a harbour: that it is, however, the only harbour on that coast; that the adjacent territory possesses no peculiar physical advantages; that the establishment of a colony there would be attended with little prospect of advantage; that it would be productive of a serious charge to the revenues of Great Britain for many years to come; that it would tend still further to disperse the population and to impair the resources of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, without at all diminishing the charge of that Government; that it would bring us into new and hazardous relations with the aboriginal tribes of Southern Africa, and that there is no assignable limit to the operation of that principle, if once admitted, of overtaking, by colonization and settled forms of government, the migratory habits of British subjects who, by advancing into the interior or along the shores of the African

continent, may withdraw themselves from the local allegiance which they owe to their Sovereign. These are, indeed, conclusions which, as I have said, could not be justified except by statements almost as voluminous as those from which they are derived. But from the silence of your despatch on objections so prominent and so serious, I cannot but infer that you have been mainly influenced, in your decision to encounter them, by the apparent necessity of meeting in some way the embarrassment occasioned by the emigration of the Dutch colonists to the vicinity of Port Natal. I understand you to consider the colonization of that country, not as in itself a desirable measure, but as desirable because affording the best or rather only remedy against an evil in which it is impossible any longer to acquiesce.

To this topic it is, therefore, necessary that I should next advert.

Her Majesty's Government are fully impressed with the magnitude of the mischiefs which have arisen, and which are likely to result, from the emigration of the Dutch colonists to the neighbourhood of Port Natal, and from their settlement there. They contemplate with deep regret the calamities to which these misguided people have exposed themselves; nor can they regard without lively indignation the slaughter and oppressions to which, in the prosecution of their enterprise, they have subjected the native tribes. If your apprehensions should be realised, and the tribes with whom we have made treaties should become the victims of the injustice of the emigrants, it would not be enough to lament the evil: we must in that case take active measures for the redress or the prevention of it.

With this view, it is necessary that you should open a direct communication with the emigrants, and distinctly inform them that Her Majesty's Government regard as altogether inadmissible, and even as extravagant, the pretension which they make to be regarded as an independent State or community; that the allegiance which they owe to the British Crown is, according to the laws of the British Empire, an obligation which it is not in their power to disclaim or to violate with impunity; that so long as the Queen's subjects dwell within the limits of the settled districts of Her Majesty's dominion, and perform the duties of allegiance, they are entitled to expect, and will undoubtedly receive, from their Sovereign the effective protection of their persons and of their property; that by withdrawing themselves without authority from those districts, and still more by invading in hostile array the territories of a neighbouring people,

they forfeit during their absence, and while engaged in such an enterprise, their claim to Her Majesty's protection, though they do not absolve themselves from responsibility to the Queen for their conduct. Such being the light in which their present position is regarded by Her Majesty's Government, they should further be informed that it is Her Majesty's gracious wish to contribute to the utmost of her power to relieve them from the distress in which they are involved, and to save them from the perpetration of those crimes into which that distress may urge them. They should be told that Her Majesty is willing to extend an amnesty and pardon to such of them as shall return, within a time to be limited for the purpose, within the precincts of the colony of the Cape; that when arrived there they will be protected in their persons and property, and permitted to pursue their lawful occupations unmolested and in peace; and that the Government will lend every assistance in its power to facilitate their return to the colony, and their settlement there. But it should be added that, so long as they shall persist in residing in the territories of which they have taken possession, Her Majesty's Government will adopt every practicable and legal method of interdicting all commercial intercourse and all communication between them and the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope; and that if they should presume to molest, invade, or injure the Kafir tribes with which Her Majesty is in alliance, Her Majesty's forces will support those tribes in resisting such aggressions; and that any of the emigrants who might be found in arms against the forces of their Sovereign, whether beyond or within the precincts of the colony, would be regarded by the Queen as rebels, and be liable to be dealt with accordingly.

The intimations thus to be made to the emigrants should be regarded as the real course of policy to be adopted towards them. You are better able than I to judge how far the existing law of the Cape of Good Hope would justify you in issuing a proclamation interdicting all intercourse with them. If you have the power to promulgate, and to enforce by adequate penalties, such a proclamation, you will immediately publish and enforce it. If the law is inadequate to the purpose, you will propose to the Legislative Council the enactment of the necessary laws. In this, as in all other cases, Her Majesty is better pleased that laws of internal economy should originate with the local Legislature than that they should be made in the exercise of her own legislative authority. The object of the law should be to oppose the most effectual obstacles which can

be raised to the supply to the emigrants of any articles of which they may stand in need, and especially of gunpowder, firearms, and other munitions of war. The Admiral on the Station should be especially empowered and directed to intercept all supplies which should be sent by sea in contravention of any such law.

You will also publish a proclamation, distinctly apprising all the Queen's subjects in the Cape of Good Hope Colony that Her Majesty claims the allegiance of all her subjects who have emigrated beyond the limits of the colony into the adjacent territories; and calls on all such persons to desist from their unlawful invasions of these territories; but that so long as they shall reside therein, the Queen disavows all responsibility for their protection.

By thus distinctly announcing to the emigrants and to the colonists the light in which the proceedings of the emigrants are viewed by their Sovereign, and the principles on which Her Majesty's Government propose to act regarding them, I believe that one important step will be taken towards mitigating, if not subduing, this great social evil. Hitherto, the Government of the Cape of Good Hope Colony would appear to have held an indistinct and irresolute tone on the subject. It was, I admit, difficult to do otherwise; but when the emigrants shall be clearly apprised how little they have to hope from perseverance in their projects, how little they have to dread from the abandonment of them, and how fixed is Her Majesty's purpose to protect against them the tribes who have been admitted into alliance with us, it seems reasonable to anticipate some disorganization of the force and of the counsels of the emigrants. I perceive that there are already some indications of such a result, and of a desire, on the part of many of them, to return within the protection of the British Crown. To stimulate that desire, and to encourage those who may actually resume their residence within the colony, and to render the absence of the contumacious as destitute as possible of all necessary succours, should be your fixed and avowed policy. I trust it may be successful; but if not, we shall at least be acquitted of any consequences which may follow. There is no other practicable remedy of the evil, which would not involve other and still more disastrous consequences of calamity to the natives of Southern Africa.

Immediately on the receipt of this despatch, you will take the most prompt and effective measures for recalling the military detachment at Port Natal.—I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) STANLEY.

LORD STANLEY TO SIR GEORGE NAPIER.

Downing-street, 6th May, 1842.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 35, of 4th February last, reporting the arrangements which you had finally made for the military occupation of Port Natal.

My instructions No. 65, of 10th ultimo, will fully explain to you the grounds upon which Her Majesty's Government have deemed it advisable to direct you to recall the detachment of troops which I anticipated that you would have sent to Natal. The views of Her Majesty's Government on that subject remain unaltered. Still, I see no objection to authorise you to proceed to the execution of my instructions above mentioned in such manner that the evacuation of the place be effected with due regard, in point of time, to the purposes on the one hand of inducing the Boers, who may be led to listen to your advice, to return within the limits of the colony, and on the other hand of disuniting among themselves those who may prove more obstinate.

At the same time, I must request you to bear in mind that, after the 25th Regiment shall have been detached to India, you must not expect that any reinforcement of the troops allotted for the defence of the colony under your Government can be provided, beyond the three service companies of the 91st Regiment, and that it will behove you to take measures accordingly.—I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) STANLEY.

DESPATCH FROM CAPTAIN SMITH

TO HIS HONOUR COLONEL HARE, C.B., K.H., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

Port Natal, May 14, 1842.

SIR,—In my despatch marked No. 1, I have abstained from entering into a detail of the conduct pursued by the farmers since my arrival, purposely reserving it for a separate communication.

When I had passed the farm of Van Rooyen, on the 3rd instant, I was met by one Jan Meyer and another, who told me they were deputed by the Raad to present to the officer commanding a written protest against the troops entering Natal, which they tendered for my acceptance. This document I declined receiving, stating that I

could not admit the right of any party to protest against the entrance of the Queen's troops into a territory belonging to her. On the 4th, another messenger from the Raad offered me the letter addressed to me at the Umgazi which the Kafirs had refused forwarding, and this also I declined, being aware that it was but a copy of the protest I had refused to receive the day previous. On the 5th, a deputation of four persons from the Raad came to the camp, stating they had communicated to that body my having declined to receive their protest, and brought a further communication to me on the subject. I said that as I could acknowledge no other persons in the country of Natal, unless the subjects of Her Majesty, and those of Powers in amity with her, I must decline receiving it, except with a pledge from them that it came from persons professing allegiance to the British Government. This they objected giving, stating as a reason "that they were in treaty with Holland, and under the protection of that Power," and here the interview terminated.

On the evening of the 7th, I was informed that Pretorius with fifty men had arrived at the Congella, a camp formerly occupied by the Boers at Natal, and laying on the bay, about two miles and a half from my present position. The result of this visit was obvious the following morning; for the enclosed paper (marked thus ✓) had been affixed on the door of a small building, called their Court-house, during the night. This document I caused to be immediately removed, replacing it by printed copies of His Excellency's proclamation, in Dutch and English, which still remain, no attempt having been made to molest them.

Finding that armed Boers were dropping in daily, and congregating themselves at the Congella, on the morning of the 9th instant I marched a party consisting of 100 men of the 27th Regiment, with a gun, &c., accompanied by sappers with tools, for the purpose of demanding that they should disperse, and to destroy any works they might have constructed. Before I had gone half the distance, however, I received a message from Pretorius, stating that he and many of the farmers were coming to hold an interview with me, upon which I halted the troops and awaited their arrival. Those who came with him (and they were not many) were wholly unarmed: and the interview commenced by a complaint of my not receiving the protest before mentioned; and I was asked, Would I hear it read? or, Would I go to the Congella and listen to what the people had to say? I replied that if those who were assembled there admitted themselves subject to the British Government, I had no objections to hear any

representations they had to make; but that I certainly would not listen to persons presuming to question the right of British troops to enter a British territory. After much further conversation, the interview terminated by a promise on their part of withdrawing from the Congella to their farms—a promise, however, which they did not keep; for on the morning of the 11th a number of armed persons on horseback appeared in the woods in the direction of Congella: some posted apparently as sentinels; upon which I drew out a body of troops in order to proceed thither. However, a message coming from Pretorius, to state that he had merely come down with a few men to visit his fieldcornet, and had no intention of annoying, I contented myself by informing him that if a similar demonstration was again made, I would proceed to Congella and burn that place, as well as the habitations of those who presumed to appear in a hostile manner in the vicinity of the encampment: since then no further offensive movements have taken place.

I have been thus minute in detailing the proceedings of the farmers, as it serves to explain what appears to me their intention as respects the troops, viz., not active but passive resistance. I have been told that a resolution was passed by the Raad not to attack, but to annoy the troops, and to prevent in every possible way their fortifying themselves on the site selected; and that the idle demonstration made on the 11th instant was with a view to having the fatigue parties, sent to cut wood and reeds, called in—a matter in which for that day they succeeded. I must confess it is with much reluctance I have hitherto abstained from driving them out of Congella; but this is a step which, I imagine, I shall ultimately be compelled to adopt, unless they remove from that place; but the certainty that a hostile collision must be the consequence (a matter His Excellency presses me to avoid, if possible), makes me still willing to believe they will disperse without obliging me to have recourse to force to effect it.

On the 13th instant, the brig "Pilot," conveying provisions and stores, arrived, and to-day we are busy in landing them. It was not until they were required, for we were reduced to one day's issue of meal; and even this had been procured from the Rev. Mr. Archbell. Slaughter cattle we are still well provided with.—I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) T. C. SMITH, Capt., 27th Regt.,
Commandant.

P.S.—May 16th. Last night, I have been informed, a reinforcement arrived at the Congella of nearly 100 men: and it is thought

by some that there are nearly 500 congregated there; but I have reason to believe the number overrated. The greater part are mounted. To-day some members of the Raad meet at the Congella to report the result of the meeting at Pietermaritzburg on the subject of the troops arriving. I have taken all the necessary precautions.

(Signed) T. C. SMITH.

COMMANDANT A. W. J. PRETORIUS TO CAPTAIN SMITH.

FROM CERTIFIED COPY SUPPLIED BY MR. JEPPE.

[Translation.]

Headquarters, Congella, Port Natal,
23rd May, 1842.

To Captain SMITH, Commanding Officer of
H. M. Troops now at Port Natal.

SIR,—As we have not neglected to inform His Excellency that we are not British subjects, and do not wish to be regarded as such, and have also protested positively against the occupation of this place, as well in our letters to the Governor as to yourself on your march hither, and also after your arrival here, enjoining you to break up your camp on 17th instant, and to withdraw beyond our borders, all injurious consequences which might otherwise ensue being chargeable to you, and you being responsible for them: Now, I must finally enjoin you, in the name of our Government, and at the instance of the public generally, without delay to break up your camp, to pay us the expenses occasioned by you, and to quit our territory; and warning you for the last time that on your responsibility, or that of your Government, will be charged the bloodshed and other undesirable and hurtful consequences of acts to which we shall be obliged to have recourse in defence of our liberty.

I am, sir, your servant,

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS,
Commandant-General,

DESPATCH FROM CAPT. SMITH, 27TH REGT.,
To LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HARE, C.B. & K.H., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

Port Natal, May 25th, 1842.

SIR,—It is with feelings of deep regret I have the honour to communicate to you the disastrous result of an attack made by the force under my command on the emigrant farmers congregated at the Congella camp at this place.

In my last despatch, I detailed the various steps taken by the farmers to annoy the troops, and my determination to abstain, if possible, from hostilities, if it could be done without detriment to the honour of the service, in the vain hope of conciliating these misguided people, and smoothing the way to a quiet settlement of their long-disturbed position as regards the Government of the Cape. But the receipt of an insolent letter, demanding that the force I commanded should instantly quit Natal, followed up by the removal, by armed men, of a quantity of cattle belonging to the troops, rendered it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken in order to prevent a repetition of such outrages.

I therefore determined, after mature deliberation, to march a force and attack their camp at Congella (a place about three miles from our position), and set apart the night of the 23rd instant to effect that object. As the road leading to the Congella from the post the troops now occupy lies for the most part through thick bush, I thought it best to cross the sands at low water, as by this means I could avoid annoyance from the farmers, till within a short distance of their station. Fitting a howitzer, therefore, into a boat, under the superintendence of Lieutenant Wyatt, of the Royal Artillery, and leaving it under the charge of a sergeant of the same corps, I gave him directions to drop down the channel to within five hundred yards of the Congella, and await the troops, in order that they might form under cover of its fire, aided by that of two six-pounders which accompanied the force I had with me. This consisted of 1 subaltern and 17 privates, Royal Artillery; 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, and 7 privates, Royal Sappers; 2 captains, 2 subalterns, 5 sergeants, and 100 rank and file, 27th Regiment, and 2 mounted orderlies of the Cape Mounted Rifles.

Having previously sent a picquet out to feel the skirts of the wood in front of our position, in order to prevent our movements being discovered, I put the whole party in motion at 11 p.m. (it

being bright moonlight), and arrived without molestation within nearly 800 yards of the place I proposed to attack. To my great mortification, I found that the boat had not dropped down the channel according to my instructions; but as I considered it imprudent to await the chance of her arrival, I was forced to make the attack without the valuable assistance which a discharge of shells and shot from the howitzer would have afforded me. Giving the order to advance, therefore, the troops had just moved to where the termination of a range of mangrove bush opened to a level space in front of the Congella, when a heavy and well-directed fire from the bush was poured on them; upon which they immediately formed and commenced a fire in return, while the two six-pounders were loading. Unfortunately, one of the draught oxen being shot caused some interruption; but this being soon got over, a destructive fire from the guns silenced for a while our opponents. But several more of the oxen becoming wounded, and escaping out of their "trektouws," rushed among the troops, upsetting the limbers, which caused much delay in reloading, and some confusion in the ranks. This circumstance, added to the partial, and at length total, silence of the guns, being taken advantage of by the Boers, they again opened a heavy fire (their long pieces carrying much farther than a musket). A severe loss resulted to the troops in consequence. Finding, therefore, that I was not likely to accomplish the purpose for which I had put the detachment in motion, and that the men were falling fast, I thought it expedient to retire, effecting this object after some delay, the partial rising of the tide rendering the road difficult. The troops, however, reached the camp about 2 o'clock in tolerable order, leaving behind them, I regret to say, the guns, which the death of the oxen rendered it impossible to remove.

Thinking it probable that this partial success of the farmers might induce them to make an immediate attack on the camp, I made such preparations as I thought necessary; and found my suspicions realised shortly afterwards, a large body of them opening a heavy fire on three sides of it. This was met by a spirited resistance on our part; but they did not finally retire until about an hour before daybreak.

Such, I regret to inform you, has been the result of this attack, and the consequent loss has been severe—the total in both skirmishes being as detailed in the return enclosed. One great cause of failure I attribute to the mismanagement of the boat in which I had placed the howitzer, with the shells of which I had hoped the farmers

might have been thrown into confusion; but she dropped down too late to be of any use, and even took up a position too distant for her fire to produce much effect.

Among the many matters connected with the subject of this report, and awakening the deepest regret, is the death of Lieut. Wyatt, of the Royal Artillery, who for the two previous days had exerted himself much in making the necessary arrangements. He was killed early in the action. Of the zealous services of Captain Lonsdale and Lieut. Lennard, of the 27th Regiment, I was also deprived, both these officers being severely wounded. In fact, under the trying circumstances in which the detachment was placed, I have only to regret that, with such willingness to perform the duty assigned to them, the result should have been so unfortunate.

The loss on the part of the Boers it is difficult to estimate, but I am told it has been severe. The whole of this day they have made no movement; but I have to give them the credit of treating such of the wounded as fell into their hands with great humanity. These, with the bodies of those who fell, they sent to the camp this afternoon; and to-morrow the sad duty of interring our departed comrades will take place.

What steps the farmers may subsequently take I cannot at this moment surmise with any degree of certainty; though I think it probable they will again demand that I should quit the territory they call their own within a specific time. I shall, of course, do what I can to maintain myself in my present position; but, considering the number of the disaffected, and the means they possess of molesting the troops, I beg to urge the necessity of a speedy reinforcement, as I scarcely consider the troops at present stationed here sufficient for the performance of the duty to which they have been assigned.

I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) T. C. SMITH, Capt., 27th Regt.,
Commandant.

RETURN of Killed, Wounded, and Missing (men and horses), belonging to the Detachment under the command of Captain T. C. Smith, 27th Regt., on the night of the 23rd and morning of the 24th May, 1842.

Port Natal, May 25, 1842.

Royal Artillery.—Killed: 1 subaltern, 3 rank and file. Wounded: 2 rank and file.

Royal Sappers and Miners.—Wounded: 2 rank and file.

Twenty-seventh Regiment.—Killed: 12 rank and file, 1 battalion horse. Wounded: 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 23 rank and file, 1 riding horse. Missing: 1 rank and file, 1 troop horse.

Cape Mounted Rifles.—Killed: 1 rank and file. Wounded: 2 troop horses. Missing: 2 rank and file.

TOTAL.—Killed: 1 subaltern, 15 rank and file, 1 battalion and 1 troop horse. Wounded: 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 27 rank and file, 1 riding horse, 2 troop horses. Missing: 3 rank and file, 2 Hottentot wagon-drivers (killed on morning of the 24th), 1 English driver (wounded do. do.).—In all: 17 killed, 31 wounded, and 3 missing.

ADULPHE DELEGORGUE.

[VOYAGE DANS L'AFRIQUE AUSTRALE.]

* * * I reckoned on returning at an early
date. * * * On the 16th April, 1842, at about
5 p.m., I had already travelled eighteen leagues: I was on the
heights overlooking my location. With an anxious eye I looked for
my tent, my store, every part of my domicile, that had been left
exclusively in reliance on the safeguard of the loyalty of the Zulus.
My tent had been thrown over: the wind might have torn it from
the tent-ropes and upset it. Soon we were on the spot. The door
of my hut was open. In short, there had been havoc amongst all my
chattels during my absence. Everything suggested the hyenas as
the culprits, and I was quite resolved to have my revenge on them,
when one of my men brought me the strap of the bolt supporting
the paddock: it was of solid green buff-leather, and showed a clean
cut, which was certainly not the work of an hyena. Everyone
inspecting it simply said, "Cut with an assagai." That was my
belief also.

Evil-disposed men, then, had come to rob or injure me. They
had taken care to meddle with everything to which I attached most
value, my remaining collections—bony heads, skeletons, large birds
not yet well dried; the large bustard, lying in my own place of rest,
had been miserably torn in sunder: I found nothing of it, except a
wing that had been caught by a thorn-bush. There had been more

of ill-will than cupidity in this robbery. This being well established, I determined to have satisfaction and reparation. But where was the guilty man to be found? That little matters, I thought: being Panda's guest, it concerns him; and to him I must address myself. I hesitated two long days. At length a motive made me take action—the fear lest similar attempts should be made again on my appurtenances. * * * On the 20th I arrived at Panda's,

* * * and had the advantage of being admitted at once to speak to him. In a few words Panda had learned the purpose of my visit. He showed much astonishment and still more dissatisfaction at what had happened, and an indignation so great that, without knowing who was to blame, Panda, accompanying his words with a gesture of destruction, pronounced the short and terrible sentence: "Let the wizard* be put to death." It remained to find the man. * * *

"Go," said he to me at last: "two of my captains will accompany you to Suzuwana. They will find the culprit, and justice will be done. But Suzuwana has been to blame: from him, and not from you, I should have heard of this outrage." Evidently Panda caught at anything that might embroil Suzuwana; for Suzuwana had the grave defect of being rich.

I went my way, not quite satisfied with the turn the event had taken. Was it not evident that, for his own interests, his own views, Panda wished that all the responsibility should fall on Suzuwana? The same thing had been suggested to me by Suzuwana. "If you carry your complaint to Panda," he said, "it is on me that he will vent his anger." To which I had answered: "You are a captain, Suzuwana; make enquiry, find out for me the perpetrator of this criminal action, then go and denounce him to the king. I give you time to do this." But the poor worthy fellow was too deeply convinced that, right or wrong, Panda wished to destroy him. Of what avail was it, therefore, that he should do, or not do, anything? There was but one escape from death: to send all his herds, without reserving a single head, as a gift to the despot. Unhappily, Suzuwana was a Kafir, and no Kafir has ever found himself capable of making such a sacrifice.

The two captains appointed by Panda to discharge the joint function—of the magistrate in preparatory examination, of prosecutor for the crown, and of presiding judge, accompanied me then to Suzuwana. * * * On their arrival, their first care was

* The same word in Kafir expresses a wizard and a guilty being.

to require the offering of a cow and of an abundance of native beer. Suzuwana omitted nothing to conciliate the good-will of Panda's agents. He did what was required of him. Fine weather was indispensable for the proceedings in the matter; for, among the Zulus, under a despotic government, justice does not repair to the abodes of individuals—but the whole multitude of individuals rallies round the seat chosen by the delegated officers.

The weather on the 26th was favourable, and all the males, young and old, from three leagues in the environs, were seen gathering together in the precincts of the "muzi."* Two thousand persons were present, all men; for it was considered impossible that a woman should have committed the crime.

The men of justice began by asking, if any were absent, who they might be? No one was wanting. The gate of the enclosure was then shut. In a few words the object was officially divulged, and, after this explanation, a question was put, to which each in his turn was bound to answer, without being able to evade it. "Do you know anything of the matter referred to? If you know anything relating to it, you will reply, 'I do;' if not, you will deny it." In answer, a whole host had been heard uttering a denial, when it came to the turn of one of Suzuwana's sons, who admitted his knowledge. All eyes were immediately fixed on him, and many a jaw was seen to fall. The young man pointed to Fetikani, the son of Umkantingani, the head of a neighbouring kraal. Fetikani, before the date of the criminal act, had had a conversation with him, the object of which was to ascertain that I was absent, and of the state of my store. He had observed the ease of entering into it without risk, of selecting what suited him best, and expressed his inclination to do so. Explanations followed: they established the very day when the offence was committed, on which Fetikani left his companions in hunting without any apparent cause; and that on his return he had been unable to give good reasons for absenting himself; and, furthermore, that some of my effects had been seen in his possession. Fetikani was there: his neighbours and relatives showed by their reproaches how much his unworthy conduct irritated them. He was seized and throttled, to be secured in the interior of the hut, bound hand and foot. A messenger was then despatched to inform Panda that the offender had been found. "Kill the Tagati," said the judges, and everyone withdrew.

* The huts forming a village or kraal.

The 27th was rainy. On rainy days nothing is done among the Zulus. Even an execution is postponed. But on the 28th, the sun shining brightly, ten warriors of Umlandeli seized Fetikani, whom they led into a narrow valley, in the neighbourhood of their kraal. After their arrival, their business did not long occupy them. Fetikani had already confessed that he alone was answerable for the robbery. He repeated his confession while they were fastening him to a tree, and without any emotion he saw the warriors retire to a distance of fifteen paces, forming before him a terrible arc of a circle. Then the assagais with their quivering shafts were three times drawn back, and discharged together at the body of Fetikani, which they pierced through and through. Fetikani had been killed—killed for the crime of theft by housebreaking: a dreadful punishment, no doubt, for so small an offence; but under Panda there is no prison, no bastinado, nothing but death, whatever be the degree of crime. And I venture to affirm that there is no country in the world in which thefts are so rare.

Had not Panda said at the very outset that he did not believe the truth of my charge, because he did not consider it possible that a single thief could be existing in his kingdom; and that I ought, besides, to adduce proofs and witnesses? I had endeavoured, while claiming satisfaction, to induce Panda to adopt some other form of justice, objecting that his system of inflicting death exceeded all reasonable measure of punishment, and that every execution deprived him of a man—a warrior—capable of serving him in case of need. "As to that," said he, "the whites have often repeated the same thing to me, pretending to change the usage of the black man, without ever giving me an equivalent expedient. A man is bad. I destroy him, not only on his own account, but to prevent the contagion of evil. Would you have me make a large hole in the earth and put him into it? Then he would have to be fed there at the expense of others. The painful life he would drag out there would embitter him still more against men, and, if he happened to escape, render him ten times more wicked. When a criminal is killed, everyone is quiet. As to that which relates to the loss of a warrior, as you say"—and here Panda put on a smile of pity—"my men, my warriors, everybody knows, are more numerous than grasshoppers; and when a grasshopper falls to the ground, do you miss one from the swarm?" I admit that I found no answer ready in reply to Panda's short explanation, because to change customs of this kind one would first have to remodel everything, and establish everything

anew ; and, as a consequence, to impose on such a people the burdens borne by civilized communities.

* * * *

On 30th April I quitted the Umfolozi ; and on 2nd May, after a very forced march, I reached the kraal of Nongalaza, where my wagon had been detained. But between that date and the 25th August, 1842, when I returned to my encampment, a long series of events is about to be developed, belonging to the history of Natal, and on which hung the fate of that country. Although this history is not directly my province, I think it useful to say that, unfortunately, I learned a part of it to my cost, for I had my dwelling situate at nearly an equal distance from two hostile camps, under the line of fire of English artillery.

After a visit to my collections and a sojourn of two days with Nongalaza, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of Panda, who sent more than twenty of his captains, first to entreat and then to command me not to return at once to Natal, I thought it well to try to cross the Tugela, the waters of which, from 20 to 50 feet deep, were rolling rapidly to the sea. To this end I constructed a raft of dead wood ; and, at the risk of being drowned, together with Huwahowaho, who could not swim, or perhaps of being snapped up by the crocodiles, I pushed off on the frail and spongy machine, to which Huwahowaho clung like a monkey. He, a Zulu, had never been on the water, and did not quite comprehend how we were to be kept afloat. * * We were able to reach the other bank of the river, but at least 1,500 yards lower down the stream than I had calculated on making a landing. * * * Huwahowaho told me, whilst we were crossing over, that he would not care about dying on shore, but that he shuddered at the thought of dying in the water. The Zulus, indeed, are affected to no little extent by hydrophobia. Few of them can swim. Not one will touch anything that is produced in rivers or in the sea.*

An hour after we were at the kraal of Kudu, who welcomed me as an old acquaintance. His first words informed me that the English troops from the Umgazi had arrived at Natal, under the command of Captain Smith. There were 250 infantry, with 60 wagons, drawn by 600 oxen, driven or accompanied by 250 servants, nearly all Albany colonists or frontier Kafirs. The news at first

* They do not touch fish, &c.

pleased me, for I hoped that the English would establish laws at Natal, and make them respected. Again, as on a thousand other occasions, I was mistaken. Kudu informed me that they were expecting to see the English and Boers assail each other, to determine who should be masters of the soil of Natal. The expectation of this deeply interested me. Having but just left the scene of war against animals of every kind, I was now going to see men at war, perhaps even to bear a part in matters that must crop up in a few days; and, without knowing in whose favour I should incline, without even giving it a thought, I promised myself a diversion in assisting at the solution of a problem of this kind. Two days of rapid marching brought me from the Tugela to Port Natal. There I found everything in commotion. The wives of the Boers were exciting their husbands to fight; and these impassive men, thus briskly stimulated, felt something like a principle of enthusiasm. Already there were altercations: Captain Smith had established his camp at 800 mètres* from the bay, near some small marshes; and, as he thought of constructing cottages there for his men, Pretorius, the commandant of the Boers, thought fit to order him to desist from his work. Captain Smith, who called himself Commandant of Natal by authority of Queen Victoria, could not recognize Pretorius, still less submit to his injunction. Then ensued communications ("pour-parlers"), extended to some length by Pretorius, who, not yet having all his men, had not strength enough to make his will respected. At one of their interviews, Captain Smith had complained of the ostentation with which Boers, mounted and armed, came caracoling round his camp, assuring Pretorius that he should be under the disagreeable necessity of driving them off by firing on them, unless Pretorius should regulate the matter properly.

Pretorius acceded to this request, and, showing himself disposed to be yielding to this first point, was on the eve of having to make further concessions. Captain Smith wished that the village of Congella should be evacuated by the Boers, but Pretorius refused.

The Boers did not desist from going and coming round the camp, where they held up their fingers in derision at the red-jackets. Irritated by these insolent provocations, Captain Smith left his camp with a hundred infantry and two guns, with the design of marching on Congella and dislodging the Boers from it. It was three o'clock in the afternoon. Long before the English had passed from the

* About 870 yards.

woods, which occupy a third of the space between the camp and Congella, the Boers had been apprised of their march. Forty of them immediately went to meet the English detachment, whose red coats contrasted brightly with the verdure of the plain. A halt was ordered, then the line of battle ready to form the square, protected on each wing by a six-pounder. The Boers also halted, but in disorder. One of them was sent forward to parley, but Captain Smith sent him back at once, demanding to see Pretorius in person. A conference then took place between the commanders, whose views were not very definite. Each party then turned back in an opposite direction, boasting that they had intimidated their opponents: but, in fact, each had its fears.

Such was the state of things when I reached Port Natal. On succeeding days, Pretorius, by reason of the reinforcements that came to him, increased his pretensions. He not only forbade the English to build, but he insisted on their immediate removal and departure from the territory of Natal, leaving their arms and ammunition. This proposal was received as it deserved to be. On the following day, to revenge himself, Pretorius refused to read a letter from Captain Smith, because it was simply addressed to "Mr. Pretorius," without the qualifying title of "Commandant." On the other hand, Captain Smith, seeing that collisions were inevitable, had recourse, in order to secure provisions, to the measure of pressing (seizing) whatever there was in the hands of the dealers that suited him: rice, meal, sugar, coffee, all were taken without asking the consent of the possessors; and this proceeding, carried rudely into effect, did not fail to dissatisfy a great number.

By way of reprisal, one fine morning, when I was at home (23rd May, 1842), a hundred and fifty Boers, who had made a guard-room of my house, protected the party who drove away the 600 draught oxen of the English. Several cannon were fired from the camp at the marauders, without effect: other shots afterwards hissed over my villa, and the sound at once struck terror into these men, who had never before found themselves aimed at by well-directed cannon. This demonstration on the part of the Boers was a grave insult to the English flag; and might even be regarded as the commencement of hostilities. To reply to it, Captain Smith had drawn out the greater part of his forces; but afterwards, lest he should be drawn into an ambuscade, he changed his mind, and led back his men. "Good," said some of the Boers watching this exhibition, "the red-coats are playing at parade." When night had come, the Boers, like

school-boys after a prank, had taken care to have posts of observation and isolated vedettes. I was at that time a mile away from my habitation, talking to some Germans. Our conversation turned on the event of the day. Each of us foresaw that soon the English would seek revenge: each thought of the safety of his chattels. I asked myself why I should be with others instead of at home. Half-an-hour after I was under the verandah of my abode, round which a number of horses were tied up. * * * About midnight, I thought that I was dreaming of the noises of the day. A brisk discharge of firearms, mingled with the din of cannon. Three times I repeated to myself that it was a dream: but the noise continuing louder, I listened, and admitted to myself that it was anything but a dream. Most assuredly a battle was being fought; and it must be at Congella. Caring little for matters that did not concern myself, I turned in my bed, and lay down. But half-an-hour later, I was awakened again by another discharge of musketry, more brisk than the former. This time it was at the English camp. The noise only ceased at four in the morning. Weary with this incessant firing, I slept till seven o'clock. * * *

I then learned the following particulars:—

Silently leaving his camp, at about a quarter after 11, and with 110 rank and file, and two six-pounder guns, Captain Smith had reached the bay by the shortest route. Reckoning upon following the line of the shore at some distance from the fringe of mangrove trees, he hoped thus to attain the object of reaching Congella, or even to take advantage of it for intercepting the retreat of the Boers. He reckoned the more on the certainty of success because he had taken action at night, and that Congella served to shelter a number of women and children, whose critical position would incline the men to accept every condition that he might choose to dictate under the circumstances.

The Boers would never have suspected his march along the beach. Captain Smith would certainly have been able to pass with his troops unperceived, had it not been for the noise made by a hasp of one of the guns on a tumbril, which had been fitted up without care, and hurriedly. One of the Boer scouts left his post to ascertain the cause of the sound, perceived the English, and rode at full speed to give the alarm at Congella. The women and children were led away to a shelter from danger in a glade not far distant. Five-and-twenty Boer marksmen posted themselves along the beach, behind separate mangrove trees, waiting in the attitude of hunters

on the watch for a leopard. The detachment were on the point of passing at a distance of 110 yards. An instant of expectation followed: and as the force showed itself at the passage, the silence of night was broken by a loud report of a shot, immediately followed by four others. An ox in the yoke fell at each of the gun-carriages: two soldiers and an officer were struck down. Each shot had killed a man or a beast of burden. The teams being interfered with, the cannon had to remain on the spot. They were indifferently pointed and loaded. Disorder followed disorder: shots were fired on each side; but the effect of the first shots had demoralised the English: theirs, fired numerously, were without effect, whilst those of the Boers, comparatively, almost without exception, answered to their aim. A boat carrying a howitzer failed of its object: from the current it could not protect the force engaged—the attempt was unavailing. Three minutes scarcely elapsed after the first shot, and already the retreat was sounded. It being impossible to retire in any order, Captain Smith availed himself of his horse, and was the first to repair to the camp, leaving his men to disengage themselves as best they might, and leaving the two guns without spiking them. Then there was general “*saue qui peut*,” and, splashing in the mud and sand, the red-coats soon found themselves in the water, for the tide was rising. Nearly all threw away their pouch-belts, many their muskets. Some, fearing to skirt the mangroves, went into deep water and were drowned.

To the Boers these matters were superb; but, to say the truth, their commander was an unfit and faint-hearted man. Had it not been so, all retreat would have been cut off from the fugitives, who would have been made prisoners without a blow being struck; and by this timely stroke the object they had in view would have been gained without delay. When reinforcements came, a similar success was still attainable; and who can say whether England, disgusted by constant reverses, might not afterwards have wholly given up the idea of acting unjustly towards the Boers, who, after all, had only come hither to avoid raising a revolution in the Cape Colony itself?

Thirty or forty minutes after the tumult, the camp was half surrounded by Boers, who contented themselves with firing, without making any attempt to carry the place by storm. The fire was kept up without intermission till four o'clock in the morning, but without effect. Some more of the English fell; one of the Boers was killed, the only loss they had that night. This is an exact account of the facts as received by me at that time.

On the 25th May, as the Boers, fatigued by their nocturnal activity, left the English unmolested in their camp, Captain Smith was able to write his report to the Governor, Sir George Napier, in which he certified that of 138 men whom he had had with him in the affair at Congella, including officers, 34 had been killed, 63 wounded, and 6 were absent or drowned.

For a commencement, the Boers might consider themselves fortunate beyond all reasonable expectation. Nor did they fail to thank God, and to consider themselves His people; for in their favour the same miracle had been wrought as for the Hebrews: had not the waters closed upon their enemies? They would have shattered my skull with a bullet if I had only dared to say that the tide rises twice every day; so true is it that there is nothing in the world so stupid as a people who give themselves up to the dominion of certain ideas.

At this time there was a ship in the bay, the "Mazeppa," loaded with stores and arms for the troops. Nothing stood in the way of her discharging her cargo on her arrival; communications had even remained perfectly free between the camp and the Point, which had a guard of 25 men under an officer, and already half of the cargo had reached its destination, when the Boers came to the conclusion that what was indispensable to their enemies might suit themselves.

In the night of the 25th or 26th May, 100 Boers left Congella, and went stealthily to the mouth of the Umgeni, there to skirt the shore, and arrive at the Point, after having by a long circuit gone round the camp, in order to be unperceived. These men were still at a distance of over two hundred yards from the post and guard at the Point, when they entered the wood skirting the shore, where they had often to creep flat on the ground, and slowly. They succeeded in making their approach like the trail of a long serpent. They had been more than half-an-hour within reach of the sentries, holding their breath and carefully avoiding the least touch of a branch, when day broke. At the first glimpse of light the sentries were shot down. The alarm being given, the Boers extended their line, and fired upon the first who showed themselves. The cannon, at close quarters, but ill-pointed, replied to them four times; but the grape-shot lost itself in the summits of the trees. It was impossible to hold out; so the English soldiers, and some residents of the same nation, took refuge in a large store, built of stone and loop-holed, in which they reckoned on being able to make a resistance and sell their lives dearly. Some prisoners had already been made; those

who attempted to escape by flight fell by the bullets, in view of those sheltered in the building. These soon lost heart, and, being summoned to surrender, opened the doors. Five-and-thirty individuals were thus in the hands of the Boers. These prisoners were sent off on the same day to Pietermaritzburg, where the soldiers as well as the civilians were ill-treated. As it was of importance to the Boers that the "Mazeppa" should not be free to leave the harbour, the anchors were carried to the shore. This was a mistaken calculation. But the Boers are not seamen—they did not think of removing the rudder, and whenever the "Mazeppa" chose she might set sail and leave without difficulty.

From that time the camp was besieged. The cannon taken from the English was fired at themselves. There was no difficulty in carrying off the stores, and the Boers supplied themselves at the expense of England, whilst the besieged were reduced to sustain life on the flesh of dead horses.

This state of things might have had very grave consequences, if an Englishman, named Richard King, hidden on board the "Mazeppa," had not run the risk of carrying the intelligence of the disaster to Graham's Town.

Up to the 25th June, inclusive, 651 cannon shots had been fired by the Boers at the camp; there had been a sortie, and the English had driven out of a trench some Boers who had fallen asleep, but they had lost more men than the Boers. The action had, however, the quality of courage.

About this time, as the Boers were growing tired of seeing that their attempts were ineffectual, because they had not enough of military science for better measures, and too little resolution to act strenuously, an ignoble, cowardly, infamous request was made to me by one of them, after having found that the greater number of the Council had assented to it. This man was ordered to request, without insisting—to be prudent and discreet—so that, if necessary, the thing might be denied, and no one understand the matter. He thought fit to recur to a third person, and chose a German, named Krockman, who fulfilled this mission in regard to me as a sort of extra duty. I was to give up to the Boers the poisons requisite for the preparation and preservation of my specimens—arsenic and corrosive sublimate—of which they knew that I possessed large quantities. Their object was to throw ten or twelve pounds of these dangerous compounds into the spring near the camp, which alone supplied more than half of the quantity of water consumed by the

besieged; and even if the object of poisoning the troops was not attained, they might at least have the advantage of making them suffer from want of water, so as to induce the force to surrender. It must be superfluous to say how much I was disgusted by such a proposal; but I had enough of self-control to conceal my feelings. "That is a famous expedient," I replied to the emissary; "I regret bitterly that I have not the means here of producing so powerful an effect. My poisons are at the Umfolozi, where, for the great work I have undertaken, the whole quantity might be indispensable." This was an untruth, resorted to as an escape from embarrassment; for there were still on hand by me seven pounds of arsenic and two of corrosive sublimate, which early next morning I hastened to throw away amongst the rushes, scattering to the wind the white powder, the effect of which, if it had been used, could not have failed to work disastrous results.

After many attempts on the part of the Boers, after patient endurance on the part of the English, on the evening of the 25th-26th June, a signal of salvation appeared in the sky. A rocket, loaded with sparks of hope, rose straight up—immense, majestic—at the same time that a powerful sound of a cannon resounded. The English frigate "Southampton" had arrived in the anchorage, filled with men burning to deliver their countrymen.

The faces of the Boers became lengthened: they would have to act against men numerous and fresh; very different from the skeletons in the camp. They had hardly a word to say for themselves, on the eve, as they were, of having to give up the ideas of an independence which they had abused. In the camp, great must have been the joy. To escape from imprisonment in sand, on which bullets were hissing without intermission, to see once more water and sustenance in abundance, so that they might cease from the flesh of crows, and even that in stinted quantity—this was certainly a prospect worthy of being coveted, which, by its persistence, must have disturbed the sleep of more than one Englishman. When daylight came, two ships were in the roadstead, the frigate "Southampton" and the "Conch" schooner. Until 2 p.m. nothing was done on either side. The tide was rising, it is true; but there was yet little depth on the bar, when a vessel was seen crossing it without obstacle, and entering the current of the port. Thirty Boers were guarding the Point; many were to have gone to it immediately, but, owing to fear and want of discipline, everyone did as he pleased.

Two cannons fired upon the "Conch," of which the deck was covered with men. A shower of bullets fell on the boats attached to the tow-line: the progress of the ship was not retarded. It replied from two pieces of ordnance, whilst the "Southampton" sent many projectiles from its formidable batteries, the effect of which caused less destruction than consternation. The entrance, the anchorage, the disembarkation, did not occupy more than twenty minutes. More than one Englishman (not a single Boer) was killed; and when the danger became imminent, the Boers decamped and reached Congella. Then it was possible for Colonel Cloete's forces to join those under Captain Smith. On their side, the Boers, on the same night, took the wise course of abandoning their camp. The night protected their retreat, which they effected with mournful looks, contrasting strangely with those of a fortnight ago. They withdrew, with 600 men, to a distance of six leagues from Port Natal, from which point they entered upon negotiations with Colonel Cloete. The very ardent wish of Captain Smith and his men was to take revenge, which the officer commanding-in-chief opposed with all his might; and the opinion of the English troops was thus divided. To say the truth, it would have exposed the English forces very considerably to have moved them twenty leagues from the coast, through a country in some parts open, but often obstructed and intersected by ravines, and interrupted by difficult passes. There was no doubt that Pietermaritzburg would have been vigorously defended: it was the stronghold of the Boers. There were their families, their possessions; and during the march, too, the English would have been easily assailed.

Whatever might have been the resolution to be taken a little later, it was well to provide draught oxen for the use of the cannons and wagons, if a removal should have to be made. Peace not having yet been attained, this was the singular expedient to which Lieut.-Colonel Cloete had recourse. A proclamation was at once addressed to the Kafirs, and sent to be read by the missionary (Adams) to the natives on the banks of the Umlazi, Illovo, and in other places. One of the three original writings having come into my hands, I am in a position to furnish an exact copy, conceived in these terms:—

"All the Kafirs are requested to seize, wherever they may be found, the horses and oxen of the Boers, then to bring them to the English camp, where a corresponding remuneration will be paid in reward of this service, which will earn for them the protection of the English arms. The Kafirs are specially recommended not to use

their weapons against the Boers, except in the event of the latter having recourse to their firearms for recovering their property.

"Thus done, at the Point, Natal, this 2nd day of July, 1842.

"(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lient.-Col.,

"Depy.-Qr.-Mr.-Genl., Commanding."

Simple reasoning leads one to suppose that, as not a single Boer would in cold blood see the cattle constituting all his fortune carried away, he needs must, in similar circumstances, make use of his arms. Then the Kafir, really the aggressor, had acquired the right of defending himself. This measure tended to make the natives, till then neutral, rush upon the Boers. Powerful England was reduced to this miserable expedient: it was risking for its own interest naked men, not her own subjects; it excited to distraction the mass of black vultures, whose eyes had long been coveting the herds of the Boers. But if it was easy for her to let them slip the leash, it was impossible for her afterwards to restrain them. And, besides, how illusory was the promise of the protection of British arms, which scarcely sufficed to cause the will of the British Government to be respected. England was promising to others what she could not attain for herself.

As a beginning, the excited Kafirs spread themselves along the approaches to Natal, and, wherever they discovered any cattle, they rushed upon them with the eagerness of wild dogs. The first herds were undefended: they belonged to owners who were friendly to the English. Scarcely a quarter of them were brought to the camp. In other captures the difficulties were greater. Bullets hissed—marauders were killed. Becoming more prudent, the natives preferred to act at night. White families were murdered in a way to make one shudder, and their cattle were carried off; but, on the other hand, when the Boers, recovering from their first stupefaction, had discovered a numerous kraal who had taken an active part in these scenes of disorder, forty of them surrounded it at night, and at daybreak every black body that showed itself became a mark, and was killed. Sixty Kafirs paid with their lives for the thefts committed at Colonel Cloete's request. The Kafirs complained; English protection was claimed; and the answer to the complainants was that nothing could be done for them. Surely such conduct was not noble. I thought it ignoble; and many Kafirs now know what is to be granted to British promises.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete succeeded in procuring a greater number of draught cattle than were required for his apparent

necessities ; but he took good care not to advance at once on Pietermaritzburg. His dilatory proceedings gained time, during which the Boers, divided among themselves, decided, having regard to the impossibility of resistance, to adopt the terms prescribed by the English Government.

As no one, so far as I am aware, has written a succinct and connected history of this period at Natal, when for the first time on this virgin scene of Nature the whites were tearing each other to pieces, I have thought that people might look with favour on me for saying impartially what I had myself seen and heard.

DISTURBANCES IN NATAL, 1839-1842.

FROM THE NARRATIVE OF MR. GEORGE CHRISTOPHER CATO.

[Mr. Cato came to the colony in 1839. He has been engaged in mercantile and other pursuits, and has served the public in some important capacities ; having long been the Consular Agent for the United States of America, and Vice-Consul for Denmark. He has more than once been the Mayor of Durban, and for some years (and at the present day, 1885) a member of the Legislative Council.]

I CAME from the Cape Colony to Natal in March, 1839, engaged, in part, in mercantile pursuits, but also and chiefly to induce the Boers, who had recently emigrated from the colony, to receive the compensation, which they had up to that time refused, for their slaves set free under the measure of Emancipation. I remained in the country on behalf of my principal, Mr. John Owen Smith, of Port Elizabeth.

It happened that great anxiety existed at that time as to the fate of a party of Boers who, under the leadership of Commandant Triegaart, had made their way to the Portuguese settlement, and were known to be dying fast of marsh-fever. A ship was under my orders, and I sailed to De la Goa Bay. All the men of the party, with two exceptions, had fallen victims to the distemper. I brought away the survivors, sixty women and children.

Things were in a very unsettled state in Natal. A small body of British troops had been in the country for some months—apparently without any object but that of watching the movements of the Boers and the natives. The force was withdrawn at the end of the year (1839). The transport “Vectis”—sent to convey away the

military—could not enter the harbour, the bar being too shallow. It was necessary to employ my ship, requiring less depth: but in this there was not room for the men, the stores, the ammunition and artillery, all at the same time. This made the embarkation difficult. There was no other vessel, no lighter. The amicable temper of the African-Dutch could not be depended on. If the guns and baggage were removed first, the troops would be exposed to insult, or something worse. If the soldiers were embarked, and the artillery and stores left unguarded, a temptation might arise to seize the munitions of war, much needed by the Boers. I suggested the construction of a raft, to be stowed at the stern of the ship, and in this way, at great hazard, the troops and stores were taken together to the outer anchorage.

The troops once gone, the Boers were free to act against the natives.

In the campaign against Dingaan (January and February, 1840) I took no part. Towards the close of the year, I as well as all the English at D'Urban received the order to join the commando against the Bushmen, who were suspected, probably with reason, of having stolen cattle from the Boers. Ncapayi was not spoken of at that time. I went part of the way; but a ship arriving that was to be under my direction, I had to turn back. On their return, Henry Ogle gave me the particulars of the campaign. The Boers, finding no trace of Bushmen, had gone on and on until they found two or three of the stolen cattle in a kraal belonging to the tribe of Ncapayi. They then attacked and defeated that chief, bringing away some herds of cattle, and a number of women and children. It was in consequence of my statement of these circumstances that the Rev. Mr. Shaw represented matters to the Governor of the Cape, and shortly after a force under Captain Smith was stationed in the neighbourhood of the Umgaziyana. This force was eventually moved forward, and came into Natal in May, 1842.

Before the arrival of the troops, a Dutch ship, the "Brazilia," came to the port. The captain and Mr. Michael Breda, sr., made a complaint against me for not duly honouring the Dutch flag. I was made prisoner, and underwent a preliminary examination at D'Urban, and was subsequently tried at Pietermaritzburg. I was condemned to pay a fine, and to give security to appear whenever I might be summoned. A day or two elapsed, and the troops entered the country, and marched to D'Urban. No protest had been made against Captain Smith's advance until after he had formed his camp. The

next day he went out with a small mounted party; and then, at the Umbilo, a protest was handed to him, which he declined to accept.

After the failure of the night attack on 23rd May, and the defeat of Captain Smith, I went to his camp. He said it was indispensable to send Kafir runners with despatches to Graham's Town, reporting the disaster and the urgent need of reinforcements. I offered to carry the despatches myself. He said he had more need of my services on the spot. I then said that if he would give me two of the troop horses and his despatches, I would undertake to have them forwarded. This was done. The letters and horses were brought to me at nine in the evening. At midnight, it being then low water, I awoke Dick King on board the "Mazeppa." My brother (Christopher Joseph Cato) in one boat, I in another, each towed a horse across the bay. King started and took the course to Graham's Town. At first he followed the line of the hills along the coast, to avoid being noticed and intercepted. He was not pursued. On his way to and through Kaffraria, the Wesleyan missionaries at the different stations assisted and expedited him on the long journey.

Next morning the English at the Point were all made prisoners by the Boers. Among the prisoners there were sixteen soldiers. I was regarded as the head-man among the English residents. My hands were tied behind me: I was the only one so tied on that occasion. We were taken to Congella.

At this time the camp was closely besieged. At Congella I lay in the stocks for a week. The civilians were all put in the stocks. A list of the prisoners will be given by me later on.

We were then conveyed in wagons to Pietermaritzburg, under a very strong guard; we were handcuffed two and two. In the prison at Pietermaritzburg we were in the stocks at night—by day we were chained, two and two, by the leg. We had prison fare; but those who had the means were allowed to buy food in addition. If any one had for any purpose to go aside, he had his hand chained to his leg.

At length it became known that the reinforcements under Colonel Cloete had arrived. There was great commotion in the town. A Boer came to the door of the prison, in which there was a grate with strong bars. He was armed with a gun, and called for me. I declined to go forward. He aimed and fired at me. The ball grazed one of the bars, and passed within less than half an inch of my forehead, lodging itself in the wall. Upon this I requested the gaoler to call Commandant Pretorius, who came at once. I

represented to him that prisoners ought not to be shot unfairly: let them give us our arms, and we would fight them. He said there was so much disorder that he could not protect us. Then, I said, let us have our arms. He gave us our arms, and set us free. Instantly the prisoners, being now armed, rushed under my orders into the crowd, seized the man who had fired at me, lifted him, carried him to the prison, and set him in the stocks from which we had just been released. This caused disturbance among the crowd. The commandants and some men of influence came forward. There was a disposition among the Boer mob to attack us: but they saw that we were desperate; and the authorities being at that very time in communication with Colonel Cloete, and very anxious not to throw obstacles in the way of an amicable arrangement, thought it best to restore us to liberty.

Next morning I set off with my men towards D'Urban.

After this the treaty with Colonel Cloete was concluded: and so these hostilities came to an end.

The men imprisoned with me at Pietermaritzburg were:—F. Armstrong, S. Beningfield, J. Douglas, J. Hogg, H. Ogle, H. Parkins, D. Toohey, F. McCabe, B. Schwikkard, and 16 soldiers.

OCCURRENCES IN NATAL. 1841–1842.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS ARMSTRONG.

At the age of twenty-six (in 1842), I came to Natal from the old colony. My object was that of trying to get on and improve my circumstances. Some years before, I had thought of coming with Captain Gardiner's party, but the project was not then carried out.

At the time of my arrival things were quiet here. There had been a "commando" against Ncapayi, but the war was over. The force was on its way back. The English—no great number—who were here got on very well with the Boer Government. The Boers lived simply, and that suited beginners. I have no feeling against the Boers.

A British force under Captain Smith came into Natal in May, 1842. He attacked Congella on the 24th May, and was defeated with heavy loss. On that very day the "Mazeppa" had come into

the harbour. All the English who did not belong to the troops went on board the "Mazeppa." We had been three days on board when we were ordered to go on shore. The reason why the ship had not gone to sea at once was, that she might have been wanted for the troops; and when we were ordered on shore the "Mazeppa" was lying quite near—not more than thirty or forty yards from the spot where an eighteen-pounder gun had been placed in position to destroy her if she moved. We were made prisoners, sent to Congella, and put in the stocks; and there we remained in that condition eight or ten days. We were then taken to Pietermaritzburg in wagon, under a strong escort. Our imprisonment at Pietermaritzburg was strict. We were chained two and two: but we were well fed. Among the Boers all of us had friends, and some of them were very good to us; but the strictness of our imprisonment was not relaxed until we had been here five or six weeks. We knew that the Council (Volksraad) were then in communication with Colonel Cloete, who had come with reinforcements, and that the object of the Boers was to come to terms. It was on a Saturday night that we were relieved from our chains, but still kept in prison. On Sunday, whilst the people were at church, a Boer named Cobus Snyman was one of the guard at the prison. He was known as a man of fierce and excitable disposition. He called for Cato and Ogle to come forward and speak to him. Neither came. Snyman fired his gun through the bars of the prison door. I believed he fired at me. Mr. Cato thinks he was the one aimed at; and I cannot contradict him, because it may be so. As soon as the shot was fired, people came rushing from the church to the prison. Of those who then came, the men of influence were Commandant Pretorius, Jacobus Boshof, Rev. Mr. Lindley, and others, who expressed great displeasure at Snyman's act. They would never have connived at any such disgraceful act; but, besides this, negotiations for peace were going on, and ill-usage of the prisoners would be a hindrance in making terms. We were at once allowed to go out of the gaol, but not to go at large—only round about the gaol. The prisoners were Mr. Cato, myself, F. McCabe, S. Beningfield, John Douglas, D. Toohey, W. Parkins, Bernd. Schwikkard, J. Hogg, and H. Ogle. All but the two first are dead. Snyman was arrested and put in the stocks. On the following day a wagon was provided to take us to Durban. We were then completely free.

NATAL, 1840-1842.

FROM THE NARRATIVE OF MR. FRANS MATTHYS WOLHUTER.

[Mr. Wolhuter, an aged, prosperous, and much respected citizen and landed proprietor, has resided nearly forty years in Pietermaritzburg.]

I CAME to this country in 1840. Things were quiet. The commando against Ncapayi produced no uneasiness here. In the last quarter of 1841, I went to the Cape overland. I returned early in May, in the ship "Pilot." This vessel brought stores and ammunition for the troops, which, under the command of Captain Smith, had come into the country a day or two before we came to anchor. I was at D'Urban on the night (23rd-24th May) when Captain Smith made the attack on Congella. I had not at that time been ordered to join the Boer force under Commandant Pretorius at Congella: the order was given a few days later; but I knew, from personal intercourse with every one at Congella, that scouts had been stationed to watch (themselves being unseen in the thickets), and to report any movement of the English: and that, within ten minutes after the troops left their camp, the fact was known to Pretorius; and that twenty-five men were posted behind the mangrove trees, which at a little distance lined the beach along which Captain Smith was advancing. There was bright moonlight. The Boers lay down on the ground, screened by the trunks of the trees, against the sides of which they could press their guns and secure steady aim. When the troops came in view they fired, and probably every shot killed a soldier. The troops, replying to the fire, took it for granted that the Boers were on foot, or had climbed among the branches. They aimed too high, and their fire was ineffectual. So many of his troops fell by the shots of their unseen opponents, that Captain Smith went back to the camp, leaving two field-pieces on the beach. None of Pretorius' men were killed at that time; but a little later, on the same night, a rush was made from Congella with the view of storming the camp. The attempt was given up; but a young Boer, named Abraham Greyling, was killed by a ball from an eighteen-pounder. I was at Congella when twenty-five soldiers, under a sergeant named Barry, were made prisoners at the Point, and these, as well as Mr. George Christopher Cato, and a number of English residents, were at first in custody at Congella. A few days after, they were removed and

imprisoned here (Pietermaritzburg), I had got leave from the commandant, and was here while the English camp at D'Urban was besieged; and also when it was relieved by the force under Colonel Cloete. Within a few days after his arrival, the prisoners were set at large. Before this, a Boer named Cobus Snyman had called at the door of the prison for Henry Ogle, whom he knew and disliked, and whose name he hated. Ogle not coming forward, Snyman fired a shot into the prison, which fortunately did not hit anyone. The influential men here, especially Mr. Jacobus N. Boshof, were disgusted at this cowardly act, and Snyman was arrested, imprisoned, and put in the stocks. I was not present when he was put in prison; but I am quite sure, from what was currently said (and everyone was talking of the occurrence), that it was by order of Mr. Boshof. I never heard a whisper of his having been seized and put in the stocks by the English prisoners. A treaty was then made with Colonel Cloete, and there has not been any open hostility against the British authorities since that time.

END OF VOLUME I.

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